

The Saqqara Necropolis through the New Kingdom

Biography of an Ancient Egyptian Cultural Landscape

By
Nico Staring

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The Saqqara Necropolis through the New Kingdom

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For Rohan and Bodhi

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Preface and Acknowledgements

This book is the product of a years' long interest in the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara, probably ignited during a lecture offered to prospective Egyptology students at Leiden University way back in 1999. The sixteen-year old me had to wait another two years before enrolling in (Near Eastern) Archaeology in 2001, and it was not until 2007 that I could finally participate in the excavations at Saqqara organised by the Leiden Museum of Antiquities (RMO) and Leiden University. My deep interest in the site ultimately led to a PhD research proposal, which was awarded with an IPRS research grant by the Australian government, and an MQRES grant awarded by Macquarie University. It allowed me to conduct my doctoral research at that university in Sydney, Australia (2012–2015). The thesis-by-publication model that I adopted resulted in a number of academic journal articles that mainly focused on various monumental tombs built for the Memphite elite in the 2nd millennium BCE. These tombs were accessed by early-19th century explorers and antiquities diggers, and had since been lost under the shifting desert sands of the North Saqqara plateau. My study combined the information available through these early explorers, such as mid-19th century photographs capturing now-lost monuments, tomb elements dispersed over public and private collections around the globe, and the actual archaeological data excavated in the last half a century or so. Still, many questions remained unanswered after finishing my research. For one thing, up to that time, there had been no studies that aimed to contextualise the known tombs in their environmental setting. The present publication aims to fill this lacuna.

This book is the outcome of a study conducted within the research project entitled 'The Walking Dead at Saqqara: The Making of a Cultural Geography', funded with a VIDI Talent Scheme research grant awarded by the Dutch Research Council (NWO), dossier no. 016.vidi.174.032, and hosted at the Leiden University Institute for Area Studies (LIAS). Lara Weiss (National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden) conceived the idea of writing the research proposal at around the time of the 'Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2015' conference held in Prague. We then combined forces with Ramadan Hussein (Eberhard Karls University of Tübingen) and wrote the proposal in fruitful collaboration. Unfortunately, we did not succeed in securing funding at our first attempt, so we decided to rework the proposal and re-submit it the next year. All extra efforts paid off, and the project, led by Lara Weiss, was officially started in autumn 2017. Due to Ramadan's obligations on another successfully funded project of his, the third position within the research team was then taken up by Huw

Twiston Davies, who had just received his PhD from the University of Liverpool.

During the last two years of my fellowship, the covid-19 pandemic made doing research particularly challenging. Access to resources was greatly limited due to the year-long closure of the Netherlands Institute of the Near East (NINO) library in Leiden. In addition, conducting archaeological fieldwork at Saqqara has been impossible since the spring season of 2019. Thus, altogether two brief seasons of work in 2017 and 2018 were used to gather new data from the field. It also meant that much of the initial research plans had to be changed. For example, the projected geophysical subsurface survey of the area surrounding the archaeological concession area had to be postponed, and it has not been possible to obtain GPS data on the spot, necessary for the production of the plans used through this book. All in all, this study relied more heavily on archival and published material and less on fresh finds from the field—although there was no shortage of material to work on!

The lion's share of the last two years of work were done from the home 'office', often in the company of an enthusiastic toddler and, since almost a year now, a newborn competing for attention also. Absolutely much fun, but not necessarily contributing much to one's research productivity, especially in the critical final stages of writing a book. The combination of factors just described led to the situation where the present book was far from finished towards the end of contract at Leiden University. This created a rather stressful situation, further augmented by the uncertain future of an early-career researcher. It was therefore a big relief to receive news that my research proposal for a next project was granted. It secured my position as a postdoctoral researcher (Chargé de recherches) of the Fonds de la Recherche Scientifique—FNRS at the University of Liège in Belgium. Much of the writing of the present book was done during the first four months of my fellowship at Liège, as well as during the final months of my one year dual appointment at Leiden University and KU Leuven University (postdoctoral teaching position). Therefore, in addition to NWO and Leiden University's LIAS, my two other employers should also be thanked for making it possible to spend time on writing this book.

The first individuals that I should like to thank here are the three members of the Walking Dead research team, Lara Weiss, Huw Twiston Davies, and Ramadan Hussein. It is largely due to the confidence and perseverance of Lara that this project came into existence in the first place.

This research relies heavily on the data gathered by the former EES-Leiden and current Leiden-Turin archaeological expedition to Saqqara in collaboration with the 3D Survey Group of the Politecnico di Milano. I am much indebted to all past and present field directors, in particular Geoffrey Martin, Maarten

Raven, René van Walsem, Lara Weiss, Christian Greco, Paolo Del Vesco, and Daniel Soliman. All other past and present team members are also much thanked, and I should like to single out Barbara Aston, who has always been happy to answer my questions and offer feedback on my written work, and Corinna Rossi, who shared preliminary results of her work.

Writing this book would not have been possible without the permission to work at Saqqara, which the Egyptian authorities granted to the Leiden-Turin expedition and its forerunners. I should like to express my gratitude to H.E. Prof Khaled el-Anany, Minister of Tourism and Antiquities, the current and previous Directors and Chief Inspectors of Saqqara, colleagues in the antiquities department, and all others who have worked with the expedition over the years.

At Saqqara, I should like to thank my dear friends and colleagues, Ola el-Aguizy and Mohammad M. Youssef. They have been incredibly generous in sharing information and keeping me up to date on the results of their archaeological work. I am much looking forward to many more years of working in the field alongside them.

In a way, the present book builds further on the subject explored for my PhD, and I thank my former supervisors, Boyo Ockinga and Susanne Binder, for their guidance during the 3.5 years spent working Down Under. My new project at the University of Liège explores different aspects related to the Memphite necropolis, and I should like to thank Dimitri Laboury for exchanging many ideas.

In the course of my postdoctoral fellowship in Leiden, I have had the pleasure to participate in various conferences and projects related to the subject under study. It created opportunities to engage with the material from different angles, and to exchange ideas with a large number of scholars. In particular, I should like to thank Filip Coppens and all members of the Czech Science Foundation research project 'Continuity, Discontinuity, and Change' (2019–2022) at the Czech Institute of Egyptology of Charles University, Prague, in particular the members of the New Kingdom workgroup, Gabriele Pieke and Dana Bělohoubková; Fredrik Hagen, Rune Olsen and Daniel Soliman, organisers of the 'Tomb Construction in New Kingdom Egypt' international conference held at the University of Copenhagen (2017); and Ángeles Jiménez-Higueras, who initiated the 'New Approaches to Ancient Egyptian Funerary Landscapes' session during the 6th Landscape Archaeology Conference in Madrid (2021).

Fellow Saqqara enthusiasts (in addition to those already mentioned), Anne Herzberg, Beatrix Gessler-Löhr, Vincent Oeters, Jacobus van Dijk, Alain-Pierre Zivie, Hana Navrátilová, Julia Hamilton, Elaine Sullivan, Tarek Tawfik, and Daniela Picchi are thanked for sharing their thoughts on the subject, and for offering very helpful insights.

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Sasja van der Vaart-Verschoof read the final draft of the book manuscript, and corrected the English text, saving me from numerous errors and 'Dunglish' grammar.

The final manuscript was professionally handled by the skilful people at Brill Academic Publishers, and I should like to express my gratitude to Katelyn Chin, acquisitions editor Ancient Near East & Jewish Studies, for accepting the book proposal, Emma de Looij, associate editor, for guiding me through the process, the CHANE series editors, and the two anonymous peer reviewers of the manuscript.

Finally, I would like to thank my family for their unwavering support. The research-related absences in particular put a lot of pressure on the home situation, especially one that includes young kids. Thanks are in particular due to my wife, Karuna, for her understanding, patience, and love. My kids, Rohan (2017) and Bodhi (2021), made the coming about of this book a *big* challenge, yet enriched my life in so many ways. I hope they will remain as curious-minded as they are now, and it is to them that I dedicate this book.

Leiden and Liège, February 2022

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Abbreviations

ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen
AAAG	Annals of the Association of American Geographers
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament
ACER	Australian Centre for Egyptology: Reports
AcOr	Acta Orientalia
AIRA	American Indian Rock Art
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
Ä&L	Ägypten und Levante
AM	Archeologie Magazine
AoF	Altorientalische Forschungen
ASAE	Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte
ASE	Archaeological Survey of Egypt
BAÄ	Beiträge zum Alten Ägypten
BACE	Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology
BAe	Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca
BAR IS	British Archaeological Reports International Series
BdE	Bibliothèque d'Étude
BEHE SHP	Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, IVe section: Sciences Historiques et Philologiques
BEM	Bulletin of the Egyptian Museum
BibEt	Bibliothèque d'études
BIE	Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale
BMPES	British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan
BSAE/ERA	British School of Archaeology in Egypt / Egyptian Research Account
BSFE	Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie
CAJ	Cambridge Archaeological Journal
CASAE	Cahiers Supplément aux ASAE
CdE	Chronique d'Égypte
CENiM	Cahiers « Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne »
CGC	Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CRAIBL	Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres
EA	Egyptian Archaeology: The Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society
EAO	Égypte—Afrique et Orient
EES EM	Egypt Exploration Society Excavation Memoirs
EES OP	Egypt Exploration Society Occasional Publications

ENiM	Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne
EPIC	Ethnographic Praxis in Industry Conference
EU	Egyptologische Uitgaven
FuB	Forschungen und Berichte
GM	Göttinger Miszellen: Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion
GOF IV	Göttinger Orientforschungen IV. Reihe Ägypten
GOP	Giza Occasional Papers
HÄB	Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HTBM 7	Hall, H.R. (1925), *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae* Etc., Part 7, London: British Museum.
HTBM 8	Edwards, I.E.S. (1939), *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae,* etc., Part 8, London: British Museum.
HTBM 9	James, T.G.H. (1970), *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae,* etc., Part 9, London: British Museum.
HTBM 10	Bierbrier, M.L. (1982), *Hieroglyphic texts from Egyptian stelae, etc., in the British Museum*, Part 10, London: British Museum.
JAEA	Journal of Ancient Egyptian Architecture
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt
JAS	Journal of Archaeological Science
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JEH	Journal of Egyptian History
JEOL	Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux"
JES	The Journal of Egyptian Studies
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JSSEA	Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities
JUA	Journal of Urban Affairs
KMT	KMT. A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt
KRI	Kitchen, K.A. (1975–1989), *Ramesside Inscriptions*, Vols 1–8, Oxford: Blackwell.
KSG	Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen
LD	Lepsius, C.R. (1897–1913), *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung
MÄS	Münchner ägyptologische Studien
MÄSB	Mitteilungen aus der ägyptischen Sammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin
MÄU	Münchner ägyptologische Untersuchungen
MB	Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo

MEEF	Memoirs of the Egypt Exploration Fund
MIEAA	Monographs of the Institute of Egyptian Art and Archaeology
MKS	Middle Kingdom Studies
MMAB	The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin
MMAP	The Metropolitan Museum of Art Papers
MMJ	Metropolitan Museum Journal
MonAeg	Monumenta Aegyptiaca
NAR	Norwegian Archaeological Review
NeHeT	Revue numérique d'Égyptologie (Paris-Sorbonne—Université Libre de Bruxelles)
NKMN	New Kingdom Memphis Newsletter
NYHS Cat.	Anonymous (1915), *Catalogue of the Egyptian Antiquities of the New York Historical Society*, New York
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OLP	Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica
OMRO	Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden
PALMA	Papers on Archaeology of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities
PdÄ	Probleme der Ägyptologie
PES	Prague Egyptological Studies
PIA	Papers of the Institute of Archaeology
PM III/2	Porter, B., Moss, R.L.B. (1978), *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. III² Memphis*, Part 2. *Ṣaqqâra to Dahshûr*. 2nd. rev. edn by PhDr. Jaromir Málek, Oxford: Griffith Institute.
PMMA	Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition
PN	Ranke, H. (1935), *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, Glückstadt: Augustin.
RdE	Revue d'égyptologie
RiME	Rivista del Museo Egizio
RT	Recueil de travaux relatives à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes
RVV	Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten
SAGA	Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens
SAK	Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
SASAE	Supplément aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte
SDAIK	Sonderschrift des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo
SEAP	Studi di Egittologia e di Antichità Puniche

Urk. IV	Helck, W. (1955–1961), *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, Heft 17–22, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
VA	Varia Aegyptiaca
WA	World Archaeology
Wb.	Erman, A., Grapow, H. (1971 [1957]), *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
WdO	Die Welt des Orients. Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Kunde des Morgenlandes
ZÄS	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde

CHAPTER 1

A Quiet and Desolate Plateau, Once Bustling with Life

1.1 Theme, Rationale, and Scope of This Book

This book is the first comprehensive monographic treatment of the New Kingdom (c. 1539–1078 BCE; Table 1)[1] necropolis at Saqqara,[2] the vast archaeological site c. 15 km south of present-day Cairo (Fig. 1).[3] The site is named after the modern town, سقّارة, located at the south end of the North Saqqara plateau.[4] The modern place name, Saḳḳāra, was adopted in the 19th century to refer to the adjoining archaeological site located on the elevated desert plateau on the west bank on the Nile.[5] The ancient Egyptians employed a range of toponyms

1 For the New Kingdom, the absolute dates used throughout this book follow Gautschy (2014), table 8 (P_{1_1}). Note that the chronological table published in Hornung et al. (2006), Part IV.2, contains outdated views regarding the length of the reigns of Horemheb (the 'long reign' of 27 years) and Seti I (11 years), and includes Smenkhkare as an independently reigning king, succeeding Akhenaten. There exists discussion about the end of the Amarna period and the precise line of succession after Akhenaten, see e.g., Dodson (2018); Gabolde (1998). This book adheres to the view posited by Van der Perre (2014), who deems it highly unlikely that Akhenaten's co-regent Smenkhkare (who married the king's daughter Meritaten) had an independent reign beyond the reign of Akhenaten (i.e. he passed away before Akhenaten). Van der Perre established that year 16 was the highest documented regnal year of Akhenaten (documented in a graffito in the Deir Abu Hinnis stone quarry near Tell el-Amarna), and that Nefertiti was still alive at that point in time. The queen ascended the throne as king Ankh(et)kheperure Neferneferuaten, possibly as regent and tutor of Tutankhaten. When she died after at least three years on the throne, Tutankhamun, then 8 years old, started his own reign, although the actual power lay with a small group of officials, including Horemheb and Maya, who built their tombs at Saqqara. For the length of the reigns of Horemheb and Seti I, see Van Dijk (2008); (2011), respectively.

2 For an earlier, popularising treatment of the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara, focusing on the results of the first 15 years of the joint Egypt Exploration Society, London, and National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden, see Martin (1991).

3 According to a measurement taken from Google Earth, the distance between the city centre of Cairo (the Egyptian Museum at Tahrir square) and the northern tip of the North Saqqara plateau is 17.9 km 'as the crow flies'.

4 Saqqara is listed as a UNESCO World Heritage site since 1979, forming part of 'Memphis and its Necropolis—The Pyramid Fields from Giza to Dahshur', see: https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/86/, last accessed on 29.12.2021.

5 It has been suggested that the French Egyptologist Auguste Mariette (1821–1881) should be credited for being the first to use the name of the nearby village, Saqqara, to also refer to the

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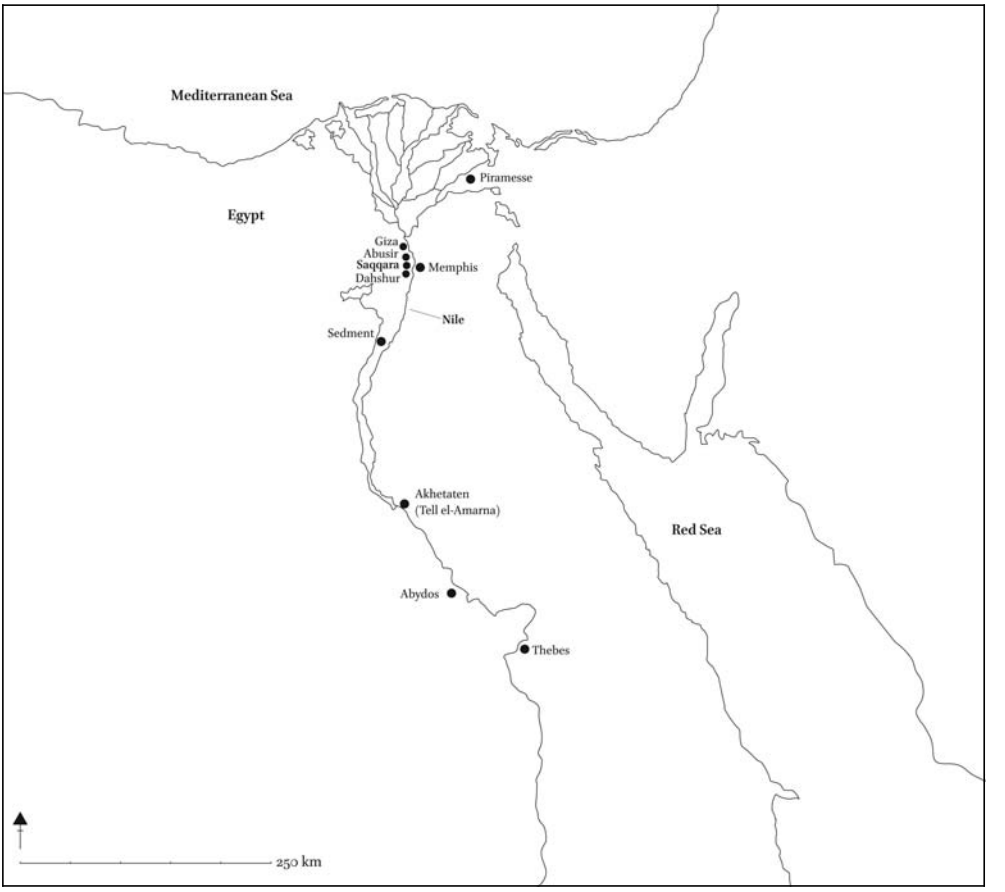


FIGURE 1 Map of Egypt
IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR

to refer to the specific locations on this plateau.[6] *ḥr ỉmn.tt Mn-nfr*, 'on the west of Memphis', was often used to refer to the site in the New Kingdom.[7]

adjacent necropolis site. If we follow the words of Ahmed Zéki (1924–1925, 41), Mariette was not too impressed by the village, as he described it as "*une misérable bourgade, jetée aux confins de désert libyque, avec une maigre population qui végétait autour de quelques palmiers*". For the most recent discussion on the etymology of Saqqara (the village), including arguments for rejecting the suggestion that modern Saqqara derives from the name of the ancient Egyptian god, Sokar (cf. Haarmann 1995, 894–1895), see Van der Vliet (2017), 167–171.

6 The archive of Memphite *choachytes* offers more detailed information about the local toponymy in the later periods of Egyptian history, see: Martin (2009).

7 Staring (2015a), with further references. In the New Kingdom variously referred to as *Mn-nfr* ('enduring of beauty'), *ỉn.w-ḥḏ* (White Walls), and *Ḥw.t-kȝ-Ptḥ* (*Ka* temple of Ptah). In

TABLE 1 Chronology of the New Kingdom

NEW KINGDOM	c. 1539–1078 BCE
18th Dynasty	*c. 1539–1290*
Ahmose	1539–1515
Amenhotep I	1514–1495
Thutmosis I	1494–1483
Thutmosis II	1482–1469
Hatshepsut	1468–1447
Thutmosis III	1468–1414
Amenhotep II	1414–1388
Thutmosis IV	1388–1378
Amenhotep III	1378–1339
Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten	1339–1322
Neferneferuaten (Nefertiti)	1322–1319
Tutankhaten/amun	1319–1310
Ay	1309–1306
Horemheb	1305–1290
19th Dynasty	*c. 1290–1190*
Ramesses I	1290–1289
Seti I	1288–1279
Ramesses II	1279–1213
Merenptah	1213–1204
Seti II	1203–1198
Amenmesse	1203–1201
Siptah	1197–1193
Tawosret	1192–1190
20th Dynasty	*c. 1190–1078*
Sethnakhte	1190–1188
Ramesses III	1187–1157
Ramesses IV	1156–1150
Ramesses V	1149–1146

medieval times, topographers referred to the desert edge as Abu Harmis or Deir Abu Harmis, after the abandoned Monastery of Apa Jeremias. In early medieval and late antique sources the latter is described as 'the Monastery of Apa Jeremiah in de desert of Memphis'. See Abu'l-Makarim in Evetts (1895), 199.

TABLE 1 Chronology of the New Kingdom (*cont.*)

NEW KINGDOM	c. 1539–1078 BCE
Ramesses VI	1145–1137
Ramesses VII	1136–1130
Ramesses VIII	1129–1128
Ramesses IX	1127–1110
Ramesses X	1109–1107
Ramesses XI	1106–1078

The place name brings the urban context of the cemetery in focus, emphasising that the site was viewed as a component of the *lived* urban environment.[8] A network of paths and tracks, more and less formal, connected habitation areas in the east to the extra-urban city of the dead in the west.

For more than three millennia, Saqqara had served as the main place of burial for the inhabitants of Memphis, Egypt's metropolis in the north. Memphis was a centre of major political and religious importance throughout Egyptian pharaonic history, and sat among the most important capital cities of the ancient world in the 2nd millennium BCE.[9] The living inhabitants of Memphis shaped the necropolis over many generations,[10] and so the life histories of both the city and its necropolis were closely intertwined.

8 Cf. Stevens (2018). Anna Stevens (2018), 104, rightly argues that "[u]nderstanding the built, natural and conceptual components of urban landscapes collectively is central to writing effective biographies of ancient sites."

9 For the problematic nature of the term 'capital' in the ancient Egyptian context, see e.g., Hagen (2016). Moeller (2016), 15–16, argues that from as early as the Old Kingdom, the national capitals "held a permanent seat for the central government—that is, the royal court closely linked to major economic and religious institutions such as temples dedicated to nationally worshipped gods and goddesses." Quite similarly Martin (2000), 101, defined the main 'Residence City' or 'capital' as 'the place where the king and his courtiers and chief officials made their more-or-less permanent headquarters, necessitating an extensive complex of palaces, administrative buildings, storehouses and the like'. Ahmed Badawi, in his study *Memphis als zweite Landeshauptstadt im Neuen Reich* (1948), was the first to recognise Memphis's prominence in the New Kingdom.

10 For the living inhabitants of Memphis, see Herzberg (2022, in press). A selection of the individuals are also discussed in Auenmüller (2013) in relation to the territoriality of ancient Egypt's elite. For Memphis in the subsequent Third Intermediate Period, see Jurman (2020).

The city's eminent position in the New Kingdom affected the nature of its desert-edge necropolis. The latter's prominence is underlined by the fact that some of the kingdom's most influential priestly, administrative, military, and court officials chose to construct their tombs[11] in this cultural landscape which, at the time, was already ancient. It also used to be a very *lively* place, one where ancient people worked, lived, and moved through.[12] In the past, it was not just a place for the dead. Rather, or perhaps first and foremost, it was a place frequented and shaped by the living.[13] The living are at the heart of this study, asking how they, as individuals and in groups, shaped, perceived, and experienced this cultural landscape through time, and how, *vice versa*, their actions were shaped by the (ever changing) landscape.

1.2 The 'Walking Dead' at Saqqara

This book is the outcome of a study conducted within a four-year research project, entitled 'The Walking Dead at Saqqara: The Making of a Cultural Geography', funded by the Dutch Research Council (NWO), and hosted by the Leiden University Institute for Area Studies (LIAS).[14] The overarching research project seeks to answer the question of how religion was appropriated by individuals and groups at Saqqara. This question emerges from the long-held view that Egyptian religion is essentially static; a view which contrasts sharply with the

11 In this study, 'tomb' refers to a burial that is marked above-ground with a built structure, whether it be a small mud-brick chapel of less than 50 cm high (e.g., 087/USC, tomb of *NN*), or a temple-shaped monument measuring 65 m from entrance to cult chapels (046/USC, tomb of Horemheb). Burials not marked above ground are not the subject of this study, even though these are also found in the study area. A proper analysis of the 'simpler' graves requires a separate research project. A large quantity of 'simple' burials were excavated by early (20th century) Egyptologists, such as James Quibell, and their study requires research in the unpublished archives of the excavators.

12 Pretty much like today, it should be noted. Saqqara still is a place where people work (the local and international excavators, inspectors of antiquities, tour guides, guards, water and souvenir vendors, etc.), live (the workmen's village built for Cecil Mallaby Firth's (1878–1931) specialist excavators is still inhabited to this day by their descendants, located just beyond the pyramid of Teti on the edge of the plateau), and move through (tourists and all others just listed).

13 On this topic, see also Staring (2021b). With regards to the premise of the necropolis as a place for the living, one is also reminded of the oft-quoted words of Prehistorian Mike Parker-Pearson (1993), 203: "the dead do not bury themselves".

14 For a more comprehensive outline of the research project, see Weiss (2021); (2019b). The subject of the present book builds forth on my doctoral thesis, submitted to Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia: Staring (2015b).

archaeological and textual evidence derived from cemetery sites throughout Egypt. The case study of Saqqara is exceptionally well-suited to analysing long-term changes and traditions, because of the time depth represented in the archaeological record.

The term 'cultural geography' is meant to cover the full range of activities, religious and non-religious, performed by groups and individuals at Saqqara (or elsewhere). It is used as a neutral term that covers the various adjectives commonly practiced in Egyptology to classify landscapes. Necropolises are often referred to as 'religious landscapes', for example.[15] An Egyptian necropolis surely was a place imbued with religious significance. Such is implied by one of the words Egyptians used to refer to such sites, *ḫr.t(y)-nṯr*, to be translated as 'that which is under (the charge of) the god'.[16] Yet not all activities that took place there were religiously motivated or of a strictly religious nature. Equally common classifiers of cemetery landscapes, such as 'ritual',[17] 'sacred',[18] and 'cultic',[19] fail to fully account for the multiplicity of meanings a necropolis site potentially had, and the pluriform nature of activities that took place in them. For example, the ancient site of Abydos in the south of Egypt, according to David O'Connor, "is best understood as a sacred landscape (…), *albeit* one with important administrative and economic dimensions as well" (emphasis NS).[20] The clause of this observation suggests that sacred landscapes have usually no administrative or economic dimensions. The case of Saqqara, so well documented for the later periods of pharaonic history,[21] emphasises that these realms were fused and that their boundaries were extremely fuzzy. In addition, all the above adjectives hold predominantly Western ideas that are projected onto non-Western contexts, which is problematic.[22] 'Cultural geography' thus serves as a more neutral umbrella term to help detect the manifold ways in which in landscapes "meaning and social understandings are constructed, contested and negotiated".[23]

15 E.g., Bács (2018).
16 Ockinga (2007), 139.
17 E.g., Sullivan (2020); Willems (2020); Williams (2018); Rummel (2018); (2013); Effland/Effland (2010); Ullmann (2007).
18 E.g., Jiménez Higueras (2020); Regulski (2019); Bickel (2016); Pischikova (2015); Dorman/Bryan (2007).
19 E.g., Pasquali (2011).
20 O'Connor (2009), 71. For the 'administrative and economic dimensions' of Abydos, see the town of Wah-sut, e.g. Picardo (2015).
21 See e.g., Cannata (2007); Smith (1974).
22 Michaels (2006), 275.
23 Atkinson (2005), xv.

The *Walking Dead* project holds that the formation of a cultural geography can be traced through the analysis of three overlapping fields of human action. These are identified in relation to this study as the three main expressions of 'religious agency', namely 'religious practices', 'transmission of images and texts', and 'landscape'. In the landscape, religion can be 'instantiated' (a term signalling the (material) form and content which the actions of (religious) agents can take)[24] through a virtually endless range of different media like gestures (e.g., voice offerings, *pr(ỉ).t ḫrw*), objects (e.g., offering pottery, votive stelae, graffiti), monuments (e.g. memorial chapels, tombs), and images and texts (e.g., Book of the Dead spells and vignettes).[25] Within the framework of the Walking Dead research project, the religious practices at New Kingdom Saqqara are studied by Lara Weiss,[26] and the transmission of religious texts (taken from the Book of the Dead corpus) by Huw Twiston Davies.[27]

1.3 Problems and Research Questions

To the modern-day visitor, the North Saqqara plateau might seem like a quiet and desolate place. It is difficult for the non-specialist, and, admittedly, for many trained Egyptologists also, to make much sense of the site now dotted with countless ruins of structures, sandy hills, and pits both deep and shallow (Fig. 2). The present-day situation differs little from that witnessed by some of the early European explorers of the site. Take, for example, Georg Erbkam (1811–1876), the surveyor and architect of the four years long Prussian expedition to Egypt led by Carl Richard Lepsius (1810–1884). Two days after Erbkam had set foot on the terrain (on 13 February 1843), he penned down the following account that leaves little to the imagination:

> Ich orientiere mich heut zuerst von dem Pyramidenfelde, indem ich zuvörderst auf die größte der hiesigen Pyramiden steige, dann nach dem

24 Albrecht et al. 2018, 5–7. 'Instantiation' is comparable to views expressed by Samuels (1979) in the context of urban geography, although employing different terminology. He argues that the 'landscape of impression' is a layer of ideologies and cultural representations of space and place (incl. planning concepts), which forms the context of the actual creation or making of landscapes, a 'landscape of expression'.

25 Gasparini (2020), 309. The space in which religious agents are embedded, is "the situational result of the entanglement of landscape and 'things'".

26 Weiss (2022).

27 Twiston Davies (forthcoming).



FIGURE 2 The early-19th century excavations transformed the surface of the North Saqqara desert plateau into a moon-like landscape
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR, 2019

> äußersten, sehr entfernten Punkt des Feldes wandre (…).[28] Das Feld ist öde, wüst und langweilig, nichts als Schutthaufen und Brunnen; fast nirgends hat man einen Überblick als auf der Pyramide. Knochen, Schädel, Thiergebeine, Mumienfetzen, Alles liegt umhergeworfen rings um Einen, ein trostloser Anblick, zumal die Wüste selbst weder Formen noch Farben darbietet; dieses Todtenfeld hält gegen das von Ghize keinen Vergleich aus.[29]

Lepsius's team had just travelled south from Giza, the site that had served as the expedition's first base camp, from where countless monuments were explored and documented. Giza had a lot to offer, certainly to the eyes of an architect. Saqqara, on the other hand, was less impressive, to put it mildly. Erbkam describes the desert-edge archaeological site as a "barren, desolate, and boring" place that offered "nothing but piles of rubble and pits"—certainly no great advertisement.

28 The Step Pyramid of Netjerikhet Djoser.

29 Erbkam (1842–1843), 149, see: https://www.deutschestextarchiv.de/book/view/erbkam_tagebuch01_1842?p=149, last accessed on 26.01.2021. For more on Erbkam and his experience with the Prussian expedition to Egypt, see e.g., Freier (2013).

Erbkam's observations touch upon two major problems that have, in the past, affected the study of Memphis and its necropolis and which modern scholars are also facing to this day:[30]

1. *Saqqara as a scattered necropolis existing virtually outside the Memphite necropolis*
 The New Kingdom necropolis of Saqqara exists largely in public and private collections around the world.[31] The large-scale and uncontrolled excavations of the (early-) 19th century resulted in the unparalleled dismantling and (partial) removal of tomb structures (Figs 3–4). These early stages in the exploration of the Memphite necropolis were often poorly documented (if at all). Moreover, the sale of the large collections gathered by prominent collectors (European diplomats and businessmen) led to the dispersion and worldwide distribution of tomb elements and funerary objects. These activities, again, are generally poorly documented. It goes without saying that these activities cumulatively led to the loss of information about the archaeological context and architectural setting of the scattered tomb elements and objects, which has ultimately detracted from their scientific value.
2. *A biased view of Memphis in Egyptological literature*
 There is a scarcity of surviving, standing monuments at Memphis (e.g., the temple of Ptah) and its necropolis. The comparatively favourable situation at Thebes has created a bias in the Egyptological literature. The 'Southern City' and its necropolises have long been the main sources of information for studies on a range of aspects of New Kingdom society. The idea has long persisted that Thebes functioned as the administrative capital of Egypt during the entire New Kingdom, and that its temple complexes represented the country's most important sacerdotal centre.

These observations are taken as the main thread of this study, and by setting the living users of the necropolis in focus, the two-fold aim of this book is formulated as follows.

First, it is meant to serve as a companion to the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara. Surprisingly, to date no complete overview of tombs in the Mem-

30 Staring (2015b), 1–3.

31 The first comprehensive attempt at reconstructing the Saqqara New Kingdom necropolis on the basis of the dispersed tomb elements now held in collections around the globe, is Jocelyne Berlandini's unpublished PhD thesis (1973). At the time of writing her thesis, no New Kingdom tombs were accessible at Saqqara. The first archaeological expedition with an exclusive focus on the New Kingdom, the EES-Leiden expedition, started work only in 1975.



FIGURE 3 The mud-brick 'skeleton' of the tomb of Ry (038/USC)
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR, 2013



FIGURE 4 Buried courtyards of New Kingdom tombs in the Unas South Cemetery
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR, 2019

phite necropolis built in the New Kingdom exists.[32] This study endeavours to fill this gap in the Egyptological literature. Academic research hitherto has focused mainly on the study of individual tomb structures (e.g., archaeological tomb publications), usually detached from their spatial setting. Yet, any monument is meaningful only within the larger landscape that provides its context.[33] Without knowledge of the landscape setting, we cannot answer questions pertaining to the choices underlying tomb location, or make statements about a cemetery's growth over time. Thus, the research questions that guide the analysis of this study, include:

- Why were certain areas of the necropolis selected for burial in certain time periods?
- How were tombs accessed from the distant habitation areas?
- What were the tombs' spatial relations to contemporaneous and older monuments?
- What effect did earlier structures have on the positioning of tombs and structuring of the necropolis in later times?
- How was access to (certain parts of) the necropolis managed? Was access restricted? If so, to whom, and who decided?

Second, this book aims to introduce landscape biography[34] as a useful conceptual tool to study the long-time interaction between people and landscapes in the shaping of a cultural geography.[35] Writing a biography of any landscape is all about examining how a landscape and its dwellers created and 'reshaped' each other in one continuous movement.[36] It also involves producing a (not *the*) story about the landscape, and, as an "explicit act of remembrance", this story produces an account of life and dwelling in the Memphite region in the 2nd millennium BCE for present-day society.[37] This makes the study itself a

32 There exists no reference work comparable to e.g., Kampp (1996) for the contemporary Theban necropolis. Even recent studies such as Sullivan (2020) take note of only a small selection of the tombs that were built during the period under study.

33 Cf. Holtorf (2015), 179.

34 The concept of landscape biography has been extensively described by Kolen/Renes (2015), who applied it to Northwest European (pre-)history to modern times. Landscape biography also influenced the ERC Consolidator Grant-sponsored DiverseNile project (2019), led by Julia Budka and hosted at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität Munich, see Budka (2020); (2019b). See also Polkowski (2015) for its application to the study of rock art in Egypt's Dakhleh Oasis.

35 For a definition of cultural geography, see e.g., Cosgrove (1994), 111: "patterns and interactions of human culture, both material and non-material, in relation to the natural environment and the human organization of space".

36 Kolen/Renes 2015, 21.

37 Roymans et al. (2009), 352.

form of heritage practice, which also enables one to critically evaluate heritage practices at the Saqqara archaeological site.

1.4 A Few Notes on Landscape Archaeology

Studies focused on landscape are numerous in archaeology.[38] It is therefore surprisingly difficult to find a clear and satisfactory definition of what is meant by this "fuzzy and ambiguous"[39] term. Traditionally, scholars have struggled in particular with the dichotomy between nature and culture in defining what a landscape is, who dwells in it, and who is responsible for its construction. Because of the difficulty of defining the term, it is useful to start with a very brief historic outline of 'landscape'.

At its origins, the term landscape denoted a communal, collective work. The English word derives from Dutch *landschap* or German *Landschaft*. In its early, 16th century usage, 'lantschap' indicated "an area carved out by axe and plough, which belongs to the people who have carved it out".[40] It was "an area of cultural identity based on tribal and/or blood ties". In today's popular usage of the word, landscape signifies the specific arrangement or pattern of "things on the land", and refers to "the *look* or the *style* of the land",[41] by which is meant the social or cultural significance of the observed order or make up. For geographers, landscape is understood as a built morphology. To them, landscape refers to the shape and structure of a place. Landscape also refers to a form of representation, a usage heavily influenced by the genre of landscape painting.[42] This view of landscape has been adopted in the Merriam-Webster dictionary (2018), in which two definitions are presented for landscape: (1) "a picture of natural inland scenery," and (2) "a portion of land that the eye can see in one glance." The landscape, then, is conceptualised as the backdrop to human action. This

38 An earlier version of this section was published in Staring et al. (2019), 12. For an excellent and concise introduction to landscape archaeology and Egyptology, the reader is referred to Jiménez Higueras (2020), 17–22, also published in Brill's CHANE series. There is no need to repeat the introduction in the present study. Kluiving/Guttmann-Bond (2012), 11–30, serves as a solid historiography of landscape archaeology. The breadth of the discipline of landscape archaeology was yet again emphasised in the wide range of subjects presented at the latest Landscape Archaeology Conference (LAC 2020+1), held (online) in Madrid, 8–11 June 2021.

39 Michaels (2006).

40 Olwig (1993), 311.

41 Meinig (1979).

42 Antrop (2007), 23–26.

view, drawing on 1960s environmental archaeology, is not how landscape is understood in the context of the study presented in this volume.

Landscape is related to, but not identical with nature. This view is perhaps best articulated by cultural geographer Donald Meinig, who argues that

> the idea of landscape (…) begins with a naive acceptance of the intricate intimate intermingling of physical, biological, and cultural features which any glance around us displays. Landscape is, first of all, the unity we see, the impressions of our senses rather than the logic of the sciences.

Landscape can be found all around us. Yet while the landscape may be contemporary to its dwellers, glimpses of older landscapes always remain visible, and these potentially continue to be meaningful. The past endures, and therefore, as Tim Ingold has noted, "the landscape is never complete: neither 'built' nor 'unbuilt', it is perpetually under construction".[43] In other words, landscape has an important temporal aspect.[44]

In the proceedings of the first international conference on Landscape Archaeology, published in 2012, the editors note that in today's scholarship there are, essentially, two approaches to the topic. The first, 'landscape as territory' definition, is used by processual archaeologists, earth scientists, and most historical geographers. Post-processual archaeologists, new cultural geographers and anthropologists, on the other hand, "favour a more abstract definition of landscape, based on how it is perceived by the observer".[45] The present study adheres to the second of these perspectives.

1.5 Landscape Biography

This study adopts a biographical approach to understanding the shaping of the Saqqara cultural landscape. The notions of landscape and the analytical concepts drawn from the biographical approach as adopted in the present study are further detailed in Chapter 2.[46] The present section is meant to briefly introduce the concept. At the core of the term 'landscape biography' lies the

43 Ingold (1993), 162.
44 The temporality of landscape has been explored in-depth in Kolen (2005).
45 Kluiving/Guttmann-Bond (2012), 11–30.
46 See also Staring (2019), 208–209.

premise that it is useful to conceptualise the history of a landscape as a life-history.[47] The concept of 'life-history' was introduced by anthropologist Ruth Tringham,[48] interested in the transformation of spatial structures (houses) in a historical context.[49] The analytical value of the concept is aptly illustrated when she writes:

> the house has to be considered as an individual, as a dynamic entity whose every month of life is significant for the men and women who act in and around it. It seems to me that the concept of life-history of the house has a more historical and humanistic significance than the term *use-life*. It concerns the time aspect—the duration of the house, the continuity of its next generation (its replacement), its ancestors and descendants, the memories of it that are held by its actors, the ghosts that are held within its walls and under its foundations. In other words, I become interested in its biography. In this respect, I am interested not only in its appearance of external wall and bounded interior space, but its appearance on the broader landscape through time.[50]

A biography as the written history of a person's life provides a comprehensive description of the life of an individual, but it involves more than just the summing up of notable events or moments in their life. A biography presents a life *story*, it narrates not every detail, but highlights various aspects, and aims to grasp the broader picture of one's life journey. All is situated in the historical,

47 I am aware of the critique of the 'life' metaphor in e.g., contemporary urban studies with respect to book titles such as 'The Death and Life of Great American Cities' (Jacobs 1961), and 'City Life-cycles and American Urban Policy' (Norton 1979). Such notions of cities as natural entities can be traced back to Darwinian ideas about evolution (cf. Roberts 1991). The underlying premise is that, much like humans, cities evolve, and that they all undergo the same developments, involving a natural curve of growth and decline in the time between birth to death (cf. Eisinger 1993). Clearly, in conceptualising the 'lives' of cities in terms of *human* life cycles, death is seen as the unavoidable consequence of life. Such views of decay and death of cities have, in urban studies, somewhat fallen out of fashion by now. It is therefore important to stress at the start of this book that the biography metaphor adopted in the present study is strictly *not* seen in this evolutionary manner. For critique on the 'life' metaphor in relation to the 'cultural biography of objects' (cf. Gosden/Marshall 1999), see: Joy (2009).

48 Tringham (1995). For a recent example of the life history approach to ancient Egyptian tombs, see: Gnirs-Loprieno (2021).

49 The concept leans on geographer Allan Pred's concept of place: Pred (1990); (1984).

50 Tringham (1995), 98.

social, and/or geographic context in which that life takes place. Along the same lines, in the social sciences, the biographical method as a research methodology is understood as

> The collection and analysis of an intensive account of a whole life or portion of a life (…) Rather than concentrating upon a 'snapshot' of an individual's present situation, the biographical approach emphasises the placement of the individual within a nexus of social connections, historical events and life experiences (the life history).[51]

Human biographies are notably limited and closed, because humans have more or less finite life cycles with a fixed beginning (birth) and end (death) with distinguishable life stages in between. Biographies of landscapes have no clear-cut beginning or end. To borrow the words of archaeologist Tim Ingold, the landscape is 'always in the nature of "work in progress"'.[52] A landscape's life-history or biography can be seen as a never-ending process of growth and aging. The making of a cultural geography may thus be viewed as a cumulative process. Landscapes play a part in the closed biographies of the individuals dwelling in them; the biographies of landscapes, on the other hand, far outlive those of their dwellers. The significance of studying the changing landscape and its interaction with humans in order to understand the formation of a cultural geography is perhaps best captured by Jan Kolen and Johannes Renes, when they state that

> as an essential part of human life worlds, landscapes have the potential to absorb something of people's lives, works and thoughts. But landscapes also shape their own life histories on different timescales, imprinted by human existence, affecting personal lives and transcending individual human life cycles.[53]

The relationships between the life histories of landscapes and people have in the last two decades attracted growing scholarly interest. This has resulted in the creation of landscape biography as a new approach to landscape history. Landscape biography as a 'research strategy'[54] was developed by archaeolo-

51 Miller (2003).
52 Ingold (1993), 162.
53 Kolen/Renes (2015), 21.
54 Roymans et al. (2009).

gists, geographers and historians in the Netherlands in the mid-1990s.[55] While the approach they developed was new, its foundations were not. The landscape biography approach is rooted in theories borrowed from the disciplines of social anthropology and geography. It combines insights from anthropological studies of material culture—object biography (also known as 'the social life of things')—as proposed by social anthropologists Igor Kopytoff[56] and Arjun Appadurai,[57] with those of cultural geographer Marwyn Samuels's 'biography of landscape'.[58] Current landscape biography also integrates insights from philosopher and cultural historian Michel De Certeau,[59] who is interested in the idea of the city as a locus of everyday life and the people who are actively engaged in the continuous production of living space. The views of Samuels and De Certeau with respect to 'landscape authorship' are further explored in Section 2.5.

Finally, the notion of biography which is meant to conceptually ground this study is aptly formulated by Christopher Ratté, curator of a 2018 Kelsey Museum exhibition focused on 'urban biographies'. In his explanation of what is meant by 'urban biographies', the word 'city' may well be replaced by 'necropolis' to fit the case study of the present book:

> Just as the biography of a human being is the story of what makes that person unique as an individual, so the biography of a city is the story of the unique experience of an urban community over time. How do cities come into being? How do they change and evolve?[60] How do urban communities create and articulate individual identities through development of their built environments, through the layout of streets, for example, or the construction of "signature" buildings? We can all conjure up images of modern skylines that simultaneously say "I am a city" and "I am dif-

55 For a comprehensive outline of the landscape biography approach and its place within the history of landscape studies, the reader is referred to: Kolen/Renes (2015); Roymans et al. (2009). For the theoretical and philosophical underpinnings of the approach, see Kolen (2005).

56 Kopytoff (1986).

57 Appadurai (1986).

58 Samuels (1979). He foregrounded the human element in the shaping and reshaping of landscapes, arguing that the latter "cannot be conceptualised without taking into account the life histories of individuals and groups that have shaped them over time", asking "How is it that the *who* behind the image and facts of landscape, or the "biography of landscape," no longer grips our attention?" (Samuels 1979, 53).

59 De Certeau (1984).

60 See n. 47 above for reservations regarding the use of this term. I would rather say 'grow' or 'accumulate'.

ferent from other cities," and most contemporary cities also bear clear witness to passage of time, from historic buildings to suburban developments.[61]

1.6 Structure of This Study

Chapter 2 engages with the theoretical and methodological concepts underlying landscape biography. The concept (cultural) landscape is elucidated by describing a number of its main characteristics, such as 'layerdness' and 'temporality'. The chapter discusses 'landscape authorship', presumed 'desired lifepaths', and consequences for heritage practices.

Chapter 3 introduces the data sources underlying the present study, and the methodology employed. The Saqqara New Kingdom necropolis is set in its environmental setting, and the corpus of tombs (both reconstructed and excavated) listed in the catalogue at the end of this study is elucidated. The analysis of the spatial and diachronic distribution of tombs in the necropolis (chapters 4 and 5) combines information pertaining to the natural environment with landscape phenomenology (e.g., visibility, accessibility, location, interrelation, etc.) in a diachronic perspective and augmented with corroborated data including prosopography (i.e. titles, filiations, professional association, etc.).

Chapters 4 and 5 form the core of this study, and describe the development of the two clusters of tombs ('cemeteries') located on the North Saqqara plateau through the New Kingdom. Chapter 4 focuses on the Unas South Cemetery, and dwells largely on material gathered by the former EES-Leiden and current Leiden-Turin archaeological expedition to Saqqara (1975–present). Chapter 5 aims to draw together the scattered results of roughly 200 years of excavations in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery.

Chapter 6 aims to answer the question why the tombs were located where they are, and why the necropolis developed as it did. In so doing, the study draws on the limited textual evidence available on the topic, and situates the cemeteries, studied 'in isolation' in Chapter 4 and 5, in their wider landscape setting.

Chapter 7 constitutes a conclusion to this study.

61 Kelsey Museum (2018), 4. Kelsey Museum of Archaeology of the University of Michigan, *Urban Biographies, Ancient and Modern*, see: https://exhibitions.kelsey.lsa.umich.edu/urban-biographies, last accessed on 29.06.2021.

CHAPTER 2

Exploring Landscape: Layerdness, Temporality, Authorship

2.1 The Layered Landscape

The continued use of a site through time can potentially result in the accumulation of layers. Settlement sites present a case in point. The long-time use of the same space can lead to the build-up of multiple strata. In such cases, the stratigraphy tells the story of a site though time.[1] In Near Eastern archaeology, the phenomenon observed in settlement sites is called *tell* formation. It refers to the process of vertically growing settlement mounds, accumulating layer upon layer.[2] The story of such sites can be 'retrieved' archaeologically by studying the sequence of deposits formed by past events. Ideally, the story can be gleaned from a neat vertical section cut through (part of) the mound. Such a section would ideally show the progression of subsequent moments through time as they have materialised in the archaeological record. New layers are founded upon older layers (thereby covering them up), and so the layered landscape gradually and continuously expands. Yet to argue that landscapes (and the settlement sites located therein) simply grew (and continue to grow) vertically by building anew upon older layers, and that by simply peeling off the layers of past depositions one can easily reconstruct the development of a landscape over time, is of course an oversimplification of the archaeological facts.

1 Or rather the trained archaeologist reads their interpretation of the story of that site through time.

2 Parallel to the Arabic *tell*, meaning 'mound' or 'small hill', the word *kom* is also often used. The various ruin mounds defining the archaeological site of Memphis, for example, are referred to as *koms*, such as Kom el-Fakhry, Kom el-Rabi'a, and Kom el-Qal'a. These three *koms* include settlement remains dated to the New Kingdom. The modern village of Saqqara is also built on a ruin mound, sporadically referred to as Tell Saqqara. The site has received comparatively little scholarly attention, probably because it is not easily accessible due to the modern occupation. There are no *tells* present at the North Saqqara plateau. However, quite like the situation at *tell* sites, an accumulation of remains formed by generations of people using the same space (whether it be a single structure or a complete site) has sometimes resulted in a complex layering of structures and deposits. In the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, for example, New Kingdom tomb chapels were built on deposits (several metres of accumulated sand and rubble that has built up over the course of many centuries) covering underlying Old Kingdom mastaba tombs.

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FIGURE 5 View down an alley in the modern-day village of Edfu, built on the old *tell*
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR, 2007

In reality, the material remains of various periods in time are literally intertwined. There is no neat stratification where the old is always covered by the new. Reality displays a much more complex mix of things. A view down a small alley in the modern-day village of Edfu in the south of Egypt helps to illustrate this point (Fig. 5). The modern city grew upon the ruin mound or *tell* of ancient Edfu—a major provincial town and capital of the 2nd Upper Egyptian nome.[3] While the modern town has long developed far beyond the limits of the ancient settlement, people continue to live among the material traces of the past. The Ptolemaic temple of Horus Behdety, for example, prominently features in the urban landscape. Construction of the temple in its present form may have been initiated in regnal year 10 of Ptolemy III Uergetes (237 BCE) and finished under Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos (57 BCE),[4] it is just as much 'of the present' because it is part of the modern streetscape. In the lived urban landscape, the past and present cannot be easily separated, just as much as the past

3 See Moeller (2016), 317–321; (2010), for current archaeological investigation of the (Middle Kingdom) settlement.

4 Vernus (1986), col. 324.

cannot be ignored in the lives of the present-day inhabitants. The past simply lives on in the present. It forms an integral part of it.[5] The old temple may 'date' to the Ptolemaic period in the sense that it was constructed at that time; yet it also formed part of every subsequent contemporary streetscape, up to this day.

So, a more nuanced view doing justice to the more complex reality would be to describe the landscape as a 'palimpsest'.[6] The word derives from the Latin *palimpsestus*, which in turn derives from Greek *palimpsēstos*, translated as 'again scraped'. In medieval textual studies the term refers to reused parchment manuscript pages in which a previous text, scraped away, can sometimes be recognised as it shows through (the) new text(s). In case of the medieval manuscripts, the older traces may have nothing to do with the later traces in the sense that the content and composition of the new text is not influenced by the content and composition of the underlying older text. It is the surface of the same medium that is used again to write. Sections of the old text normally will not be integrated into the new composition, for example. Palimpsests work differently in (archaeological) landscapes. The traces of older landscapes could very well influence the shaping and use(s) of the same places in the future. Thus, earlier traces serve not as a mere passive, almost invisible backdrop to the same landscape in later times. On the contrary, traces from the past very clearly have agency. The material deposits resulting from human actions that were formed in various periods in time can be seen mixed together in a single landscape, so that the past forms an integral part of the present. Or rather, the past forms an integral part of *every* present. It means that the continuously accumulating material remains of the past can very actively play a part in the lives of people for generations to come.

Saqqara is a prime example of a palimpsest or layered landscape, sometimes quite literally so. Take, for example, the north section of the plateau surrounding the Old Kingdom pyramid of King Teti (c. 2305–2279 BCE).[7] Here a large cemetery grew of courtiers from Egypt's 6th Dynasty. The so-called mastaba's[8] of Mereruka and Kagemni, with their multiple relief-decorated rooms accessible to visitors, are perhaps the best known among the many monuments situated there. Over time, a thick deposit of sand and rubble gradually filled the areas in between the freestanding tomb structures. This happened up to

5 Moreover, the observant pedestrian may notice stone elements made in pharaonic times jutting out of the treaded-mud street here and there. Antiquities are sometimes excavated from underneath the houses located in the old town: Farout (2007).

6 Van Dyke/Alcock (2003).

7 The dates of the Old Kingdom are after Hornung et al. (2006), 490.

8 Arabic word for 'bench', in Egyptology used for the bench-shaped form of certain Old Kingdom elite tombs.



FIGURE 6 View of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, facing south
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR, 2013

the point where practically all man-made structures were covered and were no longer visible on the desert surface. Only the larger buildings such as the pyramid of Teti and those of his queens visually remained part of the landscape. Several hundred years after the first phase of use of this area for burial, the then-contemporary desert surface came to serve as the location of a cemetery made of relatively modest tombs of officials of the New Kingdom. One of the best-known owners of a freestanding tomb structure in this area was Amenemone (213/TPC), the chief of goldsmiths and overseer of craftsmen of the king (Fig. 6). Amenemone is literally surrounded by the past. When he had his tomb built in the reign of Tutankhamun, the nearby pyramids of Teti and Menkauhor (c. 2373–2366 BCE)—the latter not featured in figure 6—had already stood there for more than 1,000 years. The foundation stones of Amenemone's tomb were laid atop the roof of a chapel of an Old Kingdom official named Ka-aper. The floor levels of the two superimposed superstructures were separated by a thick deposit of accumulated sand and rubble predating the New Kingdom. Thus, the cemetery seen in this image is both literally and visually layered. The past was also conceptually layered. For example, the iconographic programme of Amenemone's tomb includes the representation of the 5th Dynasty King



FIGURE 7
Relief-decorated pilaster from the tomb of Amenemone (213/TPC), Paris, Musée du Louvre B 48 = E 3028
PHOTOGRAPH © 2016 MUSÉE DU LOUVRE / CHRISTIAN DÉCAMPS

Menkauhor, carved in raised relief on a pilaster decorating the north wall of the portico (Fig. 7).[9] In its original context, the image of the king, standing and facing right, would have looked out to his pyramid, which stood on the eastern edge of the plateau, at a distance of less than 200 m from the tomb of Amenemone,[10] forging a link between past and present. The image emphatically

9 Ockinga (2004), 31–32 [13], pls 21, 22 a–b, 68.

10 For the pyramid, see Hawass, (2010); Berlandini (1978). Ockinga (2004), 20, following Berlandini, suggests that Amenemone may have been involved in the supervision of the production of statues of King Menkauhor and their ornaments, including actual pieces of jewellery, as depicted with such care for detail in the relief-decorated block Louvre B 48 = E 3028.



FIGURE 8 The excavation of the 'New Kingdom' necropolis at Saqqara in full progress, 2019 PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR, 2019

grounds the tomb in this ancient sacred landscape. Amenemone inscribed himself in the ancient sacred landscape of Saqqara, and in turn inscribed the past in his funerary monument.

Let us move through time and have a look at the archaeological site today. The not to be missed Step Pyramid[11] was built almost 5,000 years ago today at the centre of the North Saqqara archaeological site. It dominates the present-day landscape in much the same way as it did ever since its construction in the 3rd Dynasty reign of King Netjerikhet/Djoser, who reigned c. 2592–2566 BCE (Fig. 8). The time elapsed since the pyramid's construction clearly has had its effects on both the structure and its surrounding landscape. The place now may look and feel desolate, as already signalled in the introduction, yet the present-day feel does not reflect the situation in the remote past. The surrounding plateau has seen people and their man-made structures come and go, and the natural landscape has changed also. That the Step Pyramid has maintained its place in the changed landscape does not imply that it has not itself changed—because it has, both under the influence of natural effects and human agency.[12]

11 After the Arabic *el-Har'am el-Moodur'rag*, 'Pyramid of Steps', see: Lane (2000), 201.

12 The works of non-cultural and cultural transformation processes, respectively. See Schiffer (1976).

Efforts to combat the effects of these transformation processes are well visible in the photograph of figure 8. In recent years attempts have been made to put a halt to the degradation of the monument caused by the combined forces of cultural (e.g., the removal of stone blocks) and non-cultural transformation processes (e.g., wind and water erosion). The scaffolding has been put in place to facilitate construction work at the pyramid in order to consolidate its present-day structural condition. It is, in other words, an attempt to counter the transforming effects that the progression of time has (had) (and will continue to have) on the building. Despite the progression of time and the changes the monument underwent along the way, it still is the same pyramid, albeit not *exactly* the same as witnessed by its earliest contemporaries. Its appearance today might rather be seen as a *re*interpretation of its early image. One could even argue that in its present-day form, the pyramid represents the sum total of all its transformations through time. Its early contemporaries witnessed the pyramid in its early life (set in a temporally different landscape), whereas we today witness it at a more advanced age[13]—which does not represent the end of its life-history, however. The aging monument now forms part of a modern-day landscape that includes the visible remains shaped at many different moments in time. The photo also shows us that the landscape is still actively in the making. The continued shaping and reshaping of the landscape is captured by the archaeological workforce in the foreground of the image, busily shifting sand. They are visibly transforming the site.[14] To point to the archaeologists at work and attributing them with site-transforming powers may seem rather trivial. Self-evident as it may seem, the contributions of archaeologists, past and present, to the (trans)formation of the landscape is seldom explicitly acknowledged in publications. Wrongly so, because archaeological work has seriously impacted the archaeological landscape. It influences not just the way in which we perceive and experience it; it also influences our interpretations of how the landscape was perceived and experienced by the people that form the subject of our study. A simple glance at early aerial photographs of the site makes clear that the funerary landscape we are studying today has changed markedly.[15] Per-

13 I deliberately use 'more advanced age' instead of the adjective 'old' to classify 'age', because the latter would imply we know that the pyramid is nearing the end of its life. In the very long term (say in 100,000 years), the pyramid in 2022 might prove to be still in an early stage of its life history.

14 At the same time processes not visible to the naked eye (because they are either too small or their transformational effects take long to show visible results) are at work too, such as wind causing erosion of the pyramid and changing the rolling of the desert landscape.

15 It is the responsibility of archaeologists to carefully evaluate the impact present-day activities have on the archaeological site they are working at. This calls for means to assess their

haps most eye-catching are the large-scale excavations led by James Quibell (1867–1935) at the beginning of the 20th century. His campaigns usually lasted for months. At any given time, up to 180 local workers were employed to carry out various duties on site. Donkeys were gradually replaced by a narrow-gauge railway by which sand and rubble were removed on an almost industrial scale. Huge debris mounds in the landscape still remind us of their work.[16] These mounds—not only created by Quibell, but also by many others before him and long after—have altered the landscape considerably, sometimes beyond recognition. All this happened over the course of just a few generations. The period studied in this book, the New Kingdom, is separated from us by more than three millennia. It should come as no surprise, then, that the present-day archaeological landscape is very different from that observed at any one point in time during the New Kingdom. Given the fragmentary nature of the archaeological sources available to us today, we are able to produce only a partial reconstruction of the past landscape(s) at best.

2.2 Landscape and Temporality

The term 'layered landscape' was introduced to archaeology to describe a landscape's inherently temporal dimension.[17] As an analytical concept, temporality highlights the passage of time that has left a visible mark on the landscape, which ultimately impacts on how a landscape is perceived and experienced by people. The concept of temporality is central to the archaeological profession, or, in the words of Tim Ingold, archaeology is best understood as the study of the temporality of the landscape.[18]

effects and record the modifications of the landscape caused by them. The Leiden-Turin archaeological expedition to Saqqara has introduced the use of Digital Surface Models in their work on which to plot, among other things, the exact location and progressive three-dimensional accretion of archaeological spoil heaps in the various dumping areas at the site: Del Vesco et al. (2020), 66–67.

16 Quibell seems to have been well aware of the consequences of his actions. He initially sketched out the locations of the spoil heaps in his archaeological reports, e.g., Quibell (1907), fig. on p. v. The archaeological missions working at Saqqara that followed his example are extremely few, which makes it difficult and time consuming to unravel the modern transformations of the landscape brought about by our predecessors in the field. See e.g., Del Vesco et al. (2020), 64–67, for attempts in the Leiden-Turin concession area while deconstructing the spoil heaps created by our predecessors.

17 Renes (2015).

18 Ingold (1993). For a critical review of this publication, see Hicks (2016). Hicks posits four theses about temporality, landscape, modernity and revisiting: the passage of time trans-

The term 'temporality' probably needs some clarification, not the least because it is a rather ambiguous word. The scholarly literature does not always offer a clear-cut definition of what is meant when it is used, or it is used differently across the academic disciplines of the social sciences, philosophy, and history.[19] At its core, the concept of temporality is similar but not the same as time, because whereas time seeks to measure and mark the progression of moments 'objectively' by fixing their duration (such as a clock measuring the lapse of time),[20] temporality could be described as the subjective progression not through time but through moments. Thus, while time is usually understood as referring to a linear sequence of moments, temporality denotes the *sense* of time, or how the passage of time is *experienced* in daily life activities.[21] In this book, the temporality of the landscape is similarly understood, namely as the "internal feeling of the continuous transformation of the landscape, along with all its inhabitants".[22] The use of the term emphasises that the landscape and those who dwell(ed) in it are (and were) continuously in motion.

Time and human life experience are closely tangled. Building on philosopher Henri Bergson's influential notion of duration (*durée*),[23] it has been argued that the 'irreversible nature of human life experience' constitutes a core aspect of what is meant by temporality.[24] In more lay terms, the premise of the 'irreversible nature' means that no two actions can be experienced as

forms archaeological knowledge; archaeological knowledge transforms the passage of time; an archaeological landscape is an object that is known through remapping; and archaeological knowledge is what we leave behind. His study concludes that archaeology is best understood not as the study of the temporality of the landscape, as argued by Ingold, but as the study of the temporality of the landscape revisited.

19 In philosophy, temporality stems from Heidegger's (1927) "*Zeitlichkeit*" of "*Dasein*": Olafson (1987), 75–101.

20 Note that the passage of time is of course conceived of and reckoned with differently across societies: Dietler/Herbich (1993); Elias (1992).

21 Time estimation experiments in psychology measure an individual's perception of time, or subjective time; an individual's cognitive capacity of keeping track of time units. See e.g., Maggetti et al. (2015). For research on perceived temporality and subjective experience, see e.g., Larson (2004). Examples: protracted duration indicates a prolonged sense of time—in other words: something appears to take longer (i.e. more time) than measured by a clock. In such a case one would say that 'time drags on'. Compression designates the opposite sense of time. In such a case one would say that 'time flies when you're having fun'. In cases of protracted and compressed duration, temporality denotes the dynamic shifting of time perception in occupation. Such instances are referred to as irregular correspondences of time (as recorded on a clock) and lived experiences (the sense of time).

22 Quoted from Cornejo/Olivares (2015), 95.

23 Bergson (2013 [1910]).

24 Abbey (2015).

completely identical to one another simply because time moves on. Take, for example, the experience of riding a bike for the very first time. This experience cannot be replicated, because when one rides a bike for the second time, one inevitably brings along the baggage of prior experience. Thus when one prepares a bike for riding next time, prior experience makes one anticipate on the situation that will unfold. Past experiences endure through time, or, in the words of Bergson:

> Pure duration is the form which the succession of our conscious states assumes when our ego lets itself *live*, when it refrains from separating its present state from its former states. For this purpose it need not be entirely absorbed in the passing sensation or idea; for then, on the contrary, it would no longer *endure*. Nor need it forget its former states: it is enough that, in recalling these states, it does not set them alongside its actual state as one point along-side another, but forms both the past and the present states into an organic whole (…).[25]

This description echoes the conceptual underpinnings of the palimpsest or layered landscape (Section 2.1). To further illustrate the concept of duration, we may use the metaphor of a rolling snowball to represent the sense of time. The shape of the rolling snowball continuously changes as it moves. It will never return to take on one of its former shapes. In its present shape it represents an accumulation of all shapes it previously took. The same could be argued for individual buildings, observed in the example of the Step Pyramid of Djoser in the previous section. The only difference between the snowball and the pyramid is that the latter does not move in space. The concept of duration naturally also applies to entire landscapes, ultimately transforming them into a 'temporal collage'[26] or palimpsest.

The irreversibility of human life experience also implies that one is always developing toward a somewhat uncertain future for which one must prepare, because since no two actions (or situations) will ever be the same, one will never know exactly how every new situation will unfold. Therefore, the lives of people happen within what can be described as a 'boundary zone' of the just barely known (it has just been experienced, and yet it essentially belongs already to the realm of the past) and the unknown future.[27]

25 Bergson (2013 [1910]), 100.
26 Lynch (1972), 171.
27 Abbey (2015).



FIGURE 9 Site transformation processes in action while excavating during a sandstorm
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR, 2007

Landscapes are also subject to the principle of the irreversibility of human life experience. The fact that landscapes are continuously in the making means that, strictly speaking, people can never visit the same place twice. Archaeologist Cornelius Holtorf aptly illustrates this fact with Heraclites's aphorism that "no man ever steps in the same river twice", because other waters are ever flowing onto the person stepping in the river.[28] The shifting desert sands at a site such as Saqqara could easily take the place of the flowing water in Heraclites's metaphor of the river. The cemetery changes from day to day, even without the interference of people (or, perhaps better said, especially without their interference), because the combined forces of wind and sand will do the job. Everyone who has worked at Saqqara will be familiar with the fact that the excavation site on the first day of a season looks quite different from how it was left behind in the year before. The site changes slowly but surely—and on some days, with severe sandstorms, a site can transform visibly in just a matter of hours (Fig. 9).[29]

28 Holtorf (2015), 179.

29 Jacobus van Dijk (2016), 91, narrates how, in 1983, a sandstorm exposed a dyad statue standing in one of the many shallow depressions marking the open courtyard of the now-buried

2.3 Landscape's Temporal Paradox

The intricacies of time and temporality in a lived landscape—that is, a landscape continuously being shaped and re-shaped under the influence of human dwelling—can perhaps be best illustrated with a modern-day setting. It allows us to take an ethnographic approach to studying the shaping of the landscape. Understanding the everyday workings of the contemporary urban landscape might ultimately help us to understand some of the processes underlying the formation of the ancient cemeteries at Saqqara also. Conversely, the archaeological approach to the study of lived landscapes enables one to study an aspect which ethnography cannot. Archaeology offers a long-time perspective,[30] a deep diachronic outlook on a landscape's development through time.

The example of the contemporary urban landscape takes us to a street in the centre of the university town of Leiden in the Netherlands, not too far from where I am sitting at my desk typing this text (Fig. 10).[31] The photograph was taken in early spring of 2019. It captures a contemporary situation which any present-day inhabitant of this town would immediately recognise and appreciate in its temporal context. Although it is unlikely that anyone will immediately guess the exact date that the photo was taken, it can certainly be estimated by identifying a number of diagnostic (or time-specific) features. These include, for example, the life-stage of the trees planted in the middle section of the street (these are still rather young), the particular shops that are housed in the buildings that line the street (the tenants of these buildings change every now and then, and the combinations of exactly these outlets help us narrowing down the time frame), the election posters affixed to the billboard in the centre of the scene (pointing to a specific and well-datable event, although the photograph was taken in the run-up to the election day and thus does not 'date' to it), and the style of the clothes worn by the people walking and biking about (fashion is indeed an important dating tool in art history, for example). All diagnostic features combined offer a clear sense of the temporal setting of

tombs in the Unas South Cemetery. Clearly, sandstorms not just bury features, they can also expose them.

30 Or *longue durée*. Here, *durée* has a different meaning from 'duration' used by Bergson. The expression *longue durée* was introduced by the Annales School of historical writing to set in focus the long-term structures of history (it examines extended periods of time and draws conclusions from historical trends and patterns) as opposed to short-term time scales focused on events. See in particular Braudel (1949).

31 The following description to illustrate the concept of temporality of the landscape is inspired by Olivier (2001), 66–67.



FIGURE 10 An example of a multitemporal urban landscape: image of Leiden, 2019
PHOTOGRAPH BY BURO JP

this scene—at least to the initiated, such as the town's inhabitants and frequent visitors. Should they be shown this photograph, they might not be able to tell precisely on what date the photo was taken, yet they would know that it must have been fairly recent. A photo taken in the 1990s from exactly the same spot would have been notably different. Even though the buildings lining the street would have remained the same, other shops were housed in them, people dressed according the then-prevailing fashion, the coffee-truck in the foreground would have been alien to the Dutch streetscape back then, and the pavement differed, because our photograph shows that it has just been repaved (one of the fences that were used to close off the street still sits on the sidewalk). Whereas there are various clear indications to date this scene to 2019, probably none of the things visible in this scene date, *stricto sensu*, to the spring of 2019, because none of the features are a product of that specific point in time. To start with, the urban landscape here is not made of early 21st century buildings; these were all constructed long ago. The people walking the street probably do not all wear brand-new clothes; in fact, even if the clothes were brand new to them, because they were bought from a store moments ago, it is highly unlikely that the clothes were also manufactured on the day the photograph was taken. Of course the people themselves do not 'date' to 2019 either, in the sense that they were likely all born in different years—the

baby in the orange stroller perhaps being the exception. What these observations are meant to illustrate, is that the streetscape here is not a sterile environment in which a single temporality flourishes. Such would arguably be a situation one might experience only in museums,[32] where objects are taken out of their real-life, multitemporal settings and (re-)arranged according to their date of manufacture rather than (prolonged) use. Think of the way in which Egyptian collections are usually exhibited, chronologically arranged to reflect the major time periods such as 'Old Kingdom', 'Middle Kingdom', 'New Kingdom', and so on—as if the material remains from these periods did not mingle in their environmental setting. What we are witnessing here in the Leiden streetscape is, in contrast, a 'palimpsest landscape' or 'temporal collage'.

Now, imagine this street being excavated by future archaeologists. How would they date the site? In answering this question, let us think about how tombs in ancient Egyptian cemeteries are often met. The man-made structures would provide the first leads. Based on the architectural features and ground plans of the buildings (assuming that not much of the walls above the first few courses of stone survive in the future), the scene would easily be assigned to a period between the 17th and 18th centuries. The church on the left (Hartebrugkerk) was built in 1836 and the one in the background (Marekerk) between 1639 and 1649. All of the traces pointing to later human activities would then be labelled under the heading of 'reuse'. This part of the life history of an ancient Egyptian tomb is usually hidden away in a paragraph whereas the main text would focus on the first stage(s) in their lives, namely those involving construction and initial use (burial of the tomb owner)—stages that form just a short episode in their much longer life histories. The objects found in excavation would probably be detailed in a catalogue, neatly categorised according to their date of manufacture. Such a presentation would create the false impression that a similar clear-cut distinction also existed in real life, where in every period people were surrounded exclusively by things 'dated' to *their* time. The photograph in figure 10 emphasises that the opposite is the case, because, in

32 Or, in the proceedings of the quinquennial conference *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year* (presently covering the years 2000–2020). The papers are grouped according to the Egyptological periodisation of Egyptian history: 'Archaic Period and the Old Kingdom'; 'Middle Kingdom'; 'New Kingdom'; 'Late Period and Beyond'. Kolen (2005) observes that the refining of chronologies as practiced in archaeology has given rise to a meticulous, objective organisation of archaeological and historical observations. This, he argues, has not necessarily led to a better understanding of the past *changes* that occurred in landscapes.

reality, "the present here is this imperceptible and continual process of increasing the unbelievable mess of the past", in the words of archaeologist Laurent Olivier.[33]

No real landscape, cityscape or streetscape is homogenous in the sense of displaying an assemblage of products dating to one particular moment in time. The Leiden streetscape is made of a series of past temporalities that make the present 'multitemporal' or 'layered'. One could argue that the past here exists in the present, or rather, that the past largely *is* the present.[34] The continuity of the past into the present has been described as a 'temporal paradox'.[35] The paradox being that things from the past do not stay in the past, but continue to be around in every new present instant. The past endures. The present-day streetscape is a clear example of such a paradox, because it is made of a mix of elements from different periods in time. The young trees were planted at the same time when the street was paved, yet the trees themselves pre-date the street in its present form (remember the street had just been *re*paved). The individual stones are of course older than the pavement, perhaps even older than the trees if the stones were reused and previously formed part of another street (in which case the stones' object biographies are more complex altogether). The long row of centuries-old buildings lining the street all have modern-day features affixed to their façades. They include house number signs, sun shades, the lettering of the shops' names, and so forth. In fact, if one were to take a closer look, it would appear that none of the buildings in this image survived in their original state. Instead they are the products of centuries worth of reworking (including maintenance, which essentially transforms a building)[36] and repurposing (not all buildings serving as shops have always been shops, for example; some were initially residential houses). Thus, paradoxically, the buildings are both old and new; or, neither old nor new. At the same time, the scene also shows details which do not date from the past, but which can be said to belong to an 'ever-present', or, as Olivier puts it, the "never-changing within

33 Olivier (2001), 66–67.

34 Paraphrasing Olivier (2001), 66–67.

35 Lucas (2010).

36 I have just started to paint the exterior woodwork of my house, which is maintenance. If I would not do this or postpone it indefinitely, the effects of time would cause the house to gradually break down. In carrying out maintenance, I have used a colour different from that selected by the previous owners of the house, and in so doing, I have also transformed the building. In addition to being maintenance work, the choice of paint colour also serves to express personal taste, which differentiates my house from those of my neighbours that are of the same architectural design.

the ancient".[37] Examples include the shadows cast by the people on the rain-soaked paving stones and the cloudy sky looming over the scene.

2.4 The Landscape Connecting Moments in Time

Every period in time, every present instance, is in fact very heterogeneous, not just in the minds of people, but also materially in the sense that it is made up of fragments of different pasts. It is what we call a temporal collage, and it has the ability to connect moments in time which may be very distant from each other.[38] The Saqqara necropolis with its long life-history takes this to the extreme, where the present-day visitor can come face-to-face with buildings made as much as 5,000 years ago. In the example of the contemporary scene of Leiden (Fig. 10), the street takes its shape from an abandoned canal that has been filled in (Fig. 11). It was turned into a street to meet the infrastructural needs of the changing city. The advent of automotive travel strongly impacted the town's urban fabric.[39] Many people walking about the street today will probably be unaware of the canal's former existence. Yet, the way in which those same people move through the city is directly influenced by the canal's former presence and, by extension, influenced by individuals such as city planners who are now of course long dead.

The example of Leiden can also be taken to a wider, spatial view. If we zoom out from the previous images (Figs 10–11) and take a look at the modern map of the city centre, we recognise clearly the layout of the city as drawn on a map as early as 1675 (Fig. 12).[40] The city's landmarks are displayed as icons in the map's decorative frame, yet none of these landmarks were built in the year 1675. Several of the old buildings have since disappeared, and a number of the city's canals have been filled in and turned into streets. Yet, the layout devised cen-

37 Olivier (2004), 209.

38 Lucas (2010). Note that materiality is not a prerequisite to forge links between past and present. Think of the ancient Egyptian temples made for the gods that were repeatedly demolished to make place for new versions. The Satet temple on Elephantine island is a case in point. It was repeatedly rebuilt, on the same spot, over the course of many centuries, while retaining a link to the original place of reverence, the 'source' of the inundation of the Nile: German Institute of Archaeology (1998).

39 And later still, some canals-turned-streets were made car-free zones. Thus, practices of automotive travel were not the last incentive to transform the urban landscape.

40 Copperplated city plan drawn by Christiaan Hagen in 1675: "Lugdunum Batavorum—Anno 1675", see: Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken PV_PV370.3, retrieved from: https://www.erfgoedleiden.nl/collecties/beeldmateriaal, last accessed on 10.02.2022.



FIGURE 11 An example of a multitemporal urban landscape: image of Leiden, c. 1900 PHOTOGRAPH BY DEYHLE'S LICHTDRUKKEN, RETRIEVED FROM ERFGOED LEIDEN EN OMSTREKEN, PUBLIC DOMAIN

turies ago still resonates in the modern-day city, where it continues to influence present-day behaviour. It affects how space is perceived and used. The activity of an entire community is sediment in the network of paths and tracks in the city,[41] spanning many generations. The movement of people, past and present, can therefore be said to be 'embodied'[42] in the very fabric of the city because, in their layout, streets impose a habitual pattern on the movement of people.[43] A graphically appealing example to illustrate movement embodied on the side of the landscape are stone stairways in old buildings. The stone steps can be visibly worn by intensive use over a long period of time. The wear and tear of the steps thus embodies the movement of many people past and present. Or one may think of the concentric grooves left in the limestone pavement stones in the entrance to the tomb of Meryneith/re (032/USC), caused be the repeated action of opening and closing the wooden door (Fig. 13). These grooves embody the many visitors that entered and left the monument in the past. Movement is embodied not only in the landscape (in its network of paths and tracks, and the configuration of buildings), but also in the people, in what archaeologist

41 Cf. Ingold (1993).
42 Following Low (2003).
43 Ingold (1993), 167, following Jackson (1989), 146.



FIGURE 12 "Lugdunum Batavorum—Anno 1675" City plan of Leiden, 1675
COPPER ENGRAVING BY CHRISTIAAN HAGEN, RETRIEVED FROM ERFGOED LEIDEN EN OMSTREKEN, PUBLIC DOMAIN

Tim Ingold terms their 'muscular consciousness'. Think of the ancient visitors to Saqqara: in ascending and descending the elevated desert plateau they physically experienced the landscape.[44]

The spatial configuration of streets and buildings and other material (and immaterial) features in the urban environment influence the choices people can potentially make as they go from location A to B. As archaeologists, we can make use of the spatial organisation of a city (or a city of the dead, or

44 Today, visitors normally arrive by car or bus, and do not themselves physically experience the steep escarpment.

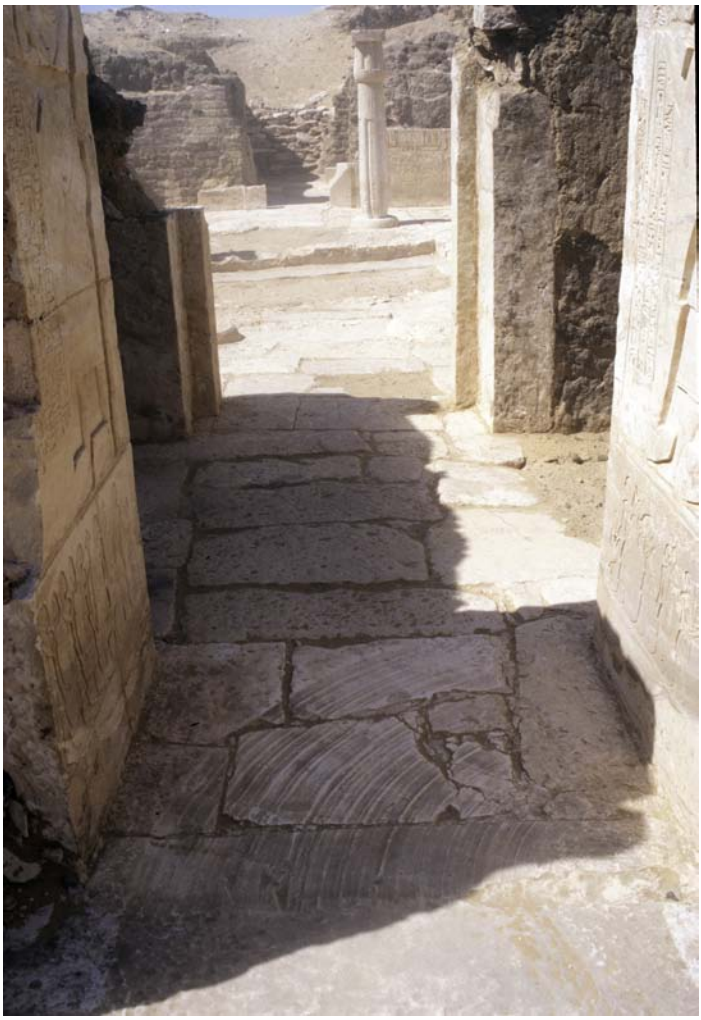


FIGURE 13 Concentric marks scratched in the pavement of Meryneith/re's (032/USC) entrance doorway
PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF THE RIJKSMUSEUM VAN OUDHEDEN, LEIDEN

necropolis, for that matter), with its idiosyncratic configuration of man-made structures in its unique natural landscape setting, to reconstruct how people would have made use of space in the built environment. For example, we may be able to deduce how groups and individuals moved through the landscape, to identify what places would have seen more traffic than others. High traffic of the living potentially made such places attractive locations for certain purposes, for example tomb building.

Building activities and infrastructural projects (such as the construction of new roads) also need(ed) to reckon with all that which was made before. An archaeological example of a city in ancient Egypt where residents and 'urban planners' had little of the pre-existing to reckon with, is Akhetaten (Tell el-Amarna) in Middle Egypt. The city was purposely built at a site previously uninhabited (or rather: barely inhabited). Still, the people populating Akhetaten did not exist and operate in a temporal void. On the contrary, their building of houses and arranging of the city's neighbourhoods was largely shaped by their prior experience gained elsewhere. Thus, the layout of their far-away hometowns potentially influenced the shaping of the new city, and ultimately also the way in which people moved through the urban fabric and how they used and experienced space. Even the newly developed architecture associated with the king and the cult of the Aten were not entirely without ties to how things were done in the past in their spatial configuration.[45]

The need to reckon with all that which already existed also goes for cities that were rebuilt following large-scale catastrophes. Take, for example, the city of Rotterdam, which was heavily bombed during World War II. After the war, city planners seized the opportunity to completely alter the street pattern, and realise current ideas and ideals of what a modern city should look like.[46] If one compares the pre- and post-war city plan, one immediately notices the increase of open spaces between (blocks of) buildings. The spacious, modern (i.e. 1950s) city contrasts sharply with the cramped neighbourhoods of the old city which has its roots in the Middle Ages. Some argue that one can distinguish two different cities that share the same location, separated by time.[47] And yet the current street plan does show that some of the new city's main roads were grounded in the pre-existing layout. Some main roads were rebuilt on exactly the same spot, which influenced the further laying out of the city and its neighbourhoods. And because the city was oriented on the same river as before (the course of which was not altered significantly), the old plan is remotely recognisable in the new version. And finally, because an attempt was made to make a modernised version of the old city (and not an altogether alien one), the new city is in many respects a *re*interpretation of the former, which has left its marks, even if (heavily) masked.

45 Bělohoubková et al. (2021).

46 E.g., Rooijendijk (2005), 4–12.

47 Blog post by Frans Blok, "Rotterdam dubbelop: twee steden vergeleken", published on 27.10.2014, http://www.3develop.nl/blog/plattegrond-rotterdam-vroeger-nu, last accessed on 31.01.2022.

The street in Leiden and the city plan of Rotterdam possess not only a connecting capacity; both also vividly illustrate how memory of the past (as material trace) operates 'masked'. It means that the past does not enter the present unfiltered; rather, it 'flows' into the 'mould' of the present day and thereby adopts the form of the present. Material remains from the past are (re-)interpreted and potentially ascribed new meanings in later times. The remains thus become an interpretation of the past, fulfilling the needs of the present day. It reminds me of the historiography of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, written by Belgian archaeologist and author, David Van Reybrouck. He mainly relied on oral sources, especially when addressing the colonial period and, via oral traditions, reached to the pre-colonial era, i.e. before the establishment of the Congo Free State in 1877.[48] Van Reybrouck collected many stories of peoples' personal pasts, but realised that their experiences of these pasts are largely (de)formed or (re)shaped by the present socio-economic situation in which people now live:

> Uiteraard, het is altijd riskant om te extrapoleren naar het verleden wat mensen vandaag vertellen: niets zo hedendaags als de herinnering.[49]
>
> ⟨Translation: Of course, it is always risky to extrapolate to the past that which people are telling today: nothing as contemporary as the memory.⟩

His remark very well captures the concept of memory as it is defined in the social sciences. Lynn Meskell uses a similar definition working with ancient Egyptian sources.[50] She states that "memory cannot exist in a thinglike state since it is always subjective and spatiotemporally situated". Every memory inevitably becomes a 'present past',[51] because people observe and interpret traces of more distant pasts to serve the needs and interests of their present lives. Amenemone and his image of King Menkauhor, referred to earlier in this chapter, illustrate this point for the Saqqara New Kingdom necropolis. The image was not included in the iconographic programme of Amenemone's tomb as a random historic curiosity, but it was meant to fulfil a specific goal.

48 Van Reybrouck (2010).
49 Van Reybrouck (2010), 13.
50 Meskell (2008), 236.
51 Terdiman (1993).

2.5 Landscape Authorship

Current landscape biography[52] juxtaposes the work of cultural geographer Marwyn Samuels[53] with philosopher Michel De Certeau.[54] Both scholars employ the term 'landscape authorship' in attempting to identify the key players in the shaping of the urban landscape. Both conveniently (for the present study, that is) illustrate their views with Manhattan in New York as a case study. Samuels argues that the urban landscape of Manhattan is a prime example of a landscape inextricably linked to influential individuals. They include the urban planner Robert Moses, the 'father' of the skyscraper Louis Sullivan, and a whole range of influential families, politicians, industrialists, and so forth. To Samuels, they are the authors of the landscape. His argument: the city would have developed very differently without their involvement. Their life stories are inseparably linked to the life story of Manhattan. And their creations influence the daily lives of the millions of people living, working, and passing-by in the city.

De Certeau, on the other hand, sets in focus the concept of the city as a place where every-day life takes place. Instead of looking at the city 'from above' (as it appears on a map), he descends to street level to see how people (inter-)act with(-in) the built environment. He views the people who live, work, and pass by in the city not as mere passive users of the space created by others (i.e. Samuels's influential individuals), but rather as what he calls the 'ordinary practitioners' who continually and actively produce lived space.

The opposing views of landscape authorship of Samuels and De Certeau can perhaps be best grasped with the phenomenon known as a desire path or elephant trail. It illustrates a conflict between the vision of the urban planner and the actual users of the infrastructure. Clearly, there exists a discrepancy between the desired life-path of a road network and its realisation, the latter being the way in which it is operated by its intended users. Thus while the paved pathway theoretically imposes a habitual pattern on the movement of people, the desire paths created by the actual users of urban space (De Certeau's *Wandersmänner*) gradually show up as the accumulated imprint of countless journeys that people have made as they have gone about their everyday business. The path has arisen out of the movement of people. The desire path created by the actual users of urban space might ultimately be regulated, for example

52 Kolen et al. (2015); Kolen (2005); Roymans et al. (2009).
53 Samuels (1979).
54 De Certeau (1984).

if the municipality should decide to pave it—a practice often observed in the Netherlands, where desire paths (*olifantenpaadjes*) are considered both symptom and accelerator of urban decay.

The everyday examples from past and present indicate that the interpretations of landscape authorship outlined by Samuels and De Certeau should not be seen as two strictly opposing mechanisms that are mutually exclusive. Rather, in the words of historian David Koren,[55] both shape the lived urban landscape in a continuous dialectic movement. In this way, spatial imagination on the one hand, and spatial acting on the other influence and succeed each other. At this point, one may be reminded of a stela erected by King Ugaf at Abydos and re-inscribed for the 13th Dynasty King Neferhotep I.[56] The stela, forming one of a series of four, was meant to demarcate, in the area traversing the necropolis, the sacred processional way in the *wadi* connecting the temple of Osiris in the east to Peqer and the 'tomb' of Osiris at Umm el-Qaab in the west, and ensure that the private tombs built in the adjoining cemeteries to the north (North Cemetery) and south (Middle Cemetery) would not encroach upon the sacred way. An excerpt from this royal decree reads:

> As for anyone who shall be found within these stelae, except for a priest about his duties, he shall be burnt. Moreover, as for any official who shall cause a tomb to be made for himself within this holy place, he shall be reported and this law applied to him and to the necropolis-guard as (is the case) today. But as for everywhere outside this holy place, (it is) an area where people may make tombs for themselves and where one may be buried.[57]

The fact that it was deemed necessary to erect these stelae suggests that the practice of building tombs in the 'sacred space' was already widespread. It nicely illustrates the existence of continuous negotiation between the official administration and expected behaviour at sacred sites on the one hand, and the popular acting in such spaces on the other. Perhaps the royal decree had an effect on the short term; in the long term, however, the *wadi* would come to serve rather different purposes, as witnessed by the siting of the American dig house built in its west extent.

55 Koren (2015), 255.

56 Now held in the Cairo Egyptian Museum: JE 35256. See Leahy (1989).

57 Translation after Leahy (1989), 43.

2.6 Pitfalls of Desired Life-Paths

Every new moment, every present instant, contributes to the ever growing accumulation of the past. The scene of Leiden captured in figure 10 therefore represents not a still life. It should rather be seen as a snapshot of a streetscape 'in the making', in the sense that at no point it can be said to be finished. Of course the task of re-paving the street was completed when the street reached the form anticipated at by those responsible for its design and construction. Yet one therefore cannot argue that the street reached its finished state, because such an argument would imply that the street would forever remain unchanged.

In the example of the desire paths, we observed that a discrepancy exists between the desired life-path of a road network design and its realisation. The same is true for cemeteries and the individual tombs such sites are made of. Tombs and tomb complexes would have been used for prolonged periods of time, albeit sometimes alternating with periods of inactivity or abandonment.[58] The activities pertaining to the planning and building of a tomb, and the subsequent burial of the tomb owner, all occupied a comparatively short period of time in the 'life' of a tomb. Much vaster in number were the years pertaining to what is sometimes referred to as its 'afterlife'[59]—a problematic term in this context.[60] A tomb usually outlives its builder, and therefore the '(use-)life' metaphor has recently received criticism. One could argue that from the use-life perspective a tomb is made to perform a certain function set by certain expectations. This is, in other words, the tomb's desired life path or perceived *emic* ideal biography. It means that a tomb will be used until it is no longer 'useful' in performing that function. Becoming 'use-less' (being no longer used as it was originally intended to) does not, of course, signify the 'end' of a tomb's life. On the contrary, even a seemingly decommissioned or abandoned monument can actively be part of a landscape. Also, the continued use of a tomb may not necessarily conform to what we would consider 'appropriate' treatment. It is therefore essential to emphasise that people cannot foresee at the outset whether what they consider the desired life-path of a tomb will actually be realised, because changes in meaning and use can of course only be

58 For these and the following observations, see also Staring (in press, a).

59 Term: Bradley (1993). The metaphor is also practiced in e.g. urban studies, see for example Binelli (2012).

60 In the publication of the tomb of Meryneith (032/USC), Raven (in Raven/Van Walsem 2014, 327), uses the term to refer to all material traces pertaining to activities post-dating the burial of the initial tomb owner.

comprehended with the benefit of hindsight. Therefore, tombs might be considered not as finished monuments but rather perhaps as 'works in progress', in a sense continuously in the making, adaptation, reuse, graffiti making, and so forth being thus an integral part of the biographies of monuments.

In figure 14, we are looking at a cross section tombs—or rather burials marked with a built superstructure—from the three main New Kingdom cemeteries on the North Saqqara plateau. They present a range of architectural forms and layouts, and were made for individuals of different social backgrounds and with different financial means at their disposal. The different colours show that the examples cover a large part of the New Kingdom. And the fact that some have more than one colour, indicates that these were worked on over longer periods of time. The plans of individual tombs do not show what was perhaps the most significant thing that influenced the course of their biographies: namely their spatial relationships to other tombs in the same cemetery. The blocking of a pathway at one end of the cemetery could affect the level of accessibility of a tomb at the other end, for example. And this is not insignificant for the 'lives' of tombs, because these were dependent on the living carrying out maintenance work, looking after the offering cult, and so forth. Accessibility was key.

Like the desire paths, the continued use of a tomb at Saqqara may not necessarily have conformed to what people in the past considered (or currently consider) 'appropriate' treatment. In the publication of the tomb of Meryneith (032/USC), Maarten Raven goes so far as to label the later Ramesside users of the western chapels for burial as 'invaders'.[61] The negative connotation of the word[62] makes assumptions about the perceived *emic* 'ideal' of how an ancient Egyptian tomb should be used, while it actually reflects an *etic* ideal, conforming to the expectations of the modern researcher.

The tension between initial design and the actual use of space is not an exclusively modern phenomenon. Examples from the ancient world abound, and range in scale from the wider landscape to single architectural units. Take for example the 4th Dynasty Valley Temple of King Menkaure at Giza, which was originally envisioned as a stone-built megalithic monument.[63] Plans changed when the king suddenly died before he could see the temple to completion. It was then decided to finish the structure by using less durable mate-

61 In Raven/Van Walsem 2014, 328.

62 Merriam-Webster dictionary has: 1) to enter for conquest or plunder; 2) to encroach upon (infringe); 3a) to spread over or into as if invading; 3b) to affect injuriously and progressively.

63 Reisner (1931).

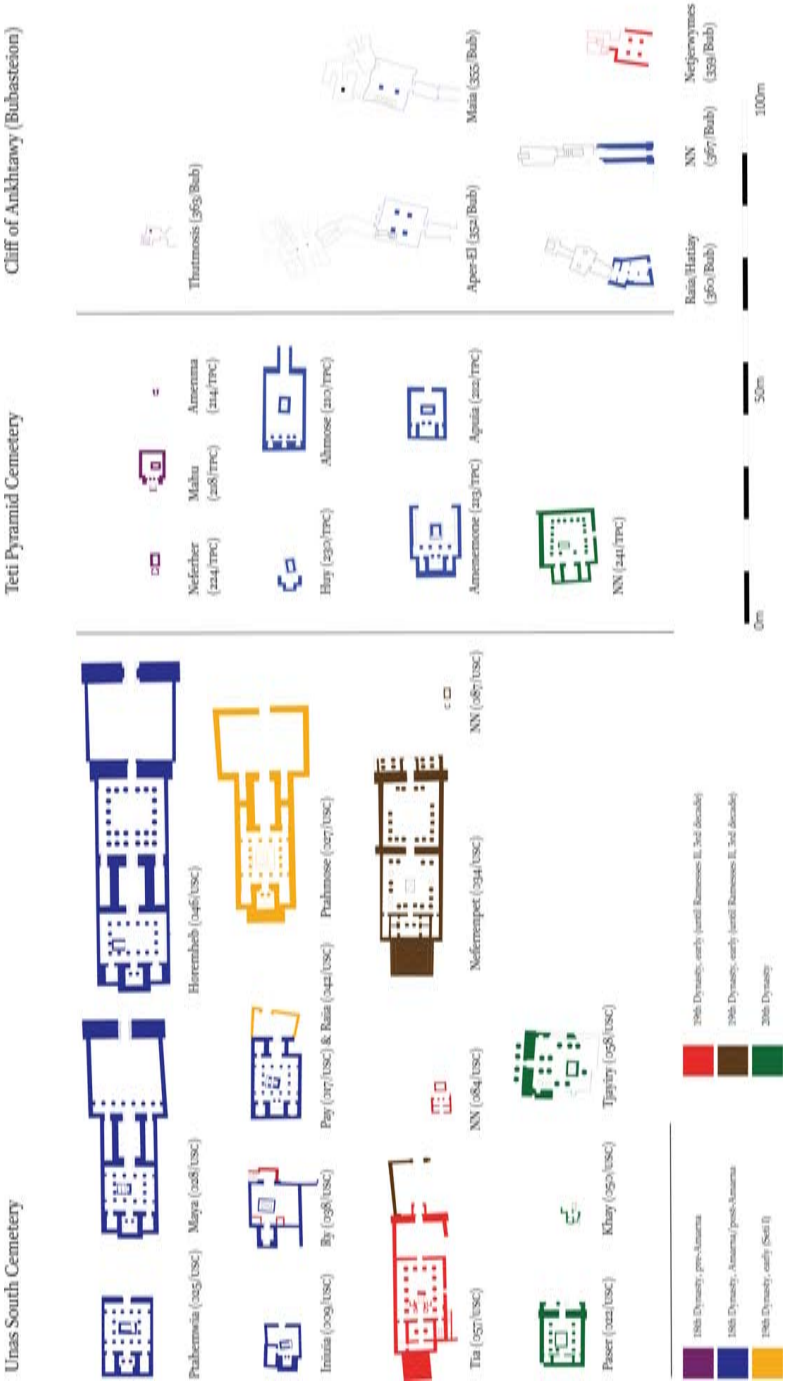


FIGURE 14 The plans of a selection of New Kingdom tombs built in the North Saqqara plateau
IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR

rial (mud bricks) instead. Text sources inform us that the structure continued to be used as a memorial temple of the king until the end of the Old Kingdom, spanning a period of more than 300 years. Yet, it was not used exactly according to how the architect had envisioned it. Space within the building itself was soon redefined and repurposed. Not long after the structure came to serve as the dead king's mortuary temple, houses of the serving temple staff were built within the monumental perimeter walls.

The priestly settlement eventually took up most of the space inside the walls, which affected the way in which space was used altogether. Over time, parts of the original structure were demolished or adjusted to accommodate the dwellings and other facilities such as granaries to serve the temporary residents. Following damage caused by a flood from a storm, measures were taken to renovate the building. These measures were especially aimed at safeguarding and rebuilding the settlement and not at restoring the building to its former glory (which, as we know, did not resemble a situation as designed by its builder to begin with). Only the sanctuary was rebuilt at its original location. Barry Kemp used the example of what he terms the "villagization" of the temple to illustrate "how great could be the gap between intention and practice, between the products of superlative craftsmanship and the way they were treated, and between the inner world of bureaucratic order and the rough reality outside".[64]

At this point a distinction should be made between specific and generalised (or idealised) biographies, as raised by archaeologist David Fontijn.[65] Generalised biographies go back to a widely-shared expectation as to an object's (or building's, landscape's) kind of life path. If one were to study the life histories of specific objects or types of buildings in any given society (tombs, for example), it will become apparent that these histories often follow the same patterns.[66] Thus, apparently, there are culturally specific expectations for the general life-path of objects or buildings. Fontijn notes that "we often only come to realise that such idealised biographies exist if we see an object being treated in a way that deviates from its desirable life-path".[67] Think of the example of the football boots of Egyptian and Liverpool FC forward Mohamed Salah, that were displayed next to ancient Egyptian sandals to coincide with the Champions League Final and World Cup in 2018.[68] The only reason for these shoes to

64 Kemp (2006), 209, fig. 74.

65 Fontijn (2002), 26; Gosden/Marshall (1999), 170–171.

66 Kopytoff (1986), 66.

67 Fontijn (2002), 26.

68 Adidas Deadly Strike X17 boots, London, British Museum EA 95151. Displayed in Room 61, May–July 2018, see The British Museum online catalogue, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA95151, last accessed on 03.08.2021.

end up displayed in the British Museum is the fact that Salah wore them. To paraphrase Fontijn, "the lives of football boots may vary, but in general they do not end up in museums".[69] Salah's football boot is an example of a *specific* biography, which is about the idiosyncratic histories of objects. In Egyptian funerary archaeology, we may point to the example of the 1st Dynasty royal tomb of Djer (c. 2870–2823 BCE) which from the Middle Kingdom onwards was treated as the mythical tomb of the god Osiris. Tombs within a single cemetery can have deviating life paths; however, such a transformation is not usual for tombs in ancient Egypt. In the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara, we may point to the tomb of Horemheb (046/USC), the general who became king. His private tomb was transformed into a quasi-royal memorial temple: a life path intimately linked to the specific biography of its commissioning patron.

The display of Salah's football boots in a museum gallery sparked off a dispute, which connects the object to some of the points raised in relation to landscape as a temporal collage. In Section 2.1, it was argued that the past exists in the present, or rather, that the past largely *is* the present. The exceptional decision to display the football boots in a gallery surrounded by ancient Egyptian objects was criticised by prominent Egyptian archaeologist Zahi Hawass, who argued that it shows "disrespect to the great Egyptian history", and further expressed that

> it is completely inappropriate to have his shoe displayed between Pharaonic monuments, because these are sacred pieces. If the British Museum wanted to honor Salah, it should have built a museum for him or put the shoe in a special room.[70]

Salah's boot was displayed alongside ancient Egyptian footwear in the British Museum to demonstrate that, from a material culture point of view, the object presents a newer example of the same object category. In so doing, the museum intended to demonstrate possible continuity from the pharaonic past to the present.[71] Hawass's critique, on the other hand, supposedly rejects any such continuity (although this was most likely not the point he was making).[72]

69 Fontijn (2002), 26, uses the hypothetical example of wedding rings and John Lennon's guitar to make the same points.

70 Tawfeek (2018).

71 For this subject, see e.g., Haikal (2014); (2011).

72 The critique was likely not so much targeting the suggested continuity; it rather signals disrespect towards ancient Egyptian heritage from the side of its British keepers.

2.7 Landscape, Temporality, and Heritage Practices

Even institutionalised efforts aimed at maintaining a present-day appearance—which is looked after by the heritage management branch[73]—will never entirely succeed in preventing a street from changing. Time and temporality ultimately bring about change one way or another. This is all the more true for an environment lived in by people. The tension between targeted efforts at preserving a certain urban image on the one hand, and the people who live there on the other, reminds me of a section in my first travel guidebook of Egypt, the Lonely Planet.[74] The point raised in an annotated section about the history and sights of Cairo's Al Azhar area aptly illustrates the illusion of a never-changing lived urban landscape.[75] The text first notes that the area is "home to a dense 21st-century population still living in what are essentially medieval quarters", and that it "retains a vital human presence that lifts it above being more than a mere open-air museum". It then signals that the Ministry of Culture has taken an interest in this "neglected" area—*neglected*, undoubtedly, from the point of view of tourism and heritage management, yet certainly *not* neglected from the part of the people who populate the neighbourhood. In the early 2000s, the ministry commenced many conservation projects aimed at restoring the grand buildings in this quarter to their former glory. These actions, according to the guidebook text, immediately received strong criticism. Critics argued that historic buildings were not so much conserved but rebuilt, and the plan to relocate inhabitants of this neighbourhood "sounds suspiciously like an attempt to turn a living neighbourhood into a theme park". Such measures essentially led to removing the people and activities that gave (and, fortunately, still give) the area its character. The bottom line is that continuous transformations are an inherent aspect of any landscape lived-in by people. Removing the people equals depriving the landscape of its character.

What the measures aimed at restoring the Al Azhar area of Cairo actually accomplish, is emulating the image of what is collectively thought of as its former glory. The area is restored not to a random previous state; it is transformed to match a certain canonical image. In other words, there is a discrepancy between the landscape taken as "that part of the outside world that one can

73 The definition of cultural heritage practised by UNESCO considers it as "both a product and a process, which provides societies with a wealth of resources that are *inherited* from the past, *created* in the present and *bestowed* for the benefit of future generations" (emphasis NS). Alonso/Medici (2014), 130.

74 Humphrey et al. (2004), 88.

75 See also Meskell (2012) on this subject.

perceive from a particular view," and landscape as "its representation in a work of art". Jan Kolen and Johannes Renes suggest that the ambiguity of the word 'landscape'

> mobilised a continuous exchange between this outside world and representational world, with landscape painting becoming a measure for the design of 'real' landscapes, gardens and estates, and the 'picturesque' qualities of these landscapes being pictured, re-valued, reproduced and transformed in art, for example painting and photography.[76]

As an effect of the continuous exchange between the outside world and the representational world, the representations (whether it be in paintings, photographs, film, literature, etc.) could eventually, through time, build up to form a canonical image. By means of 'artistic icons' (for example famous paintings featuring a certain (urban) landscape), people get accustomed to what certain parts of that particular landscape look like. Over time, this can lead to a schism between a landscape's current image and what it *should* look like. It can motivate authorities to preserve and restore the actual outside world in particular ways in order to keep it (or bring it back) in harmony with the representational world. This complex dialogue between the lived-in landscape and its canonical image can be observed 'in action' in the example of Cairo's Al Azhar area. Various views of the neighbourhood were introduced to a Western audience through the paintings of romantic artists such as David Roberts (1796–1864). Their cityscape paintings contributed over many years to the creation of a canonical image. The modern-day efforts aimed at restoring the neighbourhood—or rather transforming it to match the canonical image—are meant to meet the expectations of tourists, it seems. Traveling to Egypt, (Western) tourists expect to see and experience precisely the scenes that they have gotten so accustomed to through the works of art made by their compatriots, now on display in their national museums. Their image may clash with the reality observed in an area that houses a sizable modern population living among all that which was made before. The inhabitants are confronted with the infrastructure and architecture designed (by Samuels's influential individuals) for a population that lived in a different time with different needs. The adaptation of the urban fabric (by De Certeau's "*Wandersmänner*") to meet present-day needs is seen by some (e.g., policy makers, heritage managers, Western tourists) as messing with cultural heritage.

76 Kolen/Renes (2015), 29.

Today, the tourist visiting the Al Azhar neighbourhood will certainly not be disappointed, as the Al Ghouriyya area behind the mosque-madrassa and mausoleum of al-Ghouri neatly matches the scene painted by Roberts in 1838 (Fig. 15). Luckily, though, the area is as lively as it was depicted in the early 19th century, although my photograph taken at night time does not quite capture the liveliness.

Choices made in preserving certain heritage sites or transforming them to match the looks of a former temporality are by no means undisputed. An example from Leiden pertains to the plans of the municipality, a few years ago, to restore a certain wooden bridge to its original colours. The precise colours used were retrieved following intensive archive research.[77] The municipality's plan was met with resistance from local residents, who were of the opinion that the 'old' colours looked out of place in the current setting.[78] A not all too insignificant detail in the whole discussion is, that the wooden bridge was not the original 17th century structure, but one built only in 1983, serving as a replica of the old bridge, removed in 1817. In this case, the striving for authenticity touches on giddy nonsense as the bridge in its present state 'dates' to the 1980s and the surrounding urban landscape has changed almost beyond recognition since the bridge was included the cityscape drawing of c. 1669 that served as a model for the reconstructed bridge.

The examples cited above lay bare the tensions between the concerns of heritage management and the users of the landscape, foremost of which are the inhabitants. In practice, heritage management often aims at preserving a canonical image of a building or landscape, which in turn could be based on (an) interpretation(s) of the/a real landscape(s). Preserving such canonical images may go hand in hand with economic interests. From a biographical perspective on landscape, Roymans et al. argue that "heritage is never an objective historical given, but is closely tied up with the social construction of values and identities in contemporary society".[79] With successive 'heirs' to heritage, continuously different interests are employed and values and meanings attached to heritage.[80]

77 Blog post by André van Noort and Monique Roscher, "#VVDW: kleuren van de Rembrandtbrug", published on 18.04.2017, https://www.erfgoedleiden.nl/nieuws/vondst-van-de-week/871-kleuren-van-de-rembrandtbrug, last accessed on 12.04.2021.

78 News item by Chris de Waard, "Omwonenden op de barricade voor behoud witte Rembrandtbrug", https://sleutelstad.nl/2017/11/17/omwonenden-op-barricade-behoud-witte-rembrandtbrug/, last accessed on 12.04.2021.

79 Roymans et al. (2009), 351–352.

80 Roymans et al. (2009); Kolen (2005), 225–295; Bender (1993).



FIGURE 15A
Lithograph of a watercolour by David Roberts, titled "Bazaar of the Silk-Mercers, Cairo"
AFTER HAGHE, L., ROBERTS, D. (1846–1849), *BAZAAR OF THE SILK MERCERS*, RETRIEVED FROM THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, WWW.LOC.GOV/ITEM/2002718712/

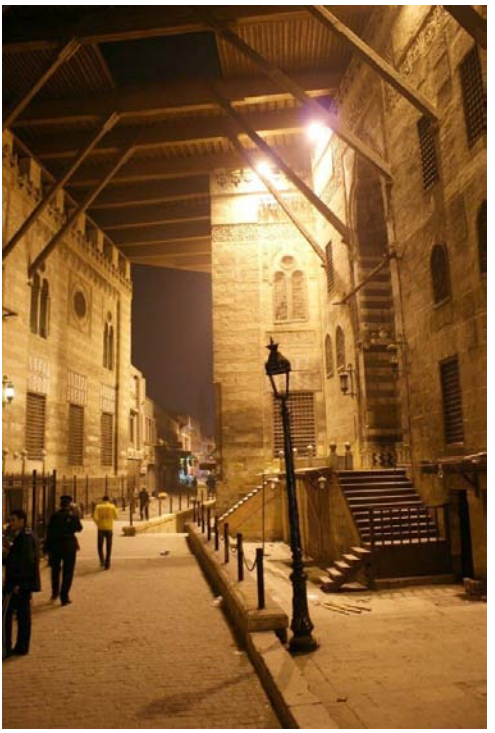


FIGURE 15B
The Al Ghouriyya area behind the mosque-madrassa and mausoleum of al-Ghouri, Cairo, 2006
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR, 2006

One problem central to heritage practices cited in the examples above, concerns the choice of highlighting or prioritising one temporal layer of a landscape (or rather its canonical image) over the plethora of previous layers. This brings us back to the Saqqara archaeological site. A few years ago, the cemetery with New Kingdom tombs south of the Unas causeway was opened to visitors. The Leiden archaeological expedition marked the occasion by installing an information panel (Fig. 16) signalling the cemetery that is hidden from view to the unknowing visitor. The panel refers to the area as the 'The New Kingdom Cemetery of Saqqara', not an altogether correct description of the place, however. While indeed the big tombs date to this period, it was also used as a cemetery long before the New Kingdom, and long after. Thus, the name for the cemetery highlights only one 'temporal layer', whereas the site was very much



FIGURE 16 Information panel signalling "The New Kingdom Cemetery of Saqqara"
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR

multitemporal. The information panel is somewhat symptomatic of the heritage management strategy employed at the site, because while the area under excavation was in continuous use as a burial ground from the earliest dynasties until the Late Antique, and assorted human activities can be traced until the present day, exclusively the New Kingdom tombs received proper treatment aimed at their preservation, and form the main subject of academic publications. In this case, the good intentions of heritage management resulted in the creation of a landscape that is much less temporally heterogeneous than it once used to be.

2.8 Landscape and Social Norms

In Section 2.4, we learned that the spatial configuration of streets and buildings, along with other material and immaterial features in the urban environment, influence(d) the choices people could potentially make when navigating from location A to B. We will briefly focus on the immaterial aspects, that include social norms, or expected behaviour when approaching or entering certain spaces. For example, people generally behave differently in a church than they do in a pub. And they behave differently in a football stadium than at a ceme-

tery site. Why is that? One could argue that there is no practical reason why one should not behave the same in both settings. Generally, it is not exclusively the materiality of space that regulates people's behaviour; what is important is the social situatedness of space. Space and place are more than just the spatial configuration of material facts. It also has an emphatically social, emotional aspect, which is socio-temporally grounded and could shift meaning over time.[81]

To further illustrate the complexities associated with expected behaviour in cemeteries, let us move to the city of Copenhagen. An ethnographic study conducted in 2014 focused on how space was experienced by 'users' and 'non-users' in two of the city's modern cemeteries, Bispebjerg kirkegård and Vestre kirkegård.[82] Due to a general tendency in the population towards cremation rather than inhumation, the city council was faced with the question of what to do with the increasingly available free space in cemeteries no longer used for gravesites. Researchers were consulted to draw up a development plan for the city's cemeteries, and identify what new ways of using this urban space were seen as socially acceptable, relevant, and meaningful by its citizens. The researchers adopted a user-centred approach and interviewed people who regularly used (that is, visited) the cemetery and people who never used the cemetery even though they lived nearby. The non-users indicated that they did not use the cemetery for leisure (walks) because they felt they would intrude, or were unsure about how to behave inside a cemetery. One area of the cemetery closest to the house of one of the interviewed non-users was marked as particularly uninviting, even though it was a fairly open space with very few graves—precisely the sort of conditions which the city council had earmarked as having a high potential for different types of recreational use. The city council reasoned that space not used for burial equals opportunities for different uses. This dichotomy between expectation and reality led the researchers to conclude that

> by directing an anthropological lens at the cemetery, and taking our cue from how users think and feel, we offer a perspective fundamentally different from that of the urban planner, the architect, or the landscaper. (…) ethnography on the ground challenged the more top-down approach

81 For example, one of Amsterdam's most popular concert halls, Paradiso, popularly referred to as 'pop-temple', is housed in a former church communion building. In this church, people do behave like they do in pubs.

82 Nielsen/Groes (2014).

> of urban planners. In urban planning the focus is on making structures accessible (…) rather than exploring the emotional barriers and motivations that affect people's choice (…)[83]

In this conclusion resonates the continuous dialectic movement in which spatial imagination on the one hand and spatial acting on the other are engaged—or, to link the example to the authors quoted in the present chapter, Samuels versus De Certeau in action. At this point we may also reference Christopher Tilley, the 'patriarch' of landscape phenomenology in archaeology, who adds that

> [w]hat space is depends on who is experiencing it and how. Spatial experience is not innocent and neutral, but invested with power relating to age, gender, social position and relationships with others. Because space is differentially understood and experienced it forms a contradictory and conflict-ridden medium through which individuals act and are acted upon. The experience of space is always shot through with temporalities, as spaces are always created, reproduced and transformed in relation to previously constructed spaces provided and established from the past. Spaces are intimately related to the formation of biographies and social relationships.[84]

Traditional narratives of ancient Egypt, including those dealing with necropolis sites, often take an approach akin to that of Samuels, the top-down approach practiced by the urban planner.[85] Kings and high officials are usually identified as the key players, or the 'authors' of the landscape ("king X built the temple of god Y"). Such views run the risk of ignoring the actual use and users of a site, and due to the predominant focus on the early life stage(s) of individual monuments (such as tombs), we also ignore the diachronic perspective. With movement through time comes changes in use, experience, and perception of landscape. Use and reuse are sometimes referred to as belonging to the 'afterlife' of buildings, as if the life of a building ends when its original design is transformed by actively using it. As I hope to demonstrate in this book, influential individuals certainly had their share in shaping the cultural geography of Saqqara at Memphis. But that is not the whole story. By taking a biographical

83 Nielsen/Groes (2014), 111.
84 Tilley (1994), 11.
85 Also Staring (2019).

approach, the active role of the 'ordinary practitioners' in shaping the cultural geography is highlighted, setting the living users in focus. This creates a fuller understanding of the dynamics that were at play in a lived necropolis. By focusing on the necropolis from the perspective of landscape biography, the life histories of all tomb structures and other buildings continuously influence and succeed each other.

CHAPTER 3

The Memphite Necropolis at Saqqara in the New Kingdom

3.1 Topography of the North Saqqara Plateau and Its Eastern Escarpment

Saqqara occupies the central part of the larger Memphite necropolis, spreading over c. 6.2 km bordered by Abusir in the north and by Dahshur in the south (Fig. 1).[1] The Saqqara archaeological site can be subdivided into the North Saqqara and South Saqqara plateaus. The present study is occupied exclusively with the North Saqqara plateau.

The plateau is bound to the north and south by natural features: a series of *wadi's*—former seasonal water courses—and a number of smaller plateaus and hills. Greater Saqqara covers the slope of the *gebel* and elevated desert plateau less than 3 km west of Memphis. The ruin hills marking the location of the core of the former capital city—the area including, but not limited to, the remains of the major temple structures, kings' residences, and harbour area—are today located on the west bank of the Nile.[2] Ancient Memphis perhaps should not be conceptualised as a single city, but rather as a dispersed urban conglomerate extending along the Memphite necropolises between the eastern branch of the Nile and the desert ridge in the west.[3] The contemporary and archaeologically well-known city of Akhetaten (Tell el-Amarna) offers material for comparison. The built urban area extends, north to south, over an area of c. 7 km (built over the course of no more than twelve years), and two clusters of private tombs are located on its northern and southern extent, in the cliff sides of the hills east of the city.[4] The North and South group of

1 The 'borders' between the sites were much more fuzzy in the study period.

2 Gräzer Ohara (2020) offers a succinct overview of the archaeological site and its standing monuments, along with references to more detailed studies. The nine volumes of the Survey of Memphis (1985–2016) also provide a thorough introduction to the complex archaeology of Memphis. Pasquali (2011) offers a detailed overview of the Memphite cultic landscape through the New Kingdom. For a reconstruction of Ramesside Memphis, largely based on textual sources, see Kitchen (1991).

3 For a characterisation of this situation in the Old Kingdom (which likely continued, in one way or another, through the New Kingdom), see: Love (2003), 76–79 (with further references).

4 Stevens (2016), fig. 1.

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tombs may have been linked to the southern and northern suburbs of the city, where the tombs' owners once resided. A similar situation may have existed at Memphis–Saqqara. In this way, the known situation at Akhetaten may help explain why the main clusters of tombs on the North Saqqara plateau were located where they are, perhaps partially linked to specific (sub-)urban areas (see Section 3.4). As is discussed further below, Memphis was initially founded on an island in between two branches of the Nile. This situation impacted how the landscape was experienced and navigated in the New Kingdom, even though at that time the western branch had lost most of its water supply. The formalised Bahr el-Libeini canal today represents the last remainder of that western branch.

Today, the North Saqqara plateau rises to c. 40–45 m above the floodplain. The eastern escarpment is for the most part covered by wind-blown desert sand[5] and the spoil heaps of early-modern excavators.[6] Only in selected areas along the scarp of the plateau the steep cliffs of limestone can still be observed rising up from the floodplain. These are especially well pronounced at the site of the Bubasteion (Fig. 17). There being such a prominent landmark led to the suggestion that these white limestone cliffs lent the Early Dynastic (c. 2900–2545 BCE) town its name: *ʾInb.w-ḥḍ*, 'White Walls'.[7] The Early Dynastic settlement was indeed located north of the present-day ruin hills of Memphis, upon the narrow stretch of land between the escarpment and the (former) western branch of the Nile. The bright limestone cliffs must have been well-visible to the residents of the early settlement. Further north, roughly opposite the modern-day village of Abusir, the cliffs were partially freed of sand as a result of the October 1992 earthquake.[8] The presence of the steep scarp at this location may suggest that the whole eastern escarpment between Abusir and Saqqara shared the same morphology. The limestone cliffs can indeed be observed along various lengths of the eastern escarpment south of the Bubasteion, to a point

5 The surface of the North Saqqara plateau can be characterised as limestone outcrops with a thin layer of aeolian sand.

6 In the course of the large-scale excavations of the Djoser complex, the Unas causeway, and the Jeremias monastery, huge amounts of sand were moved across the North Saqqara plateau, and these activities changed the face of the landscape considerably.

7 E.g., Jeffreys (1999), 15 (as quoted by Love 2006, 212), makes the suggestion based on a later description of Ibn Sa'id, a medieval Islamic traveler, who referred to nearby Fustat—situated close to the escarpment of Muqattam—as a "white city". Jeffreys's suggestion, further developed by Love, has also been welcomed with skepticism, see e.g., Verner (2012) 103–104, who supports the more widespread idea that the white walls in the toponym refer to the Memphite palace of the king.

8 Willeitner (1993), 258.



FIGURE 17 The western side of the southern cliff of the Bubasteion
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR, 2019

as far south as the north face of the shallow *wadi* near the valley temple of Unas, which the last king of the 5th Dynasty used to lay down the causeway connecting the valley temple to the pyramid nearly 666 m west on the plateau (Fig. 18).

The North Saqqara plateau stands out on the flanks of the Western Desert, bounded to the west by *wadi's*, while the (previously) seasonally inundated Nile Valley demarcates it on the east side. The North Saqqara plateau is further bound to the north by the prominent Wadi of Abusir and to the south by the Wadi Merire. The modern villages of Abusir and Saqqara that lent their names to the archaeological sites were established near the mouths of the two prominent *wadi's*, founded upon natural elevations in the landscape. As elsewhere in the Nile Valley, settlements developed upon natural mounds in the floodplain (either old rover levees or *wadi* fans) that remained dry during the annual inundation. Such was also the situation at Saqqara, where the modern village developed upon the built remains of an earlier settlement.[9] Geo-archaeological

9 On his map of the Memphite necropolis, Perring (1839) indicates here "ancient mounds and substructions". The village of Abusir (Abooseer e' Sidr) is marked on his map as "ancient mound supposed site of Busirish". Georg Erbkam, the surveyor of the Prussian expedition to Egypt led by Carl Richard Lepsius, on 19 May 1843 similarly notes in his diary that the modern



FIGURE 18 The eastern escarpment of the North Saqqara plateau
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR, 2019

research on the ancient *tell* at Saqqara, carried out a little more than 20 years ago today, suggests that an ancient watercourse flowed along the mound's east side. Whether this means that the village was founded on the west bank levee of this channel or that it was situated on a high area of the desert edge, remains to be studied, however.[10]

The Wadi of Abusir opens into the Lake of Abusir in the north.[11] This lake could possibly be identified as the (semi-)permanent Lake of Pharaoh, known from post-New Kingdom sources.[12] In more recent times, a series of seasonal

village of Saqqara must have been built on an ruin mound: https://www.deutschestextarchiv.de/book/view/erbkam_tagebuch01_1842?p=213, last accessed on 18.11.2020. More recent archaeological research on Tell Saqqara has been very limited, consisting of a field survey and auger core programme carried out in the late 1990s. This research focused on the valley edge and floor of the floodplain at South Saqqara, between the pyramids of Pepi I and the Mastabat Faraun of Shepseskaf further south: Casey (1999), 24–25.

10 Casey (1999), 24–25.

11 A recent study of the Lake of Abusir that should be mentioned here, is Earl (2010), cited in Bunbury (2019), 60, with fig. 4.2. I have not been able to consult this thesis myself. For a more recent assessment, see Toonen et al. (2020).

12 Nicholson (2016), 20. Geo-archaeological work (borings) by Earl suggests that in the later periods of pharaonic history it was a semi-permanent lake, suitable for breeding the ibises



FIGURE 19 Aerial photograph of the former seasonal lakes to the east of the Old Kingdom pyramids at Abusir
THE UCL INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY, AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVE FOR ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE MIDDLE EAST (AP 1329), TAKEN BY THE ROYAL AIR FORCE, 1927

lakes formed in this area, as can be clearly distinguished on old (aerial) photographs (Fig. 19). The Abusir lake was fed not by a canal connecting it to a surface water source such as (a branch of) the Nile, but by groundwater that collected in the bedrock during the Nile flood.[13] In the inundation season, the flood contributed to a rise of groundwater, and its penetration on the surface created a shallow lake—or rather series of such lakes, because these existed not only at the mouth of the Wadi Abusir, but also in at least two other locations along the eastern escarpment. The first was east of the royal pyramid complexes of Sahure (c. 2428–2416 BCE) and Nyuserre (c. 2402–2374 BCE) at Abusir, and the second at the site of the valley temple of Unas (c. 2321–2306 BCE) in the

that were mummified and deposited in nearby galleries of the sacred ibis in large quantities: Earl (2010), 86 (cited by Nicholson 2016, 20).

13 Bárta (2013), 79.



FIGURE 20 Aerial photograph of the pyramid of Netjerikhet/Djoser, 1924
AFTER FIRTH, C.M., QUIBELL, J.E. (1935), *THE STEP PYRAMID*, EXCAVATIONS AT SAQQARA, CAIRO: IFAO, II, PL. 6 [TOP], REPRODUCED WITH KIND PERMISSION

south.[14] The latter seasonal lake can be observed in an aerial photograph of the pyramid of Djoser taken in 1924 (Fig. 20).[15] In the Old Kingdom the lakes were bound to the east by a river levee. The natural lakes gradually transformed into marsh areas,[16] and seasonal lakes were created annually by the inundation of

14 Giddy (1994), 195; Jeffreys/Tavares, (1994), 156, 159.

15 More seasonal lakes existed in the Memphite floodplain further to the south. Casey (1999) concluded from the analysis of cores taken in low-lying areas adjacent to the causeways and valley temples of Pepi I, Djedkare-Isesi, and Pepi II that perennial standing water in these areas is unlikely, and that the theory of lakes associated with these pyramid valley temples appears to be untenable. The evidence from the lakes further north along the eastern escarpment support this view, and rather points to a seasonal character of the lakes.

16 It has been suggested that the ecosystem facilitated the breeding of the millions of ibises that were deposited in the underground galleries for the sacred ibis in the later periods of pharaonic history: Nicholson et al. (2013).



FIGURE 21 Palm groves at the edge of the floodplain close to the foot of the escarpment of the North Saqqara plateau
SCAN OF A PHOTOGRAPH (EDITION PHOTOGLOB 5210) HELD IN THE ARCHIVE OF THE ROYAL MUSEUMS OF ART AND HISTORY, BRUSSELS © KMKG–MRAH, EG1.04372

the Nile. While the lakes are today no longer there, their former presence can be reconstructed by reviewing the modern-day palm groves scattered along the eastern escarpment of the plateau, because this palm thrives in 6 m or more of damp soil (Fig. 21).[17]

The floodplain on the eastern side of the Nile is markedly narrower than it is on the west side. To the east of the floodplain are situated the Tura-Massara limestone quarries that supplied stone for the many building projects at Memphis and its necropolises.[18]

17 As noted by Bunbury (2019), 60. In the selected areas along the eastern escarpment, the damp subsoil results from the ancient lake beds and the abandoned western Nile channel. The river's westernmost migration is today marked by the Bahr el-Libeini or Mariyutiya canal.

18 Harrell (2016).

3.2 The North Saqqara *Wadi's*: A Network of Desert Roads

The Abusir Wadi extended southward to the site today occupied by the remains of the unfinished step pyramid of the 3rd Dynasty King Horus Sekhemkhet (2565–2559 BCE). Just west of the pyramid (which stands on the western edge of the North Saqqara plateau), the *wadi's* southern limit is marked by an outcropping ridge of gravelly limestone.[19] This ridge runs through the southernmost section of the so-called Gisr el-Mudir[20] and towards the escarpment of the North Saqqara plateau near the site of the pyramid of Sekhemkhet.[21] A gap in this ridge,[22] approximately halfway along its length between the escarpment and the south-east corner of the Gisr el-Mudir, opens into a more modest *wadi* running north-south and connecting to the Wadi Merire which discharges towards the inundation in the east (Fig. 22).

In the area located between the southern edge of the North Saqqara plateau and the Wadi Merire lie a series of smaller hills, today referred to as Tabbet el-Guesh.[23] The area is divided approximately in half by the north-south running Wadi Gamal, which in the north connects to the east-west Wadi Sekhemkhet and in the south joins the Wadi Merire. The pyramid of Pepi I is situated on the northern edge of a small plateau bound to the north by the Wadi Merire and to the south by the broad Wadi Taflah. South of the Wadi Taflah extends the South Saqqara plateau.

19 This is one of the upper fossil-rich beds of the Giran el-Ful member of the Maadi Formation: Reader (2004), 63–68.

20 An Early Dynastic rectangular structure, the purpose and date of which remain debated (a funerary enclosure comparable to the structures known from Abydos in the south of Egypt?) See e.g., Ćwiek (2021); Dodson (2016), 8–10.

21 Reader (2017), 2 and fig. 2.

22 Reader (2017), 2, 7, questions the natural character of this part of the '*wadi*', opening up the possibility that it might represent a man-made feature. Note that the feature is also well pronounced in the map produced by the Prussian expedition led by Lepsius: LD I., pl. 33.

23 The four features are: hill Tb NE, *koms* Tb SE and Tb SW, and plateau. The name *Tabbet el-Guesh* ('hill of the army') derives from hill Tb NE, where the Egyptian army set up an observation and defence post in the 1960s (abandoned in the 1980s). The western hills have been the focus of archaeological investigations since 2000, which uncovered part of a cemetery dated to the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period. See: Dobrev (2017); Dobrev et al. (2016); Dobrev (2006).

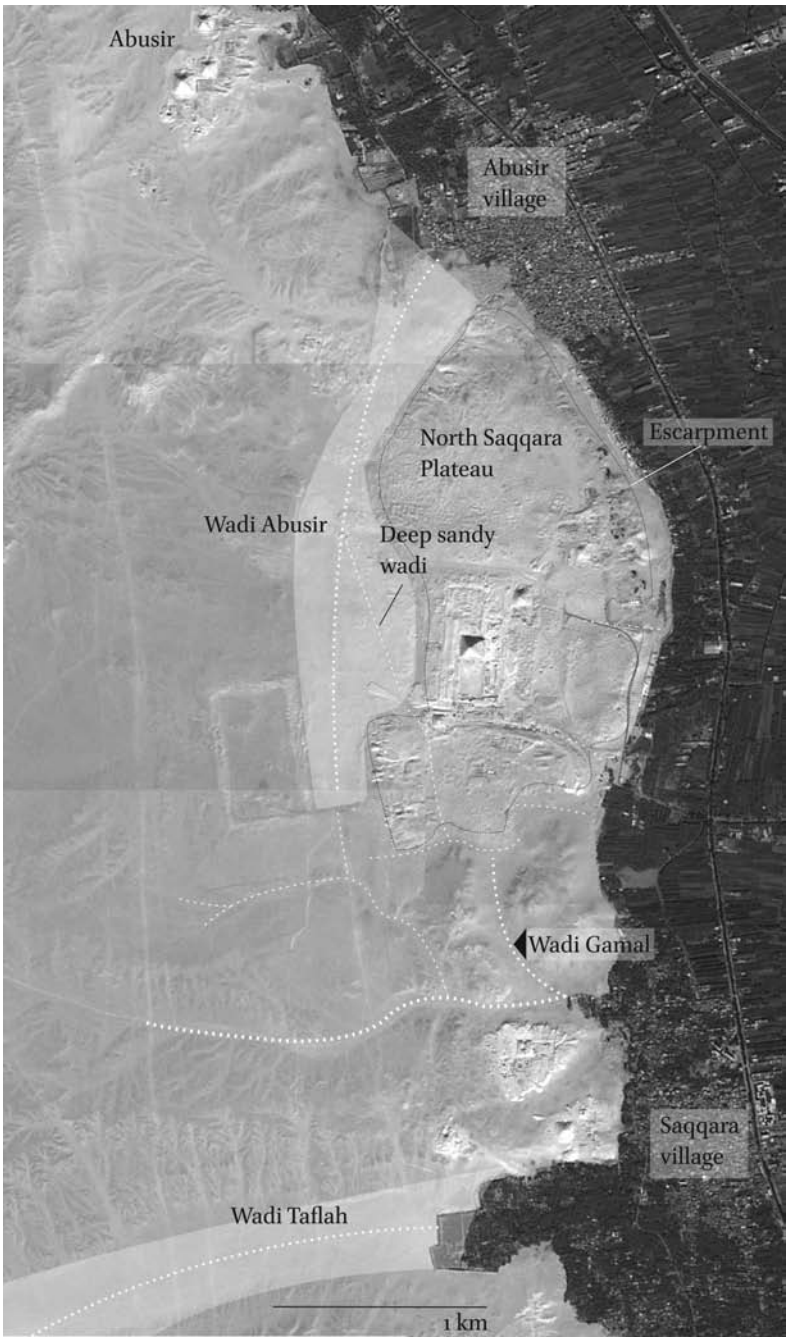


FIGURE 22 The North Saqqara plateau and its network of *wadi's*
SATELLITE IMAGES BY GOOGLE EARTH (FEBRUARY 2007), ADAPTED BY THE AUTHOR

3.3 The River Nile and Its Changing Floodplain

Any study of the urban context of the Memphite necropolises requires an assessment of its riverine landscape through time. Memphis and the North Saqqara plateau may be fixed on the map (meaning that their physical locations have not changed over the last three millennia), yet the wider landscape (and the floodplain in particular) has changed markedly. Thus, in order to understand how people moved through the landscape, and explain the spatial patterning of tomb clusters on the plateau, it is necessary to consider how the landscape changed and what it may have looked like in the New Kingdom. Recent studies of landscape evolution allow us to redraw the maps of the Memphite region for subsequent periods. At least six geomorphological processes played, in complex interplay, roles in the shaping of the floodplain in the 'capital zone'.[24] These include sea-level fluctuations, migration of the delta head, lateral migration of the river (i.e. migrating over the width of the floodplain), vertical aggradation (and degradation) of the floodplain (i.e. the build-up and eroding of sediments), incursions of desert and *wadi* sand into the Nile Valley, and aeolian sand flux into the valley and the river.[25]

The following presents a summary of the changes in the Memphite floodplain, and sketches the reconstructed situation in the New Kingdom.[26] In the Protodynastic and Early Dynastic period, two branches of the Nile ran through the Memphite floodplain, a main channel and a lateral distributary channel. The first was situated on the eastern side of the Nile Valley[27] and the latter ran close to the western plateau. Early Dynastic Memphis (*ʾInb.w-ḥḏ*) was founded not on the east end of the floodplain, near the main Nile channel, but on the western end, probably on a levee, on the narrow stretch of land between the

24 Lehner (2006). The Memphite area corresponds to the northern end of the so-called 'capital zone', the narrow end of Nile Valley stretching from the Fayum entrance, near Maidum in the south, to the present-day apex of the Nile Delta, c. 80 km to the north near Giza. In this area were located the 'capitals' of various periods of Egyptian history, including Middle Kingdom Itjtawy in the south and Memphis in the north.

25 Bunbury et al. (2017), 73; Bunbury/Jeffreys (2011), 66. The latest reconstructions of the Memphite floodplain through time are the result of a combined effort of geo-archaeology (borehole recordings), remote sensing (satellite imagery) and the study of historic topography (topographic maps). Of particular interest are the publications of the Survey of Memphis and the Giza Plateau Mapping Project: all cited and reviewed in Lehner (2006).

26 For a concise outline of the shifting of the Nile channels through the pharaonic period, see Hassan et al. (2017), 67–68.

27 As such, the eastern, main channel of the Nile connected various important early sites (both settlements and cemeteries), including Tura and Helwan and, further to the north, Maadi and Heliopolis.

western branch and the eastern escarpment of the desert plateau.[28] This location is not far from the mouth of the Wadi Abusir, the main 'access road' to the elevated desert plateau where the contemporary royal tombs and those of the high elite were situated. The latter were in fact built on the edge of the plateau, so that they were visible from the town in the valley below.

Through the Old Kingdom, the western branch of the Nile gradually shifted eastward, while the eastern branch moved in the opposite direction. In the time of Djoser, which witnessed major building activities on the western plateau, the western branch had migrated eastward close to the modern Shubrament canal. The lateral channel of the Nile migrated faster than the main channel because it was situated in an area of the floodplain that is at a relatively higher elevation, and the western channel would have dried out mid-winter when water flow in the Nile was low.[29] The western channel shifted c. 1640 m eastward during the 500 years of the Old Kingdom, to a position immediately west of Kom el-Fakhry (one of the ruin mounds of ancient Memphis), a position today marked by the Mariyutiya canal, which in the 20th century replaced the Bahr el-Libeini canal that had formalised the remains of the western branch of the Nile.[30] The main Nile channel previously running on the east side of the floodplain migrated westward. The two movements thus created a relatively narrow strip of land towards the centre of the floodplain, the Memphis Island, which was almost entirely enclosed by the two branches of the Nile. Fekri Hassan suggests that the northern part of the Memphis Island was already settled in the time of Djoser, which would place the king's residence immediately opposite his pyramid complex.[31] The decision to move the residence and centre of occupation from its previous position southward has been explained as a reaction to the shifting of the western Nile branch in combination with high floods. Cores taken on the northern side on the Memphis ruin field identified Old Kingdom pottery, indeed pointing to activity at that time. The Old Kingdom town perhaps included an early forerunner of the later temple of Ptah located at Kom el-Fakhry. According to Hassan, Pepi I established his pyramid town, known as *nḏw.t Mn-nfr Ppy/Mr.y-Rʿ*, on the western part of Memphis Island, close to the western branch of the Nile. Of all the pyramids situated on the eastern edge

28 The site is today occupied by the dig-houses of the Egyptian antiquities organisation and the expanding village to the east. See e.g., Jeffreys (2012).

29 Described in Hassan (2010).

30 The main road to and from Cairo runs along the eastern and western side of the Mariyutiya canal.

31 Hassan et al. (2017), 68. Note, however, that there is no tangible archaeological evidence to support this view at present.

of the Saqqara plateau, Pepi I's is indeed located closest to the projected Memphis Island. The pyramid town later lent its name to the royal residence, *Mn-nfr*. While Hassan situates both pyramid town and residence on the island, others, such as David Jeffreys and Jaromir Málek, argue that Pepi I's pyramid town was located in the valley immediately east of his pyramid, and that the site only later joined with the temple area at Kom el-Fakhry.[32] The presence of the western branch of the Nile would seem to render the latter interpretation impossible. The two sites simply cannot have joined physically, although they could have been at immediate opposite sides of the western Nile branch. Jeffreys suggests that the joining may have happened after the Old Kingdom, which witnessed a period of drought with very low Nile floods and encroachment of aeolian sand from the western desert.[33] He mentions the Wadi Taflah as the source of the sand. The effects of the spreading of sand from the desert were drastic.[34] The Survey of Memphis cores show that the Old Kingdom settlement was covered by at least 3 m of sand, and the western channel became silted. In combination with tectonic tilting of the floodplain, which diverted water to the eastern branch of the Nile, the western branch of the Nile would decrease to become a very shallow body of water that could probably even be forded in spring.[35]

The westward migration of the eastern or main branch of the Nile continued in the Middle Kingdom, and in the New Kingdom resulted in the situation drawn in figure 23.[36] The Memphis Island was tightly enclosed by the two branches of the Nile. Indeed, during the annual inundation, Memphis would have very clearly stood out in the landscape as an island, reminiscent of the situation created annually before the construction of the Aswan High Dam (Fig. 24). In the New Kingdom, the difference in the elevation of the settlement (Memphis) and the surrounding floodplain was only about 2 m, which would have potentially led high floods to submerge parts of the settlement.[37] The aver-

32 Jeffreys (2012), 228; Málek (1997), 95.

33 A situation not only known from historic sources, but also confirmed by analysis of cores taken in the Memphite floodplain.

34 Bunbury/Jeffreys 2011, 69, connect these events to the desertification of the Sahara.

35 Bunbury/Jeffreys (2011), 71–73.

36 Figure 23 is largely based on the observations presented in Lehner (2006), pl. 5, which takes its elevations from the 1977 Ministère de l'Habitat et de la Reconstruction (MHR) maps (scale 1:5,000), and reconstructions of the ancient courses of the Nile presented in Hassan et al. (2017). It must be stressed that the present study has taken no new geological measurements; the image merely serves to illustrate approximately the environment of Saqqara in the New Kingdom, based on the results of recent research. Additional future geo-archaeological research is highly desirable, however.

37 High floods were also a threat to the city in the Ptolemaic period. For example a papyrus from that period deals with flood-dyke reparations: Thompson (1988).

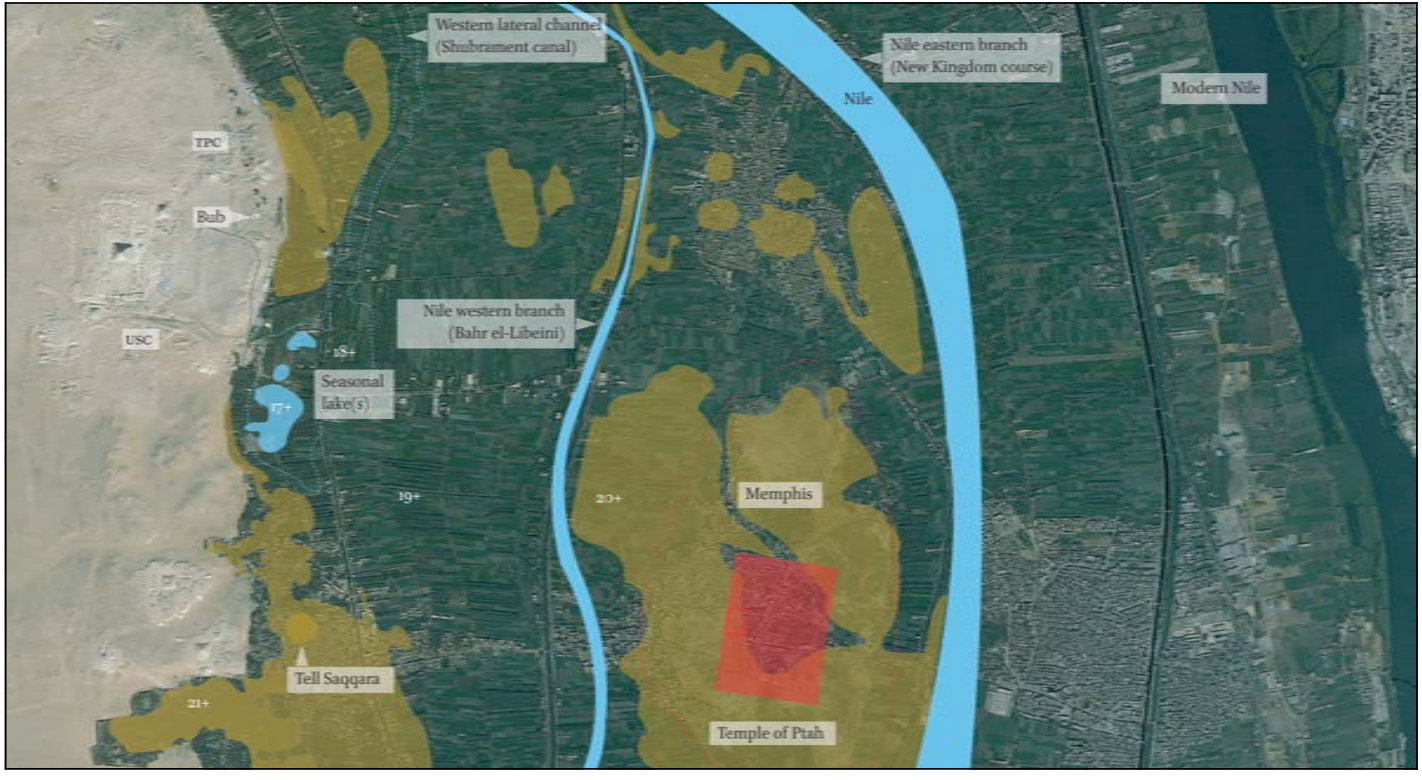


FIGURE 23 Tentative reconstruction of the Saqqara–Memphis landscape during the New Kingdom.
SATELLITE IMAGE BY GOOGLE EARTH, ADAPTED BY THE AUTHOR



FIGURE 24 Aerial photograph of the North Saqqara plateau during the annual inundation of the Nile
THE UCL INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY, AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVE FOR ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE MIDDLE EAST (AP 1342), TAKEN BY THE ROYAL AIR FORCE, DATE UNKNOWN

age water depth over the valley floor for the flood peak would have been around 1.5 m.[38] From the early Ramesside period onwards, the eastern branch of the Nile migrated eastward again, which allowed the town to expand in that direction also.

3.4 A Scattered Cemetery?

To date, four areas with clusters of tombs dating to the New Kingdom have been identified at the North Saqqara plateau (Fig. 25). These are, from north to south:

1. the eastern escarpment above the modern-day village of Abusir;
2. the area north and east of the pyramid of 6th Dynasty King Teti (Teti Pyramid Cemetery);

38 Lehner (2006), 98.

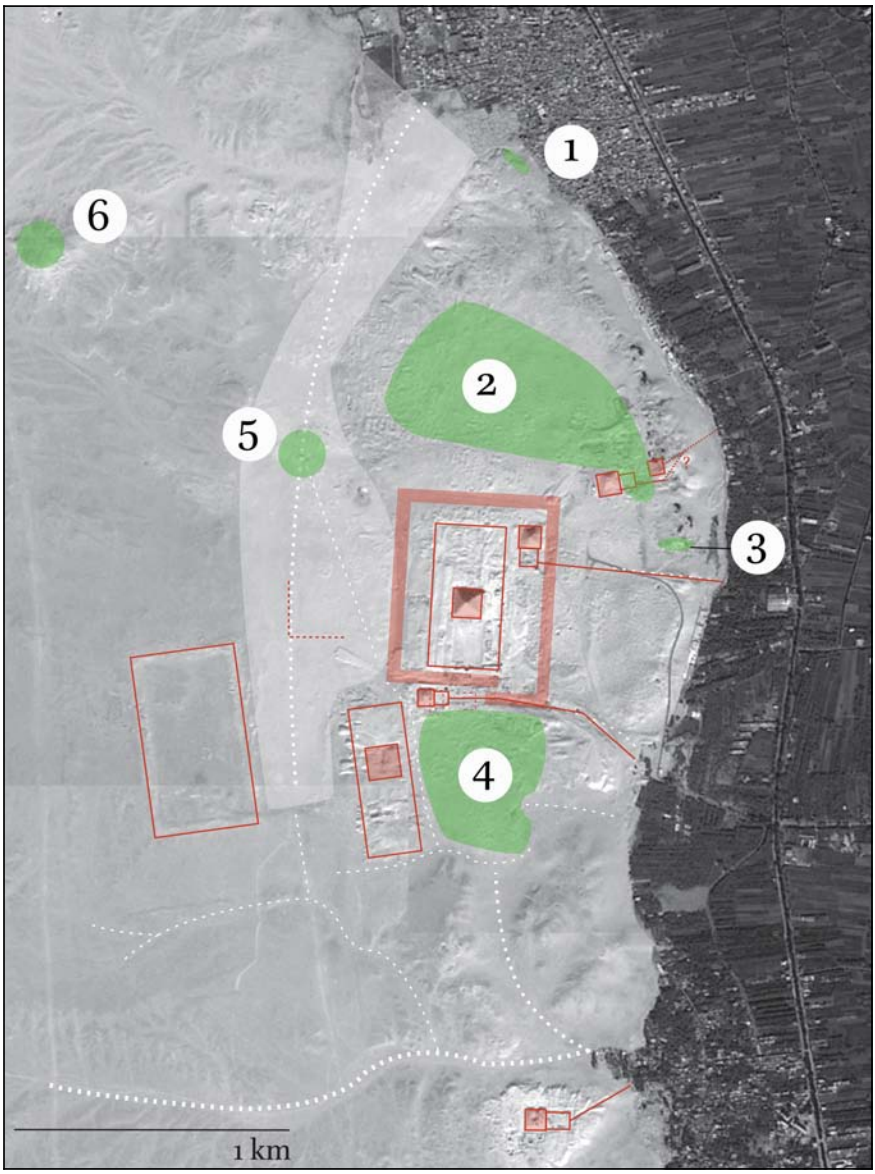


FIGURE 25 The North Saqqara plateau with its main clusters of New Kingdom activity
COMPOSITE GOOGLE EARTH SATELLITE IMAGE (FEBRUARI 2007), ADAPTED BY THE AUTHOR

3. the Cliff (*dhn.t*) of Ankhtawy,[39] also known as the southern cliff of the Abwab el-Qotat ('tombs of the cats'), the site of the later Bubasteion;[40]
4. the area south of the Unas causeway ('Unas South Cemetery').

This patterning gives the site the character of a scattered cemetery,[41] although this image might be the result of chance discovery rather than reflecting the situation in the past. Each cemetery produced distinctive tomb architecture, which was to some degree influenced by specific local geological conditions, such as for example the (in)availability of a steep cliffside suitable for making rock-cut tombs. The choices underlying the formation of tomb clusters in exactly the four identified locations were likely prompted by a variety of phenomenological considerations.[42] These included (but were not limited to) visibility, accessibility, interrelation, etc.[43]

39 De Meulenaere (1960). The designation *dhn.t ʿnḫ-tȝ.wy* is found in the so-called "tomb with cow": PM III/2, 592. It is a now-lost rock-cut tomb, described by W.M. Flinders Petrie (Sayce MSS 22a: notes made by Petrie in 1880–1882, among the papers of the Reverend Archibald Henry Sayce, kept at the Griffith Institute, Oxford, see PM III, xxxiii) and indicated on the plan of the necropolis in the Baedeker guide of Egypt, 1897 (pl. after p. 126), close to the Valley Temple of Unas (similarly indicated in the map of the North Saqqara plateau by Dodson 2016, fig. 1.1). Petrie dates the tomb to the Late Period, while Málek (1981), 158 n. 17, proposes a Ramesside date, probably because of the name, Ramose (Zivie 2015 argues unconvincingly that this individual should be identified as King Ramesses I). Petrie notes "a huge Apis being sculptured standing out from the wall at right angles, beside the tomb well". The description would suggest a representation of the goddess Hathor rather than the bovine Apis. In the Memphite necropolis, Hathor was also known the Lady of the Sycamore, Mistress of the Western necropolis, and Lady of the Valley, She who resides in the West, Lady of the Two Lands in the Sacred Land (i.e. necropolis): Staring (2015b), 245–246. The Ramesside tomb of Netjerwymes (359/Bub) contains the half-sculpted representation of a Hathor cow emerging from the living rock, which comes close to Petrie's description. It opens up the possibility that the "tomb with cow" is actually the tomb of Netjerwymes, and that the positioning on the plan published in the Baedeker guide is incorrect. This suggestion is further corroborated by the fact that the tomb may have been accessible to visitors as early as the time of Muhammad Ali, as can be seen from the description of Pascal-Xavier Coste (1787–1879), who visited a tomb with the representation of the Hathor cow on 2 April 1820: Zivie (2015); (1998).

40 Some demotic papyri from the archives of funerary priests (*choachytes*) working at the site mention a 'temple of the Peak of Ankhtawy': Martin (2009), 49–50; Text 5a, line 11: P. Malcolm = P. BM EA 10384, dated to the Ptolemaic period. The peak could possibly be identified with the most elevated area of the plateau near the Bubasteion, reaching an elevation of c. 55 m ASL.

41 After Tawfik (2003), 508.

42 That is, pertaining to people's sensory experiences of landscape. Cf. Tilley (1994).

43 For these considerations in relation to the Saqqara necropolis, see also Sullivan (2020).

The clusters numbered 1–3 are all situated in the same general area of North Saqqara plateau, whereas no. 4, the Unas South Cemetery, lies more isolated at the plateau's southern extremity. There are reasons to believe that the former clusters formed part of a single cemetery, and that the latter formed a separate cemetery. The social-demographic make-up of the tomb clusters (to be explored in chapters 4 and 5) and the local geography are suggestive of this. Regarding the latter, the North Saqqara plateau has no flat surface, but is rather undulating, containing a series of markedly more elevated areas (Fig. 26). The main clusters of tombs of the New Kingdom, the Unas South Cemetery and the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, developed on the southern and northern such areas of the North Saqqara plateau, respectively. Thus, it appears that during the New Kingdom, tomb building concentrated on these more elevated areas of the plateau. There is no reason to believe the two cemeteries were at one point in the New Kingdom connected. Indeed, in the last 200 years, no remains of tombs of the period have been excavated in the areas in between the two cemeteries.[44] For these reasons, the southern and northern cluster are treated separately in the following chapters 4 and 5.

3.5 The Necropolis as a Space Inhabited by the Living and the Dead

The necropolis was constructed and experienced as a space inhabited both by the living and the dead. Thus ancient Saqqara was populated by humans (priests carrying out the cult of the dead, workmen and artists making new tombs, people visiting family sepulchres, etc.), spirits of deceased humans—called the *ꜣ.yw n.w ỉmn.tt ꜥnḫ-tꜣ.wy*, 'blessed souls of the Western Anchtawy'[45]—and deities.[46] The deceased humans also included the deified kings

44 Note that the map of the Saqqara archaeological site produced by Jacques De Morgan (1897) suggests that there were more areas with substantial clusters of New Kingdom tombs, including east of the pyramid complex of Netjerikhet Djoser. This area has, to my knowledge, not been subjected to controlled excavations. The area has been covered by a geophysical survey conducted by a Scottish mission (SGSP). The survey map indicates the presence of subsurface structures. However, these cannot be dated with certainty to the New Kingdom, because the forms of the structures are not comparable to those of the tombs of this period excavated to date.

45 So in the graffito of the scribe Hednakhte (19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II, year 47): Navrátilová (2015), 108–111, 170–173 (M.2.3.P.19.3).

46 This is in line with how the ancient Egyptians conceptualised the created world overall, see: Lucarelli (2010).



FIGURE 26 View of the central part of the North Saqqara plateau from near the Bubasteion, facing south
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR, 2019

who were revered in their pyramid temples (Old Kingdom)[47] and in the temples of Millions of Years (New Kingdom), located nearby at the foot of the escarpment (see Chapter 6).

Foremost among the gods dwelling in the Saqqara plateau were the Memphite city-god Ptah and his living manifestation, the Apis bull, Sokar, Hathor, and Sakhmet. The mid-18th Dynasty naos-shaped stela of Paser [402], an overseer of the royal household (*ỉm.y-r ỉp.t nsw*), offers an early example[48] for an offering formula in a private monument displaying the close connection between the Memphite gods and the necropolis:[49]

> *ḥtp-dỉ-nsw Ptḥ-Skr-Wsỉr nṯr ꜥꜣ nb R-sṯꜣ.w ỉnpw ỉm.y-wt tp.y ḏw=f nb tꜣ-ḏsr ḥr.y-ỉb ḳꜣ.yt ỉmn.tt Ḥw.t-Ḥr ḥr.yt-tp sm.yt wn.t tpḥ.t n.y ꜣḫ.w*

47 For the New Kingdom graffiti in the pyramid complexes of the Old and Middle Kingdom, see e.g., Navrátilová (2015).

48 'Early' in the sense of an early New Kingdom example.

49 Stela Paris, Musée du Louvre C 80: Pierret (1878), 16. The text is inscribed on the right-hand side jamb. The stela entered the collection in 1857 and is of unknown provenance. The title held by the stela owner suggests it derives from the Unas South Cemetery.

> An offering which the king gives to Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, great god, lord of Rosetau (and) Anubis,[50] who is in the *wt* (place of embalming), who is on his mountain, lord of the holy land (i.e. necropolis), who is in the midst of the western hill/high ground (i.e. the desert plateau) (and) Hathor, who is upon the desert/necropolis, opener of the cavern(s)/tomb(s) of the spirits (of deceased humans).

Festival processions staged in honour of the respective deities (especially Sokar) were occasions for the inhabitants of Memphis to walk about the elevated desert plateau (see Chapter 6).

In the New Kingdom, the superstructures of private tombs—varying in size and complexity, ranging from modest chapels to conspicuous temple-shaped monuments (see Fig. 14)[51]—were conceived as private mortuary temples (adopting the architectural design and layout of the temples built for gods and kings: 'temple-tombs') in which the tomb owners enjoyed the proximity to (a selection of) the (Memphite) deities and where the gods (Re-Horakhty, Osiris, etc.) could be worshipped in perpetuity.[52] The tombs usually have an east-west main axis, and the preferred orientation of the tombs' superstructures was to the east, facing the rising sun (Re-Horakhty) on the eastern horizon.[53] A stela fragment from the tomb of the late 18th Dynasty army general Amenemone (005/USC) designates Re-Horakhty *nṯr ꜥ; nb p.t ḥr.y-ỉb smy.t ỉmn.tt*, 'great god, lord of the sky, who is in the midst of the western necropolis', emphasising the close link this god held to the Memphite necropolis.[54]

50 On stela Berlin ÄM 7274 of Hormin (047/USC), the early 19th Dynasty overseer of the royal household at Memphis (*ỉm.y-r ỉp.t nsw n.t Mn-nfr*), Anubis is designated as *s; wsỉr*, 'son of Osiris'.

51 For previous studies dealing with the architectural layout of Saqqara New Kingdom tombs, see e.g., Hays (2011); Raue (1995); Kitchen (1979).

52 For the Memphite temple-tombs, see: Van Dijk (1988), 42–45. See also Raue (1995), 258 n. 13.

53 A study conducted by two MA students (Andrea Tenconi and Mattia Zambernardi) in Landscape Architecture and Landscape Heritage at the Politecnico di Milano, School of Architecture and Urban Panning (2021), observed a strong correlation between the orientation of monumental New Kingdom tombs and the sun at dawn, suggesting that the tombs were built in such a manner that they received sunlight straight along their east-west axis during two days a year (Corinna Rossi, personal communication on 06.03.2021).

54 Stela fragment Paris, Musée du Louvre C 143: Pierret (1878), 49.

3.6 A Myriad of Tomb Numbering Systems (and Their Absence)

One of the major difficulties of working with the Saqqara New Kingdom necropolis is that the majority of tombs are 'lost'.[55] These were excavated in the early 19th century, and due to the shifting desert sands, soon thereafter disappeared from view and memory. The tombs excavated (including those subsequently lost) are usually not numbered, which makes it difficult to keep track of how many New Kingdom tombs we know of. At the same time, multiple numbering systems are in use for a small number of tombs. This practice differs from e.g. Thebes, where the majority of individual tombs have been assigned their unique TT ('Theban Tomb') number. Such a systematic numbering system prevents any possible confusion when referring to a certain tomb. For example, when a publication refers to "the tomb of Ptahmose at Saqqara", there are at least 14 possible candidates. One could of course add one of the principal titles held by the individual in question; however, a unique number would end any possible doubt. In this section I propose to implement an all-encompassing numbering system for the Saqqara New Kingdom necropolis. Before introducing the system, let us first review in brief the existing numbering systems, almost all of which are tied to single excavation concession areas.

3.6.1 *LS-numbers: C.R. Lepsius 1843*

The Prussian expedition led by Lepsius was the first to systematically number the monuments encountered and uncovered. Thus, when working at Saqqara in spring 1843, the pyramids and tombs were assigned their unique LS (Lepsius Saqqara) numbers, 1–31, making no distinction in their date.[56] The tombs dated to the New Kingdom are LS 8 (Meryre), LS 11 (*NN*), LS 12 (Huy), LS 13 (*NN*), LS 25 (Urkhiya), LS 26 (Iry), LS 27 (Maya), LS 28 (Raia), and LS 29 (Hormin).[57] Numbers LS 8–13 are situated in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery and LS 25–29 in the Unas South Cemetery.

3.6.2 *H-numbers: A. Mariette, 1889*

In his monumental work *Les mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, published posthumously, Auguste Mariette (1821–881) uses different letters to list all the known

55 See Martin (1991), 199–205, for a far-from-complete list of the missing tombs.

56 LD, *Text*, I, 139–186.

57 LS 30 might possibly be of New Kingdom date also. It is described as a tomb shaft (*Brunnen*) "*… wo man den Ring des Dr. Abbott mit dem Vornamen Amenophis' II Aa-chepru-Ra gefunden hat*", LD, *Text*, I, 10 [18], 185. However, the find of a finger ring is not sufficient evidence to date the tomb shaft. The small object may just as well have fallen in.

Memphite Old Kingdom tombs. The letter H lists the tombs Mariette designates as 'caput-mortuum'. The entries also include blocks of New Kingdom date. The entry for H 8 presents the lower part of a rectangular stela inscribed for Iny,[58] found on 8 February 1861 south of the *grande Pyramide*, i.e. the pyramid of Djoser.[59] The entry for H 9 includes three fragments of relief-decorated blocks of limestone.[60] Mariette found the blocks on 30 November 1850 among the Old Kingdom tombs south of the pyramid of Djoser. These blocks bear the name and titles of Meryneith. While the codes H 8 and H 9 refer to the respective tombs, the relief blocks were not found in situ.[61]

3.6.3 *Loret-Tomb Numbers: V. Loret, 1897–1899*

Victor Loret (1859–1946), on behalf of the Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte (SAE), briefly excavated an area north of the pyramid of Teti,[62] including the area now usually referred to as the *Rue de tombeaux*.[63] During his work he uncovered six tomb structures of New Kingdom date, which he numbered 1–6. These are: Loret no. 1 (Ahmose); Loret no. 2 (Amenemone); Loret no. 3 (Penamun); Loret no. 4 (Tjay); Loret no. 5 (Mose); Loret no. 6 (Mahu).[64]

In addition to the structures of varying date, he also recorded 130 tomb shafts. These shafts span the Old Kingdom through to the Late Period. Since Loret never published more than a brief preliminary report, and since he did not excavate all shafts drawn on his map, it is presently impossible to know which of the tomb shafts recorded by Loret are of New Kingdom date. Yet it is still possible to single out some of the most likely New Kingdom tomb shafts by selecting their shape (rectangular shafts are characteristic of the New Kingdom, although not exclusively) and their height. The latter is indicated for every single tomb shaft, and it indicates the height difference between what Loret calls the Old Kingdom elevation and the highest point of the shaft. The elevations of the tomb shafts that are without any doubt New Kingdom—those of tombs Loret no. 2, Loret no. 5, Loret no. 6—range between 2.5 and 4.5 m. Thus, all rect-

58 Mariette (1989), 450. Also published in Mariette (1872), 20, pl. 62.b.

59 At Mariette's time the causeway of Unas had not yet been cleared of sand.

60 Mariette (1889), 449.

61 In this respect it is worthy of note that an archaeological expedition of the Supreme Council of Antiquities led by Magdi el-Ghandour (1997a) in the mid-1990s found yet another block inscribed for Meryneith among the remains of a mud-brick mastaba located c. 200 m south of the site of the official's actual tomb.

62 Loret (1899).

63 Following Capart (1907).

64 Loret does not assign a name to tomb no. 6. The identification with Mahu follows Gessler-Löhr (2007a), 76–80.

angular shafts with a clearly marked rim situated between 2.5 and 4.5 m above the Old Kingdom level (i.e. those potentially dating to the New Kingdom) have been included in the present study. These are shafts no. 6 (Nebansu),[65] 8–12,[66] 18, 24, 52 (Tyay),[67] 53, 56, 71, 79.

The area excavated by Loret has more recently been re-excavated and further explored by more archaeological missions, including Macquarie University, re-excavating tomb Loret no. 2 of Amenemone,[68] and the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA). The latter mission relocated tomb Loret no. 5 of Mose,[69] and further excavated Loret no. 1 of Ahmose.[70] In addition, Loret shaft no. 55, located on the southwest edge of Loret's excavation area, can now be paired with the tomb chapel of Pakharu.[71] The chapel must have been accessible as early as the early 1840s, since a stela of that man was seen by Lepsius in the antiquities dealership of Youssef Massara (c. 1760–1842+) at Cairo.[72]

3.6.4 *S2700s: SAE-numbering System of J.E. Quibell 1912–1914*

Working on behalf of the Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Quibell, assisted by A.G.K. Hayter, excavated for two seasons in two areas north of the pyramid of Teti: west of the mastaba of Mereruka, and east of the mastaba of Kagemni.[73] The latter area partly overlaps with the area excavated earlier by Loret and Lepsius. The publication by Quibell and Hayter reports not just on the built superstructures of tombs, but for the first time also adds details about the 'lesser' burials, including individuals buried wrapped in palm-fibre and reed mats. The structures recorded in excavation were assigned S 2700 numbers. New Kingdom tombs with a built superstructure were excavated in the area east of the mastaba of Kagemni. These include S 2720 of Mernakht; S 2727 of Merya (Meryhor); S 2730 (possibly including S 2736) of Ipuia; S 2732 (*NN*); S 2733 (*NN* = LS 11); and S 2735 of Huy (= LS 12).

65 So identified by Gessler-Löhr (2007a), 18, 72–73, pl. 7.

66 One of the shafts 8–11 probably belongs to a man named Tjay, see: Gessler-Löhr (2007a), 73–74, with nn 66–71, pl. 8.

67 Singled out by Loret in his report. See also Gessler-Löhr (2007a), 74–75, with nn 72–80, pls 10–11.

68 Ockinga (2004).

69 Youssef (2017), 240–264, pls 127–145; Hawass (2003), 154–155, with fig. on p. 157.

70 Youssef (2017), 269–275, pls 150–154.

71 Youssef (2017), pls 110–113.

72 LD, *Text*, I, 17.

73 Quibell/Hayter (1927).

3.6.5 *Bub.-Numbers: Mission archéologique française du Bubasteion, 1980–Present*

The limestone cliffs of the southern escarpment of the later Bubastieion have been the focus of research by the Mission archéologique française du Bubasteion (MAFB) since 1980, led by Alain-Pierre Zivie. The mission recovered rock-cut tombs on two distinct levels of the cliff.[74] The tomb structures situated on the lower level, some with a freestanding structure added to the cliff-side entrance, are numbered Bub. I.1–27. The tombs situated on a higher level are numbered Bub. II.1–7. Their numbering starts on the eastern edge of the cliff and continue towards the west. The numbering system does not differentiate between New Kingdom and earlier or later tombs. The tombs of New Kingdom date are Bub. I.1 of Aper-El/Aperia; Bub. I.3 of Resh; Bub. I.5 of Merysakhmet; Bub. I.6 of Nehesy; Bub. I.13 of Seth; Bub. I.16 of Netjerwymes/Parakhnawa; Bub. I.19 of Thutmosis; Bub. I.20 of Maia; Bub. I.21 of Penrennutet; Bub. I.27 of Raia(y)/Hatiay; Bub. II.3 (*NN*); Bub. II.4 of Meryre/Sennefer; and Bub. II.x of Ptahmose. In 2018, an archaeological mission of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, led by Mostafa Waziri and Mohammad M. Youssef, continued the clearance of the southern cliff in a westward direction. Three tombs found in course of the first season have been dated to the New Kingdom. The mission discontinued the numbering system employed by the MAFB. Instead, a new numbering system was introduced, the New Kingdom tombs being SBW 18/I (Tomb no. 1); SBW 18/VI (Tomb no. 2); and SBW 18/II (Tomb no. 6).

3.6.6 *Saqqara Tombs (ST): Cairo University Expedition, 1984–Present*

An archaeological mission of the Faculty of Archaeology of Cairo University has worked in the necropolis south of the Unas causeway since 1977. The large majority of funerary structures was excavated in 1984–1988, led by Sayed Tawfik (1936–1990), amounting to 36 tombs and burial pits, including the remains of Old Kingdom mastabas and later structures.[75] The New Kingdom tombs were assigned ST (Saqqara Tombs) numbers. The numbering system takes the monument of the Vizier Neferrenpet, ST 0, as its centre. Those excavated to the north of ST 0 are numbered ST 1–9; those to the south ST 101–108; to the west ST 201–220.[76] Work in the concession area resumed in 2005, under the direction of Ola

74 See e.g., Zivie (2013), pl. 1.

75 Tawfik (1991).

76 At this point, the description offered by Tawfik (1991), 406, conflicts with the map presented as pl. 1, because he notes that 18 tombs were excavated west of ST 0 (i.e. numbered ST 201–218), while the map also includes tombs ST 219 and 220, extending the row of tombs in a northward direction. Tawfik offers no further details on the latter two tombs.

el-Aguizy.[77] Since then, an additional seven monumental tombs and smaller chapels have been uncovered. The first tomb excavated by the continued expedition, in 2006, was that of the Chief of Medjay of the King, Wadjmose, which was assigned number ST 220, a number previously assigned to the anonymous tomb situated at the northern extent of the concession area. All of the tombs excavated afterwards have not been numbered, thus discontinuing the system started in the 1980s.

3.6.7 *Macquarie University Archaeological Mission 1983–2010*

The archaeological expedition of Macquarie University, Sydney, started work in the area north and northwest of the mastaba of Mereruka in 1983. The concession area partly overlapped and continued further west where Zaki Saad (1901–1982) excavated in 1942, and where Mahmud Abd el-Raziq worked on behalf of the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation (EAO). The eastern extent of the concession area overlapped with the area where Loret worked almost a century before. Thus, in 1994–1995, the expedition relocated the tomb of the Chief of Craftsmen, Amenemone, which Loret had numbered tomb no. 2.[78] It is thus far the only tomb of New Kingdom date found by the expedition that has been fully published. In 2007, the expedition redirected its attention to the central part of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, further to the north and east of the tomb of Amenemone. The remains of four New Kingdom tomb superstructures with walls made of mud bricks were discovered in this area.[79] These tombs had been largely dismantled in antiquity, possibly in conjunction with the construction of the stone-paved Serapeum Way, which left the tombs with little more than their lower courses of mud bricks. The four tombs were numbered TNM (Teti Cemetery North, Middle Section) New Kingdom Tomb nos 1–4. Their state of preservation meant that all four were found to be anonymous. Only the owner of TNM New Kingdom Tomb no. 2, of which only the tomb shaft remained, has been tentatively identified as Ptahmay, known, among other elements, from a statue group now held in the Berlin Egyptian Museum, ÄM 2297.

3.6.8 *Varia*

In addition to the above archaeological expeditions that worked at Saqqara in the last 180 years, various others employed different systems to document archaeological features. For example, the former (EES-)Leiden archaeological expedition working in the Unas South Cemetery employed a range of systems.

77 El-Aguizy (2007).
78 Kanawati/Hassan (1996), pl. 14; Ockinga (2000); (2004).
79 Ockinga (2011); (2012).

Usually, only 'minor' tombs are referred to in publications by an archaeological feature number, while the larger temple-shaped tombs are referred to by the name of their main tomb owner. The current Leiden-Turin archaeological expedition, a continuation of the former, employs a different system, numbering according to archaeological contexts. As such, the three limestone chapels and one larger mud-brick tomb excavated immediately north of the tomb of Maya are referred to by one of their context numbers; one of the small chapels in that area consisting of a chapel (context no. 125) and tomb shaft (context no. 131) is referred to as 'chapel 125'.[80]

3.7 Introducing a New Tomb Numbering System for the Saqqara New Kingdom Necropolis

In order to end confusion caused by the absence of a coherent tomb numbering system, it was decided for this study to introduce a new system that covers all New Kingdom tombs built at the North Saqqara plateau. The proposed numbering system reckons with the spatial distribution of tombs at Saqqara. Thus, tombs clustered in clearly demarcated areas of the North Saqqara plateau (see Section 3.4) are grouped together. The four clusters of tombs identified at the beginning of this study are (1) Unas South Cemetery; (2) Teti Pyramid Cemetery; (3) cliff of Ankhtawy; (4) cliffs opposite Abusir village. The tombs are listed in the catalogue at the end of this study.

As mentioned earlier, a substantial number of tombs are today lost. These tombs are also numbered, and in some cases their location could be reconstructed. There is also a large number of tombs known only by (fragments of) reliefs, stelae, statues, and other elements found in controlled excavations. These tomb elements point to the existence of *a* tomb in either of the two cemeteries, but their precise location cannot be ascertained. The distinction between tombs with a known location and those without has been made in the catalogue. In addition to this category of 'lost' tombs, there exists a considerable number of objects and architectural elements that are known to derive from Saqqara, but their exact provenance is unknown. These were mainly excavated in the 19th century and subsequently entered public and private collections around the globe. The provenance of these objects and tomb elements was not recorded by their excavators (often anonymous to us today).

80 Del Vesco et al. (2019), 12–13.

TABLE 2 New Kingdom tombs located on the North Saqqara plateau used in this study

Location	Tomb numbers	Total	Share of total at the North Saqqara plateau
Unas South Cemetery	001–207	207 (128)	40.7 %
Teti Pyramid Cemetery	208–351; 504–509	150 (80)	29.5 %
Cliff of Ankhtawy / Bubasteion	352–367	16	3.1 %
Lost	368–501	134	26.3 %
Above Abusir Village	502–503	2	0.4 %
		509	100 %

In total, 509 tombs have been collected for the purpose of this study (Table 2):[81]

For the convenience of the reader, when referring to a certain tomb, its number will always be accompanied by the abbreviation of the cemetery where it is located, for example 046/USC for the tomb of the army general, Horemheb. The 'lost' tombs will be noted in square brackets, e.g., [479] for Kasa, general of the army.

3.8 Memphite Tombs and Tomb Clusters Not Included in This Study

This section briefly touches upon the tombs and tomb clusters situated immediately north and south of the study area. These tombs are not taken further into consideration in discussions of the growth and development of the Saqqara New Kingdom cemeteries. However, it is important to acknowledge that while the centre of (elite) funerary activity at Memphis was on the North Saqqara plateau, the adjoining areas also received built funerary monuments.

3.8.1 *Rocky Outcrop in Northern Saqqara*

The rocky outcropping located c. 1.5 km northwest of the Serapeum is probably best known for the enigmatic temple-like structure built for Khaemwaset,

81 This study only takes into account the presumed tomb structures; as such, the number (509) differs from the much larger number of Memphite individuals collected by Herzberg (2022, in press).

fourth son of King Ramesses II and high priest of Ptah. Archaeological excavations on the summit of the outcrop have revealed one substantial tomb of the New Kingdom to date. It was made for Isisnofret, who bears the title *šps.t*, 'noble woman'.[82] She has been identified as a daughter of Khaemwaset.[83] A relief block found at the latter's hilltop monument depicts both father and daughter.[84] The superstructure of Isisnofret's tomb, located c. 40 m northeast of Khaemwaset's monument (probably a *ka* chapel), is oriented north to south. As such, the central axis of the tomb is oriented towards (and perpendicular to) the central axis of her father's monument, which is oriented east to west. The arrangement suggests that the two monuments formed a unity. It also suggests that it concerns an isolated tomb, not forming part of a larger cemetery.

The tomb of Isisnofret is constructed of limestone, and comprises a pylon entrance, courtyard with colonnade, antechamber with four pilasters, three chapels in the west, and a pyramid situated due west of the tomb. Curiously, a sloping east-west passage that gives access to the burial chamber is situated outside the tomb's perimeter, while the burial chamber, which still included a limestone sarcophagus,[85] is situated underneath the pyramid. A funerary cache associated with this tomb was found c. 10 m north of the tomb. Possible objects deriving from the tomb surfaced on the antiquities market in the 1840s. Lepsius in his Denkmäler notes that he bought from Solomon Fernandez (fl. 1830–1860) in Cairo three small statuettes (shabtis) bearing the name of Isisnofret.[86]

3.8.2 *Saqqara South*

At a site northwest of the Firth Intermediate Period (c. 2118–1980 BCE) pyramid of Qakare Ibi, itself located northwest of Shepseskaf's Mastabat Faraun, Gustave Jéquier (1868–1946) found no fewer than 17 stelae that were reused as

82 Kawai (2011); Yoshimura/Kawai (2010), 467–483; Kawai (2014). Isisnofret is not the same as the homonymous lady mentioned on a two-sided stela deposited at the tomb of Horemheb, 046/USC.

83 Note that a relief fragment bearing a representation along with a single, framed column of text in sunk relief mentioning Isisnofret has been found in the Cairo University concession area of the Unas South Cemetery, see: Leblanc (1993), pl. IB. Perhaps this block is to be associated with the tomb of Khaemwaset, which might be located in the vicinity of the monastery of Apa Jeremias, where more blocks bearing the latter's name have been found.

84 Kawai (2011), fig. 4. She is probably to be identified as a daughter of King Merenptah. See Schneider (1996), 94–95, pls 99, 107–108; Raven et al. (2011b), 62 [34], fig. on p. 63.

85 The name of Isisnofret occurs only on the sarcophagus; the scanty remains of the tomb's superstructure preserve no texts.

86 LD, *Text*, I, 16: "... *Alle diese Totenstatuetten sind jetzt in Berlin* (i.e. the Berlin Egyptian Museum) *nicht mehr sicher nachzuweisen*".

paving slabs in 1930.[87] The reuse occurred "in recent times", according Jéquier. It is not known where these stelae, all dated to the Ramesside period, originally stood. The stelae for which a name and title of the owner are preserved include the Sculptor (*ṯ3y bš*, Chisel bearer), Iunu;[88] the Scribe of the Treasury of the King and Scribe of the House of the King (*sš n.y pr-ḥḏ n.y nb tꜣ.wy; sš pr-nsw*), Amenmose;[89] the Royal Scribe of the King (*sš nsw n.y nb* [*tꜣ.wy*]), Peniuny;[90] the Chief of Servants (*ḫr.y sḏm.w*), Khonsu;[91] and the Scribe of Accounts of the Cattle of Amun (*sš ḥsb iḫ.w n.w ʾImn*), Sety.[92]

3.8.3 *Dahshur North*

Approximately 2 km north of the so-called Red Pyramid of 4th Dynasty King Snefru, the outlines of a New Kingdom cemetery have been unearthed in excavations carried out in the last three decades under the auspices of Waseda University.[93] This cemetery developed over a late Middle Kingdom cemetery that possibly should be associated with the pyramid complex of Senwosret III (1837–1819 BCE)—a structure that received renewed attention early in the New Kingdom.[94] To date, the remains of two monumental tomb superstructures dated to the late 18th Dynasty have been uncovered, along with numerous pit burials. Their structures were thoroughly plundered for their stone building material, leaving little more than the lower courses of the mud-brick walls and the burial shaft leading to the underground complexes. Scattered relief-decorated blocks once set against the inner faces of the structures' walls give us the identities of their owners. By far the largest tomb was constructed for the Royal butler, clean of hands (*wbꜣ nsw wʿb ʿ.wy*), and Steward (*ỉm.y-r pr*), named Ipay, whose name was stamped in the mud bricks with which the tomb was built. This man officiated during the reign of Tutankhamun. The tomb's superstructure measures c. 47 × 17.7 m, oriented east to west. The tomb was built on an elevated platform, accessed via a sloping ramp on its east side—a fea-

87 PM III/2, 675; Jéquier (1935).
88 Jéquier (1935), 23 [19], pl. 22.
89 Jéquier (1935), 27 [3], pl. 18.
90 Jéquier (1935), 30 [12], pl. 20.
91 Jéquier (1935), 30–31 [13], pl. 20.
92 Jéquier (1935), 29 [10], pl. 17.
93 Yoshimura et al. (1998); Yoshimura/Hasegawa (1999); Yoshimura/Hasegawa (2000); Yoshimura et al. (2001); Yoshimura et al. (2005); Yoshimura/Baba (2015).
94 See e.g., Navrátolová (2013) on the New Kingdom graffiti left on the stone architectural elements of the pyramid complex., and Navrátilová (2017) on the Thutmoside graffiti in particular, attesting to a deep interest in the Middle Kingdom monument and its king, and the possibility that certain Theban monuments were inspired by those seen at Memphis.

ture also observed in select late 18th to early 19th Dynasty tombs built in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery (see Chapter 5).[95] The tomb consists of a forecourt, inner courtyard with a tomb shaft giving access to the burial apartments, and three chapels in the west. The mud-brick walls once had a limestone revetment bearing relief decoration. The tomb's excavator, Sakuji Yoshimura, tentatively suggests that Ipay might be the same man as Ipy [372],[96] the Amarna-age chief steward of Memphis who followed in the footsteps of his father, Amenhotep Huy (141/USC).[97] The tomb was reused in the Ramesside period, as attested by the sarcophagus and shabti of another steward named Mose. The title Overseer of horses of the king is attested on a canopic jar fragment, which might possibly belong to the same man as well. A hieratic jar docket mentions 'the seventh year of Ramesses-Meryamun', firmly dating the man and his reuse of the tomb to the early reign of Ramesses II.

The scanty remains of the superstructure of a second tomb were found c. 100 m to the west of Ipay's. The limestone-built structure was set on a small mound and displayed a layout consisting of a courtyard with a shaft and chapels in the west. The fragments of relief blocks and funerary objects give the owner as Ta, *wab* priest and lector priest of Ptah (*wʿb ḫr.y-ḥb n.y Ptḥ*).

The possibly earliest tomb in this area excavated to date belonged to an Overseer of all priests of the Two Lands (*ỉm.y-r ḥm.w-nṯr nb.w tꜣ.wy*), and High priest of Neith (*ḥm-nṯr tp.y n.y N.t*). His tomb stela was found in a shaft (numbered 17) northwest of the tomb of Ipay. This man is tentatively dated to the reign of Amenhotep III.

95 These are 210/TPC (Ahmose), 225/TPC (Neferrenpet), and 229/TPC (Huy). The contemporary tomb of Ipuia, 212/TPC, may have also had this feature.

96 Yoshimura et al. (2001), 11.

97 The fact that Ipy dedicated a stela which features him sitting vis-à-vis his father, Amenhotep Huy, would rather suggest that he was buried in the Unas South Cemetery, perhaps sharing in his father's tomb. On the other hand, various leads to date the tomb would seem to fit the time in which Ipy lived, including the blocks from which the tomb shaft was constructed, their measurements corresponding to the size of *talatats* (52×26×22 cm), a jar label giving a date of year 23 of Amenhotep III, and objects bearing the names of Tutankhamun and Ankhesenamun.

CHAPTER 4

The Unas South Cemetery

4.1 Extent of the Cemetery

The name given to the Unas South Cemetery is a modern one; the ancient Egyptians of the New Kingdom did not employ a specific toponym to refer to this place. A large part of the plateau now referred to as the Unas South Cemetery is unexcavated, which means that we do not know its exact boundaries (Figs 25, 27–28). Today, this area is bound to the north by the causeway of the last king of the 5th Dynasty, Unas.[1] His causeway connects the king's valley temple to his pyramid temple. We do not know whether this causeway was still visible in the New Kingdom, let alone used for accessing the plateau. Yet, the fact that no remains of New Kingdom tombs have been observed due north of the causeway, suggests it marked the northern boundary of the non-royal cemetery more than 800 years after Unas had it constructed.[2] The natural landscape played a prime role in delimiting the area deemed suitable for building above-ground tomb structures in this area. The desert south of the causeway can be defined as a fairly even plateau, situated at a higher elevation compared to the plateau north of Unas. The steep scarp south of the causeway is further amplified by the so-called dry-moat that formed part of the pyramid complex of Netjerikhet Djoser.[3] The cemetery south of Unas is bound to the west by the remains of the unfinished 3rd Dynasty Step Pyramid complex of Sekhemkhet, which itself was built on the edge of the plateau, covering a length of c. 520 m north to south.[4] The cemetery is further bound to the east by the escarpment—locally referred to as the *Ras el-Gisr*—and in the south the plateau slopes down into a *wadi* or dry river bed.

1 First excavated in 1937–1938 by Selim Hassan (1938). For further work in 1941–1943, see Abdel Salam M. Hussein (1943). For a complete record of the pyramid temple, see: Labrousse et al. (1977).

2 A number of monumental Late Period shaft tombs are situated to the south and east of the pyramid of Unas. Those south of the pyramid have been the focus of renewed archaeological investigation since 2016, see Hussein (2020). As far as I am aware, no New Kingdom finds were made in the course of these excavations.

3 For this feature, see e.g., Myśliwiec (2018) and Kuraszkiewicz (2011), with further references.

4 Goneim (1957).

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FIGURE 27 The Unas South Cemetery seen from atop the pyramid of Djoser, facing south
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR, 2013

4.2 History of Excavation

The New Kingdom cemetery first became the focus of systematic archaeological work in 1975. It was when Geoffrey T. Martin initiated the joint British Egypt Exploration Society (EES, London) and the Dutch National Museum of Antiquities (RMO, Leiden) expedition, which initially aimed to relocate the tomb of Maya (028/USC).[5] Some of the Leiden museum's masterpieces derived from that tomb, last seen (or, at least recorded) by the Prussian expedition led by Lepsius, in March 1843.[6] The joint EES-Leiden expedition continued work until

5 The origin story of the mission has been narrated many times before. See e.g., Martin (1991). The first tomb (re-)discovered by the mission was that of Horemheb (046/USC). The first standing column bearing text was unearthed on 14 January 1975, see: Raven (2007), image on p. 44. For a brief overview of the expedition's results, see Raven (2014). A popular overview of the mayor tombs excavated by the (EES-)Leiden mission (1975–2010) is presented in the booklet by Oeters (2012).

6 Staring (forthcoming); LD, *Text*, I, 182–184.



FIGURE 28 The Unas South Cemetery seen from atop the pyramid of Unas, facing west
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR, 2019

1998. From 1999 onwards, the expedition was organised by the Leiden museum in collaboration with Leiden University. Since 2015, the Leiden expedition has joined forces with the Italian Museo Egizio, Turin.

On the western extent of the plateau, Zakaria Goneim excavated the 3rd Dynasty pyramid complex of Sekhemkhet, 1951–1955. A small number of burials postdating the 3rd Dynasty were noted, including 19th Dynasty surface burials of individuals enclosed in reed and palm-rib mats.[7]

On the eastern edge of the plateau, Quibell, Saqqara's chief antiquities inspector of the Egyptian Service des Antiquités, in 1906–1907 started exploring the area locally known as the *Ras el-Gisr*.[8] He was drawn to that area when news arrived of Egyptian farmers, digging for *sebakh*, had unearthed a wall decorated with murals of the former monastery of Apa Jeremias. The *sebakhin* were stopped and Quibell set out to excavate the site for a period of four seasons.[9] The builders of the monastery had extensively quarried the surrounding (former) New Kingdom cemetery for suitable building material, in particular lime-

7 Goneim (1957), 23–28. Perhaps the best-known (mat) burial is that of the lady 'Kanefernefer'. Her funerary mask is now held in the collection of the Saint Louis Art Museum, inv. no. 19:1998.

8 Quibell (1908), 63.

9 Quibell (1912), (1909), (1908).

stone blocks. An expedition of the German Archaeological Institute (DAIK), led by Peter Grossmann, in 1970 returned to the monastery to reinvestigate select areas through small-scale excavation.[10] The expedition continued until 1981 and unearthed an additional small number of relief-decorated blocks reused from nearby tombs of New Kingdom date.[11]

Further to the east, near the valley temple of Unas, a number of loose blocks from New Kingdom tombs were found.[12] These items likely derived from the cemetery further west, because no tomb structures of this date have been attested this far east.

On the southern end of the plateau, an expedition of the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA) led by Magdi el-Ghandour worked for three seasons (1994, 1996–1997) on a cluster of early Old Kingdom mud-brick mastabas.[13] These structures proved to be pierced by tomb shafts of New Kingdom date. No remains of superstructures associated with the latter shafts were noted, however. The excavation yielded loose blocks and an anthropoid sarcophagus.[14]

The area north of the Leiden-Turin concession area has been under investigation by a team from Cairo University since 1977. The expedition led by Soad Maher started work immediately south of the Unas causeway in search of standing remains of the Coptic monastery of Apa Jeremias, and a cemetery for its monks.[15] In its first year, the expedition also uncovered the foundations of a number of New Kingdom tombs, including that of the Vizier Neferrenpet (034/USC). The expedition resumed with a focus shifted to the New Kingdom. Between 1984 and 1988, a team led by Sayed Tawfik excavated dozens of large and small tombs all around the stone-built mastaba of Minnefer.[16] Work resumed in 2005 when a team led by Ola el-Aguizy continued the excavation in a southward direction, narrowing the gap between the Leiden-Turin and Cairo University concession areas, and thus almost connecting the two 'islands' with clusters of New Kingdom tombs.

From 1973 to 2001, a team of the Freie Universität, Berlin, and the Universität Hannover, led by Peter Munro, excavated a section of the Old Kingdom mastaba cemetery north of the Unas causeway and continued south in an attempt to demarcate the extend of the superstructure of 2nd Dynasty king

10 Grossmann (1971).
11 Grossmann (2009), with a report on the New Kingdom reliefs by Dietrich Raue. For an overview of work in the monastery, see: Grossmann (2007).
12 Moussa (1981).
13 El-Ghandour (1997a).
14 For the latter, re-inscribed for Ray (043/USC), see el-Ghandour (1997b).
15 Leclant (1978), 278.
16 Tawfik (1991).

Ninetjer; the entrance to its subterranean galleries was found north of the causeway.[17] The excavations south of the causeway yielded various tomb elements of New Kingdom date, such as statues (all apparently in a secondary context),[18] and the remains of at least one monumental tomb, made for Djehutynakht (060/USC).[19] The subterranean complex of Ninetjer, further investigated by a team of the DAIK led by Günther Dreyer (2003–2010), included New Kingdom burials.[20] The tomb shafts cut through the chambers and corridors of the older complex, and the pre-existing spaces were repurposed for (multiple) burials.

A large section of the Unas South Cemetery has been surveyed using geophysical equipment. The Glasgow Museums Saqqara Geophysical Survey Project (SGSP), led by Ian Mathieson, conducted the survey in 2009.[21] It covers a roughly rectangular area south of the causeway, between the pyramid complex of Sekhemkhet in the west and the edge of the Cairo University concession area in the east. In the south, the survey includes the slope of the escarpment and a strip of the adjoining *wadi* bed. The survey map clearly highlights structures that can be identified as New Kingdom tombs,[22] thus offering an indication of where the western and southern edges of the cemetery lay.

The whole area south of the Unas causeway was thoroughly yet haphazardly excavated in the 19th century.[23] In the 1820s, it were the European consuls and other diplomats and businessmen who hired local agents and gangs of work-

17 The Old Kingdom tombs have been published by Cooke (2020). See also Slingenberg/Veldmeijer (2021) for further holdings of the Munro archive, which includes unpublished finds of New Kingdom date.

18 Munro (1988).

19 Munro (2001).

20 Published by Lacher-Raschdorff (2014). For the history of exploration of the site, see pp. 41–45.

21 Over the years, the team has surveyed a huge area of the desert surface on the North Saqqara plateau, in particular in the area north of the pyramid of Djoser. The mission was discontinued after 2009. I am indebted to Campbell Price and John Dittmer for sharing (unpublished) data of this survey with me.

22 The Leiden-Turin expedition planned a similar geophysical survey for the 2020 and 2021 seasons of excavation. This survey should have complemented the area covered by the SGSP. The new survey results would have helped at interpreting the survey map created in 2009. Unfortunately, due to the covid-19-related cancellations of these seasons, the survey is still pending.

23 The site was also excavated before the 19th century, although not on such a large scale. For example, the pyramidion of the tomb-pyramid of Tia (057/USC) was published as early as 1737–1739 by the Scottish traveller Alexander Gordon. The object left Alexandria in 1722, becoming one of the earliest Egyptian antiquities to arrive in Great Britain. See Martin (1991), 114–115, fig. 76.

ers drawn from the nearby villages to excavate on their behalf in search of items to be included in their private collections. It is impossible here to give a complete overview of all individuals involved. The number of people responsible for the exploration and exploitation of the site is simply too large, and the activities of only a few are (more or less) well documented. This subject surely deserves a study of its own. The names that should be mentioned here, are those of Giovanni d'Anastasi (1765–1860), Giuseppe (Joseph) Passalacqua (1797–1865), Giuseppe di Nizzoli (1792–1858), Solomon Fernandez (fl. 1830–1860), Youssef Massara (c. 1760–1842+), Henry Abbott (1807–1859), and Auguste Mariette (1821–1881).[24] Their excavations, or those made on their behalf, yielded the largest numbers of tomb elements, now distributed over public and private collections around the globe. Mariette ended the widespread and largely uncontrolled excavations with the foundation of the Service des Antiquités, in 1858, along with changed legislation regarding Egypt's antiquities.[25] He continued work in this area until the 1870s, in search of antiquities to be included in the Bulaq Museum, opened to the public in 1863,[26] the forerunner to the current Cairo Egyptian Museum on Midan Tahrir. The period between the 1860s and 1906, when Quibell arrived on the scene, is rather shadowy. Illicit digging likely continued in this period, as objects from the cemetery continued to appear on the art market. The underlying excavations will not have been large-scale, however.

4.3 Notes on the Site before the New Kingdom

The tomb builders of the New Kingdom were not first to use this area of the North Saqqara plateau for burial. The earliest archaeological traces date to the 2nd Dynasty. In the north, the subterranean complexes of two royal tombs have been explored: those of Hetepekhemwy (later partly built-over by the pyramid of Unas),[27] and Ninetjer.[28] Their superstructures have not survived. The two tombs may have formed part of a royal cemetery that continued further west, in the area now occupied by Ramesside tombs excavated by the Cairo Uni-

24 For an overview, see e.g., Staring (2017b). A biography of Joseph Passalacqua is forthcoming: Moje (in preparation).

25 Ḳāṭir (1960).

26 Lebée (2013).

27 There is no scholarly consensus regarding the identity of the king buried in this gallery tomb. Munro (1993), 95, for example, suggests that the tombs was made for king Raneb.

28 Lacher-Raschdorff (2014).

versity archaeological expedition. To the south of the royal tombs, a number of contemporary non-royal underground complexes have been excavated. Two such complexes are located underneath the New Kingdom tombs of Meryneith (032/USC) and Maya (028/USC).[29]

As far as can be judged from the archaeological data, construction at the site resumed in the later Old Kingdom. In conjunction with the building of the Unas pyramid complex, an unknown number of mastaba tombs were constructed in the area. In all areas investigated by modern-day archaeological expeditions, the remains of such tombs have been noted, suggesting that the total surface of the plateau south of the causeway of Unas was utilised for burials at that time. The majority of tombs were built of mud bricks. In addition, the cemetery included at least one monumental mastaba made of solid limestone. It was built for a vizier of Unas, named Minnefer.[30] The building still towers high above the standing remains of Ramesside tombs in the Cairo University concession area. The mastaba of another vizier, Ptahhotep, who lived close to the reign of Unas, was seen by Lepsius when he worked at Saqqara in 1843. The Prussian expedition numbered the tomb (LS) 31, and indicated its location on the map of Saqqara.[31] It is located roughly 50 m northwest of the current Leiden-Turin concession area, where it has been gradually covered by sand since the time of Lepsius. It is rather surprising that the limestone-built mastabas of Minnefer and Ptahhotep are still extant, since many structures of the Old Kingdom (including parts of the royal complexes) were quarried for their fine Tura limestone building material,[32] or even pulled down entirely to make way for New Kingdom tombs. For example, the tombs of Horemheb (046/USC) and Maya (028/USC) utilised pre-existing Old Kingdom tomb shafts. The superstructures associated with these shafts were demolished and their (stone) building material reused locally. In total, ten tomb shafts in the Leiden-Turin concession area have been identified as Old Kingdom (Fig. 29).[33] Thus, to a certain extent, the spatial distribution of extant tomb shafts influenced the spatial distribution of New Kingdom tombs.

29 Regulski (2011a); (2011b); Regulski et al. (2010).

30 Tawfik (1991), 404, fig. 1 (opposite p. 408). The granite sarcophagus of Minnefer is today held in the collection of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden, inv. no. AM 6: Holwerda/Boeser (1905), plate 30. It derives from the collection of Giovanni d'Anastasi, 1828.

31 PM III/2, 653–654; LD *Text*, I, 185–186; Staring (2021a), 55–58, figs 3, 17; Cooke (2020), 164–165.

32 For the Tura and Massara limestone quarries on the east bank of the Nile near Memphis, see e.g., Harrell (2016).

33 It is not always clear to me on what criteria the excavators dated the shafts to the Old Kingdom.

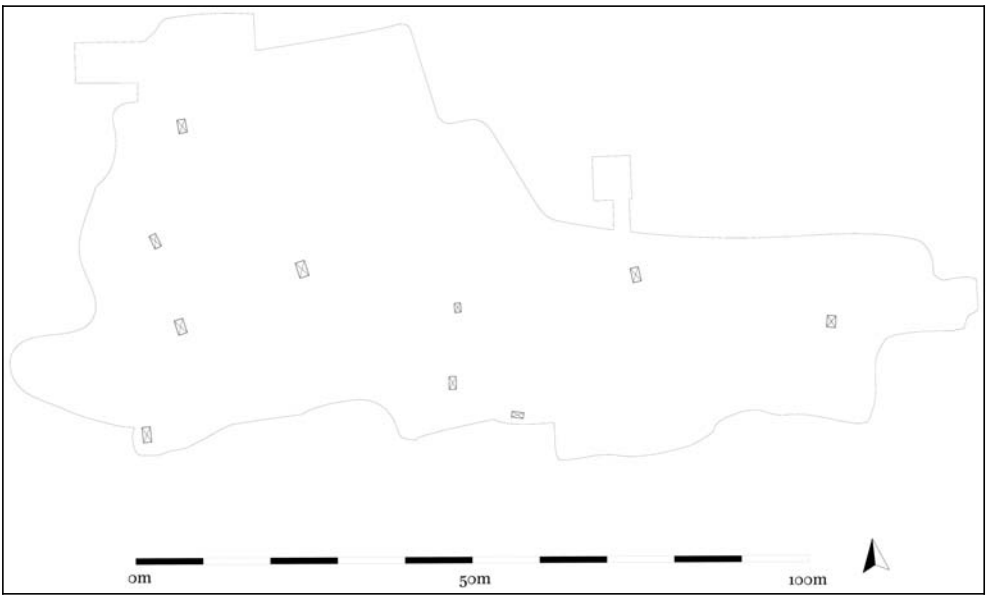


FIGURE 29 Distribution of Old Kingdom tomb shafts in the Unas South Cemetery, Leiden-Turin concession area, reused in the New Kingdom.
IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR

4.4 The New Kingdom before the Amarna Period

As far as we can tell from the archaeologically surveyed areas of the cemetery, the site was not utilised for burial in the period between the end of the Old Kingdom and the mid-18th Dynasty. Future excavations might change the image, however. Due south of the Unas South Cemetery, the remains of a late Old Kingdom to First Intermediate Period (FIP) cemetery have been identified in the area today referred to as the Tabbet el-Guesh, situated on the hills flanking the like-named *wadi*.[34] As we will discuss further on in this chapter, in the architectural build-up of certain tombs situated in that cemetery (the so-called 'house-mastabas'), we may recognise the forerunners to the earliest New Kingdom tombs in the Unas South Cemetery. The latter were built in the mid-18th Dynasty, and although we have no remains of their actual superstructures, the elements now held in museum collections point in that direction.

34 Dobrev (2017); (2016); (2006).

The areas of the Unas South Cemetery not previously excavated may indeed hold more surprises, and fill gaps in our knowledge regarding the continued use of the plateau for burial. Yet it is presently safe to say that the current state of the archaeological evidence does not allow for a comprehensive assessment of how the cemetery grew in the New Kingdom before the Amarna period. We cannot even claim with certainty whether the site was used as a burial ground from the outset of the 18th Dynasty. Indeed, the earliest New Kingdom tombs excavated to date were built in the mid-18th Dynasty reign of Amenhotep II (Section 4.4.3). By linking the available archaeological evidence (albeit limited) with information gathered from decontextualised tomb elements excavated by early 19th century explorers and antiquities collectors and now housed in collections worldwide, a more complete image of the cemetery may emerge.

4.4.1 *A Mud-Brick Structure of Amenhotep II*

The earliest New Kingdom building activity at the site is found c. 40 m south of the Unas causeway. There lies the excavated portion of a mud-brick wall of massive proportions.[35] It is c. 2.5 m wide and was excavated over a length of 22 m, oriented roughly east-west (Fig. 30).[36] The structure which the wall formed part of is situated partly in the area where the superstructure of the 2nd Dynasty tomb of Ninetjer would have stood. A connection with the former royal tomb seems unlikely, however. The drastic anthropogenic interventions in the built landscape south of the pyramid complex of Djoser in the late Old Kingdom had altered the Early Dynastic landscape to the extent that little, if anything, of the previous buildings was visible on the surface. The Old Kingdom interventions included the construction of the pyramid of Unas on the spot where the 2nd Dynasty tomb of Hetepsekhemwy/Raneb would have stood, the construction of the Unas causeway, and the making of a series of stone-built mastaba tombs in the area.

The mud-brick wall of Amenhotep II was built directly on the bedrock. It is not known exactly what sort of structure the wall was part of. What we do know, however, is that it was built in the reign of Amenhotep II, because the bricks used in its construction were stamped with a cartouche and the king's *prenomen*, *ꜥ3-ḫpr.w-Rꜥ*.[37] The combination of the stamped bricks bearing the

35 'Massive' in comparison with the average thicknesses of walls of New Kingdom tombs at Saqqara.

36 Lacher-Raschdorff (2014), 98, figs 18, 47, pl. 42 f.

37 Lacher-Raschdorff (2014), 98. The excavators initially read the name as *Djeserkhaperure*, the *prenomen* of Horemheb. This reading has been corrected in Weiss (2015), 50. Despite



FIGURE 30 East-west section of the massive wall made with bricks stamped with the name of Amenhotep II. AFTER LACHER-RASCHDORFF, C. (2014), *DAS GRAB DES KÖNIGS NINETJER IN SAQQARA: ARCHITEKTONISCHE ENTWICKLUNG FRÜHZEITLICHER GRABANLAGEN IN ÄGYPTEN*, WIESBADEN: HARRASSOWITZ, PL. 42F. IMAGE © DAI CAIRO / CLAUDIA LACHER-RASCHDORFF

the corrected reading, Sullivan (2020) still dates the wall to the reign of Horemheb. She suggests that the wall formed part of a huge enclosure around the entire New Kingdom necropolis, see https://constructingthesacred.supdigital.org/cts/horemheb-wall, last accessed on 02.11.2021. Sullivan's suggestion probably follows that posed by Raven (2000), 140; Raven et al. (2011b), 28, which is now outdated, however.

name of a king and the monumental dimensions of the wall strongly suggest that it was a building made under royal patronage, most likely a temple. This suggestion can be further corroborated by evidence for this king's building activities elsewhere in the Memphite necropolis.

First of all, and located closest to the Unas South Cemetery, is the foundation of a temple built with mud bricks stamped with the king's *prenomen*, excavated atop the prominent rocky outcrop in the desert between Saqqara and Abusir, west of the Serapeum.[38] This site offers a terrific panoramic view of the Memphite necropolis and the Nile Valley beyond. It has seen major building activity since at least the 3rd Dynasty, when a layered stone structure was built against the southern slope of the hill.[39] Statues of leonine goddesses found ritually buried inside the structure's subterranean chambers suggest the presence of a cult of a leonine goddess.[40] Saqqara is indeed known for the veneration of two aspects of the same leonine goddesses, Bastet and Sakhmet. The former is closely tied to the Saqqara-Abusir necropolis, and more specifically to Ankhtawy.[41] The veneration of Bastet took monumental shape in the later period of pharaonic history with the construction of the Bubasteion on the eastern escarpment of the North Saqqara plateau, east of the pyramid of Teti. In the New Kingdom, Sakhmet was considered the consort of Ptah at Memphis, and in the mid-18th Dynasty she became the recipient of a cult in the pyramid of Sahure at Abusir, known as Sakhmet-of-Sahure.[42] Whether the structure built by Amenhotep II atop the rocky outcrop was also connected to this or *a* leonine deity is not known at present.

The second possible parallel for the king's structure is found at Giza, where Amenhotep II built a mud-brick temple dedicated to the sphinx as Hor-em-akhet, 'Horus in the Horizon'.[43] The central axis of this temple is oriented on the sphinx (i.e. the entrance looks out to the sphinx), reinforcing the connection between the two structures. The mud-brick temple was fitted with limestone elements, including door jambs, and its centrepiece was a large, round-topped stela dedicated by the king to the sphinx.[44] It measures 4.25 × 2.53 m, is made of

38 Takahashi (2017), 613–615; Yoshimura/Takamiya (2000), 171.

39 Kawai (2011).

40 Yoshimura/Kawai (2003); Yoshimura/Kawai (2002).

41 Borrego Gallardo (2018).

42 *LdÄ* 5, 323–324.

43 Der Manuelian (2017), 27–28, fig. 2; (1987), 257; Spencer (1979), 64; Hassan (1953). The remains of another mud-brick structure were found immediately behind (i.e. to the northwest of) the temple of Amenhotep II. Hassan (1953), 67, attributes it to Thutmosis I. It was likewise oriented on the sphinx, and thus probably served the same purpose.

44 The stela is popularly best known for the king boasting his athletic abilities.

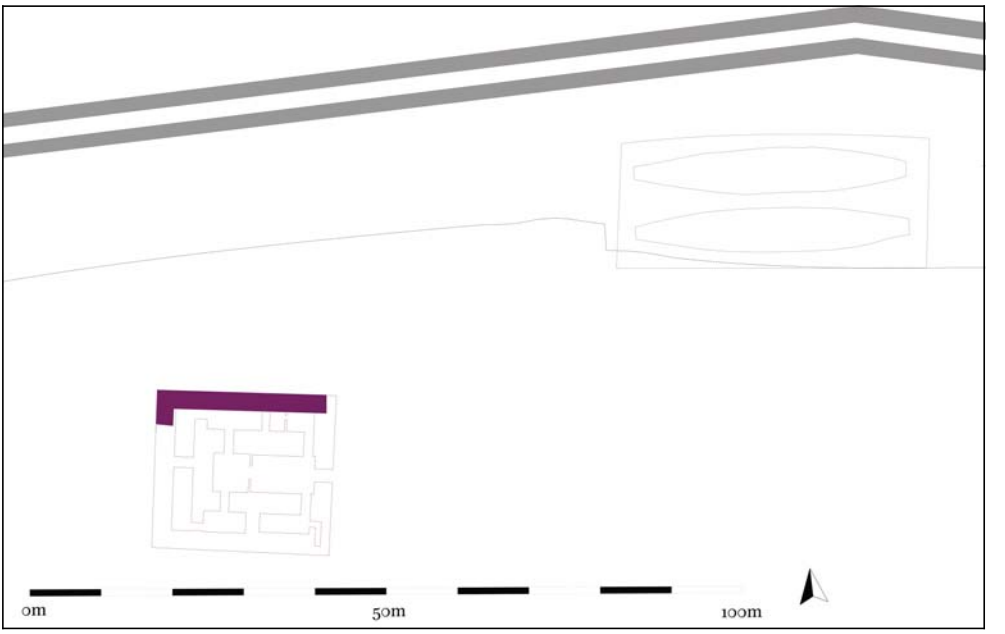


FIGURE 31 The structure of Amenhotep II near the causeway of Unas
IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR

limestone, and was found *in situ*. Numerous votive stelae dedicated by private individuals, some specimens embedded in a mud-brick wall, and numerous so-called ear stelae and other *ex voto's* of New Kingdom date, attest to a popular cult for Horemakhet at the site.

The dimensions of the walls of the king's temple at Giza compare very well with those of the Saqqara structure. This leads us to hypothetically reconstruct a similar, modest structure, with the plan of the Giza temple superimposed on the Saqqara wall (Fig. 31).

The two Memphite parallels for the Saqqara-structure of Amenhotep II suggest that the place south of the Unas causeway held special significance, which the king marked by constructing a temple. Precisely what significance this place held is not known. The structure is surrounded by monuments built by the royal ancestors, so perhaps a connection to the deified kings might be a possibility. By building a temple, the king 'inscribed' himself into (the history of) this sacred landscape. One may also think of a possible connection to (Ptah-)Sokar(-Osiris). This god had an important role in the mortuary cults of the New Kingdom tombs built in this cemetery.[45] Moreover, Saqqara was

45 Raue (1995), 257; Van Dijk (1988), 42.

first and foremost the ancient abode of this Memphite deity. Perhaps this structure is connected to this deity, and to the annual procession staged for him. We also know that the Unas South Cemetery lay on the route to the Serapeum, the burial place and centre of veneration of the Apis bull, the living manifestation of the Memphite city god Ptah, which from a religious point of view was the most significant site at New Kingdom Saqqara. The temple of Amenhotep II would have stood on this route, and therefore a connection with this feature cannot be excluded either.

The evidence for Amenhotep II further suggests that he may in fact have constructed more than one temple, because bricks stamped with his *prenomen* have been found at locations scattered all over the Unas South Cemetery, up to c. 400 m south of the abovementioned wall found *in situ*. One brick was found north of the exterior west wall of the tomb of Horemheb (046/USC);[46] four bricks were reused as fill of a low bed or platform for burials dated to the early Ptolemaic period inside the northern lateral magazine (in publication referred to as 'Magazine B') of the tomb of Horemheb;[47] one brick was found during excavation of the tomb of Tia (057/USC);[48] one brick found in the area between the tombs of Horemheb (046/USC) and Iniuia (009/USC);[49] 20 (fragments of) bricks found in the fill (deposited post early 19th Dynasty) of the tomb shaft of Ry (038/USC), at a depth of 3–5 m;[50] and two mud bricks found southeast of New Kingdom shaft no. 5 (112/USC), c. 200 m south of the tomb of Ry (038/USC).[51]

Although not entirely impossible, it would seem unlikely that the bricks found at the southern end of the Unas South Cemetery, at the head of the gradual slope towards the inundation, all derive from the monument built on the northern edge of the cemetery. It would be more obvious if the bricks were taken from a standing structure in the direct vicinity. One may also note that the find spot is at the 'entrance' to the cemetery, which means a prominent location for a (hypothetical) temple. On the other hand, the fact that a relief-decorated block from the tomb of Meryneith/re (032/USC) was found reused at the same location, suggests that the mud bricks could derive from further north also. In this case, further north might be close to the cluster of tombs in the Leiden-Turin concession area rather than the king's structure on the northern edge of

46 Schneider (1996), 51, cat. 325a, pls 33, 74.
47 Schneider (1996), 51, cat. 325b, pl. 33.
48 Raven in Martin (1997), cat. 100.
49 Raven (2005), 82–83, cat. 115, pl. 107.
50 Weiss (2015), 46, figs 1, 3; Raven et al. (2014–2015), 7, fig. 6.
51 El-Ghandour (1997a), 13, no. 5, pl. 12.



FIGURE 32 Unas South Cemetery, Leiden-Turin concession area, during the mid-late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep II (?)
IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR

the cemetery. In the 2015 excavation season, the expedition unearthed a number of unbonded wall segments, one of which numbered 2015/4 (108/USC), in the southern extent of the concession area (Fig. 32–33).[52] The wall segments have not been excavated further and are unpublished.[53] However, the size of the wall suggests that it formed part of a sizeable structure. Perhaps another temple structure of Amenhotep II? The large number of mud bricks stamped with the *prenomen* of Amenhotep II (indeed the largest number of such loose bricks found at the site) were recovered from the fill of the tomb shaft of Ry (038/USC), which is located less than 20 m to the northwest of wall 2015/4.[54]

Evidence for a Memphite temple of Amenhotep II is additionally found in the tomb stela (Leiden AP 9) of the Royal Butler, Ipu [373]. On stylistic grounds, the stela can be dated to the reign of Tutankhamun. Another holder of the same title, royal butler, from the reign of Akhenaten–Tutankhamun, named Ptahemwia (025/USC), built his tomb in the Unas South Cemetery, a little northeast

52 Raven et al. (2014–2015), 11, fig. 2; Raven (2020b), 62.
53 No stamped mud bricks were noted as part of the wall, *in situ*.
54 Weiss (2015), 49, also floats the suggestion that (a selection of) the wall segments may form part of a monument dating to the reign of Amenhotep II, possibly a tomb.



FIGURE 33 Large mud-brick wall (108/USC) visible in the southern section of the Leiden-Turin concession area
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR, 2017

of Ry. The presence of his tomb strongly suggests that Ipu, perhaps Ptahemwia's successor in office, built his tomb in the same general area of the cemetery. Ipu's father, Neferhat, is also depicted on the stela, and he bears the title Lector priest of Aakheperure (the *prenomen* of Amenhotep II). The title likely references the king's temple of Millions of Years. The quarrying of limestone, at the Tura–Massara quarries, destined for this temple is recorded on a stela found at the quarry (Birch no. 2) of the Overseer of works in the temples of the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt, Minmose, dated to year 4 of the king.[55] The official, Minmose, also served Amenhotep II's father, Thutmosis III.[56] One of the temples built for Amenhotep II at Saqqara (if indeed two temples were built) might possibly be identified as a temple of Millions of Years. In this respect it is interesting to point out that another official from the reign of Tutankhamun, the General of the Army Amenemone (005/USC) also acted as an *ỉm.y-r pr m t; ḥw.t Mn-ḫpr-Rˁ*, Steward in the temple of Menkheperre (Thutmosis III). His tomb is today lost; however, there are strong indications that the tomb of Ry (038/USC)

55 Harrell (2016), table 1; Ullmann (2002), 96–102; *Urk.* IV, 1448, 4–14.
56 Der Manuelian (1987), 164–166; *Urk.* IV, 1441–1448.

was built against that of Amenemone. If this scenario proves correct, the tomb of Amenemone was built immediately west of the structure 108/USC, which we tentatively identified as a mid-18th Dynasty monument.

In connection to the temple of Amenhotep II at Saqqara, we may also briefly turn to a large quartzite stela (2.85 m high) of the same king found at Memphis (Kôm el-Rabî'a).[57] The 34 lines of text carved on the stela describe one of the Asiatic campaigns of the king, and is dated to year 7 of this king. The stela was found reused as a roofing slab in the tomb of one of the 22nd Dynasty high priests of Ptah, named Sheshonq (like the others a descendant of Ososkon II), located just outside the southwestern corner of the perimeter wall of the temple of Ptah.[58] It is generally assumed that the makers of the tomb removed the stela from a nearby temple structure at Memphis. The suggestion is based on a parallel stela carrying a text of the same nature found in the temple of Amun at Karnak.[59] The attribution to the temple of Ptah at Memphis is indeed convincing, the more so since the lunette depicts a mirrored image of the king offering to both Amun (on the left) and Ptah (on the right). However, the find context of the stela also opens up the possibility that the stela in fact derived from Saqqara. A number of the tombs of the 22nd Dynasty high priests were made using building materials taken from tombs—most likely tombs from Saqqara. These include the lid and bottom of the red granite sarcophagus of Amenhotep Huy [382], mayor of Memphis in the reign of Ramesses II, found reused in the tomb of Petiese,[60] an anthropoid sarcophagus of the same man found in the tomb of Harsiese,[61] and four relief-decorated blocks and a lintel inscribed for the 19th Dynasty high priest of Ptah, Iy-iry, from the reign of Seti II, found reused in tomb W.[62] The tomb of Amenhotep Huy's predecessor in office, Ptahmose (027/USC) is located halfway between the find spot of the 20 stamped mud bricks of Amenhotep II (tomb shaft of Ry, 038/USC) and the king's wall found further north. If the builders of the Third Intermediate Period (TIP) high priestly tombs at Memphis quarried this area of the necropolis for building material, they could have also taken the large stela of Amenhotep II.

57 Badawi (1943). The stone from which the stela was made (quartzite; erroneously called '*rötlichen Sandstein*' by Badawi) was quarried at Gebel Ahmar.

58 The tombs of the family of high priests was initially excavated, undocumented, by an anonymous inspector of the Department of Antiquities at Saqqara. The cemetery was fully excavated later, in 1940–1942, by Ahmed M. Badawi and Mustafa M. el-Amir. See Gräzer Ohara (2020), 34–35.

59 Legrain (1903).

60 Mit Rahineh, Mathaf Ramsis M05, M08: Gräzer Ohara (2020), 252–255.

61 Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 59128: Hamada (1935), 122–131.

62 Anthes (1965), 79–85, pls 27a, 28, 29a, figs 7–8.

It is hoped that future archaeological work at Saqqara will further enlighten us on the nature of the structure(s) of Amenhotep II.

4.4.2 *A Temple of Thutmosis IV?*

Amenhotep II appears not to have been the only king of the mid-18th Dynasty who expressed special interest in the Unas South Cemetery. A limestone architrave fragment, measuring 1.8 × 0.9 m, bearing the *prenomen* of Thutmosis IV, *Mn-ḫpr.w-Rˁ*, was found reused as a trough in the nearby Coptic monastery of Apa Jeremias.[63] The trough/architrave stood in the middle of what Quibell terms the Court of Octagons (Fig. 34). Betsy Bryan suggests that the architrave formed part of a shrine dedicated to Ptah, at Memphis, and points out that the size of the preserved fragment befits a building of impressive dimensions.[64] Although not entirely impossible, a Memphite provenance seems unlikely, however. It is difficult to comprehend why the builders of the monastery would take the trouble of transporting this block all the way from Memphis, c. 3 km to the east, whereas stone building materials were abundantly available close to where the monastery stood. It seems more plausible, then, that this architectural element offers the only remaining evidence for a temple built by the king at Saqqara, either on the plateau or at the foot of the escarpment. The former deserves preference, and we may hypothesise that Thutmosis IV built a structure similar to that of Amenhotep II. Like Amenhotep II, Thutmosis IV also expressed an interest in the rocky outcrop between Abusir and Saqqara,[65] and in the sphinx at Giza, where among other things he had a stela installed between its paws (the so-called dream stela).[66] That we do not have any additional material remains of this temple[67] (or any other Saqqara New Kingdom temple, for that matter) should perhaps come as no surprise, given the huge numbert of limestone blocks processed in the construction of the Coptic monastery.[68] Just the Court of Octagons alone in its ruined state still contains an impressive number of limestone blocks, and it is very unlikely that these were quarried at distant Tura-Massara. In relation to the Saqqara temples, we may also want to point out the stela which was reused as a threshold to its southern entrance (Fig. 34). This quartzite stela derives from the tomb of the

63 Bryan (1991), 157–158; Quibell (1912), 3, 131, pls 1, 4, 5.

64 Bryan (1991), 157.

65 Yoshimura/Takamiya (2000).

66 Brugsch (1876).

67 Note that the Giza parallels were largely made of mud bricks, and that select parts of the structures were furnished with limestone elements, including door jambs, *lintels*, and stelae.

68 An equally large number of limestone blocks have disappeared in the nearby lime kilns.



FIGURE 34 The location of the Court of Octagons in the ruins of the monastery of Apa Jeremias in relation to the New Kingdom necropolis south of the Unas causeway
IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR

Chief Steward in Memphis, Amenhotep Huy (141/USC), one of Amenhotep III's top-officials in the north of the kingdom. Among a list of other things, he was responsible for the construction of the temple of Millions of Years of the king. There are strong indications that his tomb stood close to the king's memorial temple—perhaps in an area where more royal temples of the New Kingdom once stood (Chapter 6).

4.4.3 *A Lost Mid-18th Dynasty Cemetery in the Former Collection of Giuseppe di Nizzoli*

The royal structure(s) did not stand alone in this area of the necropolis. Well-off private individuals of the mid-18th Dynasty appear to have built their tombs there also. Yet the problem with assessing the structure and development of the cemetery through the first half of the 18th Dynasty, is that no material remains of tomb structures have been found in controlled archaeological excavations. We mainly have the incidental accounts of early-modern excavators who were exclusively interested in assembling antiquities collections of their own. Now

that part of the cemetery has been excavated in modern times, we can deduce in which areas the earlier diggers operated. Museum objects assembled for some of the early 19th century private collectors can be linked to *re*discovered tombs, i.e. tombs that were unearthed in the early 19th century and subsequently lost.

Drawing on the evidence presently available to us, not all early collectors are as reliable a source. For example, the agents and diggers who provided Giovanni d'Anastasi with antiquities excavated in multiple sites across the North Saqqara plateau. Thus it is rather difficult to pinpoint where exactly his diggings were concentrated and, by extension, from whence many of the current museum objects were taken. We are on firmer ground with Giuseppe Passalacqua, whose diggers concentrated their work in the area south of the pyramid of Djoser. Indeed, all the tomb elements unearthed by them, now held in the Berlin Egyptian Museum, that can be linked to more recently excavated tombs are exclusively located in the Unas South Cemetery. The earliest dateable items from Passalacqua's collection are late 18th Dynasty, and therefore not relevant to the present section. For the earlier 18th Dynasty, we need to turn to the former collections of Giuseppe di Nizzoli, chancellor of the Austrian Consulate in Egypt from c. 1818–1827.

Nizzoli amassed three collections that he sold in Europe. The first was bought in 1820 by Ernst August Burghart on behalf of the Emperor Franz I of Austria,[69] which now forms part of the *Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung* of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. The second collection was sold in 1824 to the Grand Duke Leopold II of Tuscany (1824), and now forms part of the Museo Egizio di Firenze in Florence. The third collection was sold to the painter Pelagio Palagi (1831) and, since 1860, constitutes the core of the Egyptian collection of the Museo Civico Archeologico in Bologna.[70] The excavations carried out in spring 1826 are, for the time, well-documented, because Nizzoli's wife, Amalia Sola, directed work at Saqqara.[71] She wrote in a diary form about her experiences and observation while living in Egypt. Her account was eventually

69 Nizzoli (1841), 83–84; Hayes (1938), 12–13.

70 For the latest information on Nizzoli and his collections (incl. a fourth, which now forms part of the Museo Archeologico in Pavia, not relevant to the present study), see: Rindi Nuzzolo/Guidotti (2017); Rindi Nuzzolo (2016).

71 For the date, see Rindi Nuzzolo/Guidotti (2017), 356 with n. 153; Rindi Nuzzolo (2016), 287–288. It is important to add that not all objects that entered Nizzoli's collections were excavated on his behalf, however. A second means of acquiring the objects was to buy from or exchange them with other collectors, see Pernigotti (1991), 11.

published in 1841.[72] The publication offers important information regarding the excavations '*a Saccarah, villagio situate presso l'antica Menfi*'.[73] At the village of Saqqara she was provided with accommodation replete with house staff, and stayed there for the duration of the work, which lasted 40 days. Objects unearthed in the course of this campaign formed Nizzoli's third collection. These included a column fragment from the tomb of Amenemone (005/USC), a pilaster from the tomb of Ptahemwia (025/USC), five relief-decorated blocks from the tomb of Horemheb (046/USC), and one relief block from the tomb of Hormin (047/USC). All these tombs form part of a relatively small cluster of above-ground monuments in the Unas South Cemetery. With the re-discovery of the tomb of Horemheb in 1975 and Ptahemwia in 2007, the precise provenance of these items is now known. Thus, as far as the New Kingdom necropolis is concerned, Sola directed the excavations not too far from where she resided at Saqqara village.

One of the tombs excavated on behalf of Nizzoli before 1826 was that of Amenhotep Huy (141/USC), the chief steward in Memphis. A number of the items found at the tomb and inside the burial chamber entered the second collection sold to Florence. The items include a granite pyramidion, the limestone stela depicting Huy vis-à-vis his son, Ipy, two calcite jars, a calcite cubit measure, and a calcite model palette.[74] This important discovery is also referred to in Sola's publication.[75] Not all items found during excavation were carried off. She narrates that it was impossible to remove the stone sarcophagus of Amemhotep Huy, and that it was left behind in the burial chamber. In Section 4.4.2 we learned that another stela of Amenhotep Huy had been found reused in the monastery of Apa Jeremias, in the so-called Court of Octagons. The find of this heavy stela, repurposed as a threshold, suggests that the tomb from which it was taken, stood close by. This area, on the edge of the plateau, is locally referred to as the *Ras el-Gisr*, 'head of the embankment', which, in Quibell's words, is "that much-dug area on the desert edge at the end of the dyke leading from Bedrashein".[76]

72 Nizzoli (1841).

73 Nizzoli (1841), 234.

74 All these items are conveniently published together in the exhibition catalogue edited by Paola Giovetti and Daniela Picchi, *Egitto: Splendore millenario*, of the Museo Civico Archeologico, Bologna, alongside with those now held in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden (ex-coll. G. d'Anastasi, 1828), nos v.13–21.

75 Nizzoli (1841), 244–245.

76 Quibell (1908), 63. 'Much-dug' by the *fellahin* (farmers), digging for *sebakh* (soil from ancient sites, used as manure for the fields). Quibell notes that the *fellahin* are not sup-

TABLE 3 Items from Saqqara New Kingdom tombs sold by Giuseppe di Nizzoli

Collection sold	Present location	Tomb no.	Date	Name
1831	Bologna EG 1885–1889	046/USC	D.18, Tutankhamun	Horemheb
1831	Bologna EG 1893	[472]	D.18, Tutankhamun	Sobekmose
1831	Bologna EG 1944	047/USC	D.19, Seti I–Ramesses II	Hormin
1831	Bologna EG 1945	[419]	D.19	Ptahhotep
1831	Bologna EG 1891	025/USC	D.18, Akhenaten–Tutankhamun	Ptahemwia
1831	Bologna EG 1892	[398]	D.18, late	Paraemheb
1831	Bologna EG 3136	[487]	D.18, Thutmosis III	Djehuty
1824	Florence 2610; 2567	141/USC	D.18, Amenhotep III	Amenhotep Huy
1824	Florence 2565	[412]/[491]	D.18, Thutmosis IV–Amenhotep III	Ptahmose
1824	Florence 2584	[409]	D.18, Amenhotep III	Ptahmay
1824	Florence 2588	[396]	D.18–19	Panebpahau
1824	Florence 2589	[473]	D.18, Amenhotep III	Sobekhotep
1824	Florence 2593	[454]	D.18, Amenhotep III	Hatiay
1824	Florence 2207; 2222–2225; 2929–2937; 2788	[487]	D.18, Thutmosis III	Djehuty
1824	Florence 2238–2239	141/USC	D.18, Amenhotep III	Amenhotep Huy
1821	Vienna Äs 123; 178	[383]	D.19, Seti I	Amenhotep Huy

The links between the items held in Nizzoli's second and third collections and the tombs re-located by modern archaeology suggest that Nizzoli exploited the same area of the plateau later supervised by his wife before 1826. These observations tentatively offer context to the items of Nizzoli's second collection now held in Florence. This collection includes a small number of items from the tombs of officials who lived before the reign of Amenhotep III (Table 3). These provide indications for the (former) presence of tomb structures built in the mid-18th Dynasty, spanning the reigns of Thutmosis III, Amenhotep II, and

posed to dig at large for *sebakh*, and, in order to control the practice, that certain sites are given over to them. At Saqqara, "the site of Ras el-Gisr has been abandoned for years to the *sebakh* industry", perhaps, Quibell suggests, in order to save the earlier monuments. For a view of the site during the inundation, clearly highlighting the dyke, see Quibell (1909), pl. 2.

Thutmosis IV. The evidence, albeit scanty, strongly suggests that these tombs stood in the Unas South Cemetery.

4.4.4 *The Tomb of the Vizier Thutmosis on Saqqara's "Chain of Hills"*

One item from the former collection of Nizzoli is of particular interest, because the Italian offers firsthand information about the find context (*in situ*), which is quite remarkable for the time.[77] The information pertains to the Old Kingdom inspired false-door stela of the Lower Egyptian Vizier Thutmosis [491],[78] who served under Thutmosis IV–Amenhotep III (Fig. 35):[79]

> Il tableau n. 1 rapressentante la porta di un tempío, fu ritrovato durante i miei scavi a Saccarah vicino a Menfi, sulla catena delle colline che dividono la sponda sinistra del Nilo, dalle sabbie dei deserti. La città di Menfi non è distante da questo luogo più d'un quarto d'ora, ed è prossima alla detta sponda del Nilo. Il detto tableau era situato in una parete di prospetto d'un tempietto rovinato, ed era alla superficie del terreno ossia della roccia.[80]

The description suggests that the stela was set in a freestanding, above-ground tomb chapel that was most likely constructed of mud bricks. That Nizzoli mistook the tomb chapel for a "small temple" hints at its size, which must have been larger than the roughly contemporary small chapels known from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery (Chapter 5). The stela likely stood in or against the west wall

77 Included at the beginning of his memoirs that, along with the catalogue of his second collection drafted by G.-B. Zannoni (who was commissioned by the Grand Duke of Tuscany Ferdinand III to inspect the antiquities prior to the possible sale), were published in the 1880 volume *Documenti inediti per servire alla storia dei Musei d'Italia*, Vol. 4, pp. 346 ff. ('Museo Nizzoli'): Nizzoli (1880).

78 Florence inv. no. 2565: Bosticco (1965), 39–41, no. 33. Note the large dimensions of the stela: c. 140 cm in height. The form of the stela is unmistakably Old Kingdom-inspired. The iconography of the central panel is, on the other hand, clearly contemporary New Kingdom. The motif of the priest standing before an offering table, presenting offerings to the seated deceased, is not found in the Old Kingdom.

79 Nizzoli (1880), 371. For the stela and the link to Nizzoli's description, see Gessler-Löhr (1995), 146 with n. 82.

80 Translation: "The tableau no. 1 representing the door of a temple was found during my excavations at Saqqarah near Memphis, on the chain of hills that divide the left bank of the Nile from the sands of the deserts. The city of Memphis is not more than a quarter of an hour from this place, and is close to the said bank of the Nile. The said tableau was situated in a wall of an elevation of a ruined small temple, and it was at the surface of the ground or of the rock."



FIGURE 35 False-door stela of Thutmosis, vizier during the reigns of Thutmosis IV and Amenhotep III, Florence, Egyptian Museum inv. no. 42565–ME2565
PHOTOHRAPH SU CONCESSIONE DEL MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO NAZIONALE DI FIRENZE (DIREZIONE REGIONALE MUSEI DELLA TOSCANA)

of the structure. The observation that the structure stood "at the surface of the ground or of the rock" is interesting, because it reminds one of the temple wall of Amenhotep II, which was indeed built on the bedrock (see Section 4.4.1). The question is whether the tomb of the Vizier Thutmosis stood in close proximity to the temple of Amenhotep II, which, in turn, might have seen the nearby construction of a temple of his successor, Thutmosis IV, if indeed the lintel (reused as a trough in the Coptic monastery's Court of Octagons) has been identified correctly (see Section 4.4.2). It is perhaps more likely that the tomb stood further to the southeast, close to the 'head of the embankment' where Nizzoli also found the tomb of Amenhotep Huy. This is also closer to where the large quantities of mud bricks stamped with the *prenomen* of Amenhotep II were found, near structure 108/USC. This site better fits Nizzoli's description of siting the tomb structure "on the chain of hills", which might be a reference to the hills flanking the Wadi Gamal (also known as the Wadi Tabbet el-Guesh).

One of the hills flanking the *wadi* to the west, labelled *kom* Tb SW, has indeed been used as a cemetery. Burials, rock-cut tombs and above-ground superstructures dated to the late Old Kingdom–FIP and the Late Period–Greco-Roman period have been excavated there since 2000.[81] No New Kingdom remains have been found there, however. Tombs dated to that period might perhaps be found on one of the hills flanking the *wadi* to the east, *kom* Tb SE. That is if we base ourselves on the information provided by the map published by Jacques De Morgan in 1897.[82] On the hill are indicated the locations of two Old Kingdom structures (coloured red) and several structures that De Morgan dates to the New Kingdom (coloured dark green). Could these be the tombs that Nizzoli describes as being located "on the chain of hills that divide the left bank of the Nile from the sands of the deserts"? Today, there is nothing on the surface of the hills east of the *wadi* that would reinforce this suggestion.

It is not just the location of the Tabbet el-Guesh cemetery that fits the description given by Nizzoli; the FIP tomb structures also have false door stelae that might provide an indication for the architectural setting of the mid-18th Dynasty specimens. The characteristic FIP tombs are called 'house mastabas'.[83] The tombs' superstructures are built of mud bricks, are white plastered, and

81 Dobrev (2017); Dobrev et al. (2016); Dobrev (2000). The nomenclature to refer to the hills and *koms* follows that adopted by the French expedition of the IFAO led by Vassil Dobrev, who has been excavating the site since 2000.

82 De Morgan (1897). For notes on the high level of accuracy of the map, as regards the location of individual tombs (such as the 3rd Dynasty tomb of Hesi in the north of the North Saqara plateau), see Quibell (1913), 1–2.

83 Parallels for these structures are found at Saqqara South and Dahshur South, see Jéquier (1929), 62, pl. 6; el-Ghandour/Alexanian (2005), 201, pl. 34a–c, respectively.

have a rectangular niche cut in their eastern side in which the false door stela is set—some with a lintel added over the stela and an offering table on the floor in front—, and have a small courtyard to the east of the structure.[84] The owners of the Tabbet el-Guesh house mastabas were priests serving in the pyramid of Pepi I, which stood nearby to the south, at the mouth of the *wadi*.[85]

The combination of the cemetery location and the architectural layout of the house mastabas at Tabbet el-Guesh flags the hypothesis that the mid-18th Dynasty tomb structures were inspired by structures in the local mortuary landscape.

4.4.5 *The Vizier and High Priest of Ptah, Ptahmose: The First Occupant of a New Cemetery?*

A predecessor of Thutmosis in the office of northern vizier, a certain Ptahmose [418], in the reign of Thutmosis III simultaneously held office of high priest of Ptah at Memphis. He too is attested by an Old Kingdom-inspired false door stela, made of red granite (Leiden AM 1-a).[86] The stela derives from the collection of Giovanni d'Anastasi, who, as we know, was not personally involved in excavations, but mostly bought from dealers and local excavators. The exact provenance of the stela is therefore uncertain; yet a setting similar to that of the stela of Thutmosis is to be expected.

To our present knowledge, Ptahmose is the earliest New Kingdom vizier for whom a Memphite tomb can be reconstructed with certainty.[87] He is attested by a range of funerary items and tomb elements. These include, apart from the

84 Dobrev (2017).

85 Dobrev suggests that the FIP activities in the cemetery might possibly be connected to the presence locally of the pyramid(s) of the king(s) they served. The pyramids of most these 7th–8th Dynasty kings are as yet 'lost'. The only such pyramid known today is that of Ibi at Saqqara South: Jéquier (1935).

86 The dimensions are 166 × 80 cm (hxw), which is roughly comparable to the dimensions of the stela of Thutmosis.

87 Another vizier of the same reign, Neferweben, should probably be placed after Ptahmose chronologically, see Gessler-Löhr (1995), 134–135, pl. 2.d-e. He is attested with some items derived from Memphis. His statue was found in the temple of Ptah, and the original context of the two canopic jars is unknown. For these reasons I am hesitant to include Neferweben in the list of Memphite *tomb* owners, even though the canopic jars were held in the collection of Lord Nugent, who acquired them (along with the stela of the vizier Thutmosis) during a visit to Egypt in 1844. Among the items Lord Nugent acquired in 1844 are also two canopic jars of Wesy [389], *temp*. Amenhotep III, who was a chief of bowmen of the king (*ḥr.y-pḏ.t n.y nb tꜣ.wy*). The tombs of a number of individuals bearing the same title in the reign of Tutankhamun, and later, were built in the Unas South Cemetery, so there is a chance that the canopic jars of Neferweben, like Wesy's, were unearthed at Saqqara.

stela, the fragment of a seated statue made of limestone (Brooklyn 37.1512E)—a material one would associate with a tomb context rather than a temple context—, four canopic jars (Louvre N 2986–2989; ex-coll. E.A. Durand, 1825), a cubit measure (Leiden AD 54; ex-coll. G. d'Anastasi, 1828), and a greywacke scribe's palette (Louvre N 3026; ex-coll. Comte d'Hauterive, 1832). All these items entered the private collections at around the same time that Nizzoli excavated at Saqqara.

The central panel of his impressive stela depicts the deceased tomb owner seated at an offering table. The stela is made of granite, a hard stone quarried at Aswan in the south of Egypt. The material suggests that the stela was a gift of the king. After all, quarrying for hard stones such as granite was royal monopoly. The Old Kingdom-inspired stela, in combination with the material it is made of, provides a link to the contemporary Upper Egyptian vizier, Rekhmire. Two false door stelae occupied a central place in his rock-cut tomb (TT 100) at Sheikh Abd el-Gurna in Western Thebes. The two stelae were superimposed in the 8 m high west wall of the tomb's main corridor.[88] The lower stela, measuring just over 4 m high, is carved from the rock. The second stela was originally placed directly above the rock-cut specimen, and is now housed in the collection of the Musée du Louvre in Paris (inv. no. C 74). It is made of red granite and has approximately the same dimensions as the stela of his colleague in the north, 146 × 81 cm.[89] The stelae of Ptahmose and Rekhmire are strikingly similar, although various iconographic details clearly differentiate the two.

In the reign of Thutmosis III, the vizierate became a dual function. The vizier responsible for the administration of the South resided at Thebes, and the vizier of the North resided at Memphis. The fact that the two viziers of Thutmosis III who, for the first time, shared the office availed themselves of nearly identical stelae to be set in their private tombs can hardly be a coincidence. Moreover, the two viziers were not alone in having false door stelae in their houses of eternity. The king, too, had a similar monument made for his temple of Millions of Years, located on the western bank of the Nile at Thebes on the edge of the floodplain opposite the cemetery of Sheikh Abd el-Gurna. The large stela had been removed long ago for reuse elsewhere in Western Thebes, and it has recently (2020) been re-installed against the westernmost wall of the structure.[90]

88 Davies (1943).

89 Pierret (1878), 11.

90 Blog-post of the Thutmosis III Temple Project, 28.12.2020, https://thutmosisiiitempleproject.org/2020/12/28/estela-tutmosis-iii/, last accessed on 02.02.2222. The stela had been taken away in antiquity when in the Roman Period it was reused in Medinet Habu.

Unfortunately nothing is known about the architectural context of Ptahmose's stela, nor do we know anything about the spatial context in which the tomb stood. Yet the parallel offered by the tomb of Rekhmire invites us to have a closer look at the location selected for the tomb, and the spatial relationship to the king's temple of Millions of Years. Rekhmire clearly selected a spot that offered a direct visual link to the monument of the king he served. Such spatial relationships are not at all uncommon. To the contrary, the location of the tombs of certain officials were very deliberately selected in order to emphasise their relationship to the king.[91] With a total lack of archaeological evidence for Memphite temples of Millions of Years, it is difficult to ascertain a connection between the royal temples and the private necropolis(es) as observed in Thebes. However, as we will further explore in Chapter 6, all the available information leads us to hypothesise precisely the same landscape setting. Thus, the tomb of Ptahmose, whatever form it may have had, was probably sited at such a place where it created a visual link to the temple of Millions of Years of Thutmosis III. The latter temple is known from textual sources, perhaps most significantly in the present context from the titles held by the army general Amenemone (005/USC). He served in the reigns of Tutankhamun–Horemheb, but held the office of *ỉm.y-r pr m t; ḥw.t Mn-ḫpr-Rˁ*, 'steward of the temple of Menkheperre', a royal monument that was already c. 100 years old when he held the title.

4.4.6 *The Vizier Thutmosis*

The successor of Ptahmose in the office of vizier of the north was yet another man named Thutmosis [492], who is dated to the reign of Amenhotep II.[92] He is known from a stela held in the collection of Lord Nugent, acquired in Egypt in 1844. The item's present location is unknown. The limestone stela is round-topped and so differs from that of both his immediate predecessor and successor in office. The scene in the upper register of the stela depicts Thutmosis, wearing the two-row Gold of Honour, seated at an offering table, while his son, the *wˁb n.y Ptḥ*, '*Wab* Priest of Ptah', Amenhotep, faces him from across the offering table, raising his arm in a gesture indicating speech.

The form of the stela suggests that its architectural setting differed from that of the viziers before and after him, who both had a rectangular false door stela. The stela may have stood against the west wall of a chapel with a vaulted roof. If indeed the case, the measurements of the stela (c. 70 × 40 cm) point to a rather modestly sized chapel.

91 See most recently Jiménez Higueras (2020), 171–210.

92 Gessler-Löhr (1995), 143, pl. 5b; Blackman (1917), 40–41, pl. 10.2.

The mid-18th Dynasty owners of tombs in the Unas South Cemetery are listed in table 4.

TABLE 4 List of tomb owners in the Unas South Cemetery, mid-18th Dynasty

Tomb no.	Date	Name	Titles
[418]	Thutmosis III	Ptahmose	Vizier, High priest of Ptah, etc.
[491]	Thutmosis IV–Amenhotep III	Thutmosis	Vizier
[492]	Amenhotep II	Thutmosis	Vizier, etc.

4.5 The Expanding Cemetery in the Reign of Amenhotep III

The available archaeological evidence for burials in the Unas South Cemetery dated to the reign of Amenhotep III is presently still very limited. Yet there are indications for the erstwhile use of this part of the plateau in the reign of Amenhotep III. In addition to the archaeologically attested burials, two key figures in the 19th century exploration of the North Saqqara plateau concentrated their work on the area south of the pyramid of Djoser: Giuseppe di Nizzoli and Joseph Passalacqua. Objects and tomb elements held in their collections, now housed in museum collections in Florence and Berlin, respectively, include items dated to the reign of Amenhotep III. These items can, with some caution, be ascribed to the Unas South Cemetery.

4.5.1 *Pit-Burials Marked by an Above-Ground Structure*

The earliest archaeologically attested and well-documented burials are two pit graves dated to the reign of Amenhotep III, excavated south of the tomb of Horemheb (046/USC) (Fig. 36).[93] The two pits contained one individual each. The individual interred in pit grave 048/USC lay in a gabled rectangular wooden coffin, and the individual interred in pit grave 083/USC lay in a wooden anthropoid coffin. Both graves were marked above ground by a slab of limestone that stood vertically at the grave's head end. The head stone of burial 048/USC was supported by a platform made of chunks of limestone and mud bricks that was

93 Raven et al. (2011b), 39, 76–81.

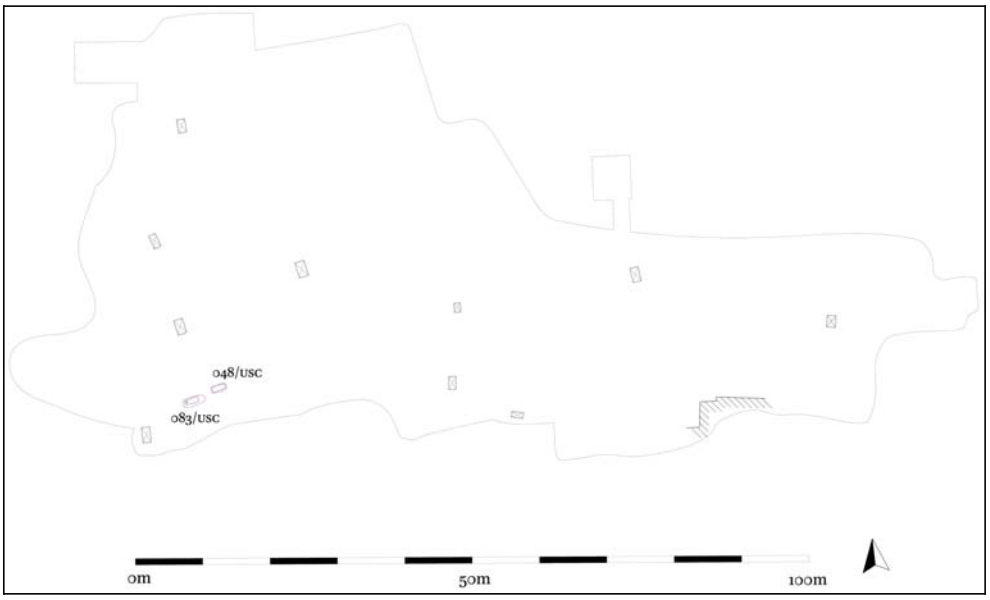


FIGURE 36 Unas South Cemetery, Leiden-Turin concession area: pit-burials, *temp*. Amenhotep III
IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR

plastered over (Fig. 37). The headstone stood vertically against the platform's west face to a height of c. 70 cm. The upper surface of the plastered mud-brick platform was shaped so as to serve as a receptacle of offering goods, such as food, libation, or perhaps burning incense.[94]

The title associated with the individual buried in pit grave 083/USC was that of *ḥr.y sḏm-ʿš*, Chief servant (burial 99/5). This burial was found undisturbed, and the mummy of a 30–40 year-old male was still adorned with various items, including a bronze signet ring and heart scarab with remains of a pectoral, and the individual's head still rested on a wooden headrest. The burial was positioned directly opposite a niche made in the south exterior wall of Horemheb's tomb, replete with limestone threshold.[95] The recessed niche served to hold a round-topped stela. This stela was not recovered during excavation, however. The excavators tentatively suggest that the niche may have held a stela ded-

94 The archaeological report makes no mentions of possible such residues, and discusses the structure only superficially. Additional information pertaining to the 'superstructures' of these pit-burials, including precise measurements and stratigraphic observations, were recorded in the 1999 Field Notebook RMO–UL expedition (New Kingdom Necropolis, Saqqara) of René van Walsem, whom I thank for sharing this information with me.

95 Raven et al. (2011b), 34 and fig. 1.15: niche 99/2, measuring 45 × 37 × 12 cm (h × w × th).



FIGURE 37 Pit-burial of Hesynebef (048/USC) marked above-ground by a headstone supported by a built platform
PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF THE RIJKSMUSEUM VAN OUDHEDEN, LEIDEN

icated to the chief servant buried in this pit grave. If such were the case, the stela could have only been mounted in the wall long after the individual had been buried, because Horemheb started construction of his tomb in the very early years of Tutankhamun's reign—in other words, at least 20 years after the pit for 083/USC had been dug. So, if the stela recess is to be associated with a burial predating the building of the tomb of Horemheb, it tells us something about the long-term attention the pit grave received from the living.

It is currently impossible to determine whether the two burials formed part of a larger cemetery composed of relatively modest tombs equipped for the so-called 'lower classes', although it would be remarkable if this were not the case. It would indeed be more exceptional if the two pit burials proved to be isolated cases. It has been suggested that later development of the cemetery, which saw the introduction of more monumental structures, obscured or even completely erased all traces of this earlier phase of use.[96] It is equally well possible that these pit graves represent the northernmost extent of a more elaborate ceme-

96 Even so, it is remarkable that traces of a pre-existing cemetery of pit graves survived underneath the more monumental tomb structures built in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery (Chapter 5). If a comparable situation had indeed existed in the Unas South Cemetery, one would expect that the long-term excavations in this area (since 1975) had found evi-

tery composed of such graves. Whichever of the two scenarios were the case, it is noteworthy that the modest and rather fragile above-ground platform of 048/USC remained intact, in spite of the large-scale construction works on the tomb of Horemheb at a distance of only 53 cm to the north.

4.5.2 *Indications for the Architectural Form and Layout of Tomb Chapels: The Stela of Hatiay*

With a complete lack of archaeological remains to inform us about the architectural form and layout of more substantial tomb chapels in this cemetery dated to the reign of Amenhotep III, we need to turn to the leads offered in funerary iconography. The single tomb stela to lift the veil somewhat for us is today housed in the collection of the Museo Egizio in Florence (inv. no. 2593) (Fig. 38). It was excavated on behalf of Nizzoli, and sold in 1824. The stela's pedigree suggests that the tomb was located in the Unas South Cemetery, the area extensively explored by Nizzoli. The suggestion is further strengthened by the high-ranking title held by the stela owner. The object was made for Hatiay [454], an overseer of the cattle of Amun (*ỉm.y-r ỉḫ.w n.w ʾImn*). The tombs of at least twelve officials with the same title are known through their tomb elements. These all point to a tomb located in this area of the necropolis, spanning the late 18th Dynasty until the end of the reign of Ramesses II.[97] Hatiay represents the first (known) overseer of cattle of Amun who built a tomb in the Memphite necropolis.[98] His successor in office would have been Iniuia (009/USC), who is dated to the late Amarna and immediate post-Amarna period. Horemheb (046/USC) built his tomb immediately north of Iniua's. The tomb chapel of Hatiay should probably be sought further to the south.

The stela of Hatiay is round-topped. The protruding frame is inscribed with two offering formulae, and the central panel is divided into two registers, showing scenes carved in sunk relief. The scene in the upper register depicts Hatiay standing in adoration before the gods Re-Horakhty and Osiris, an early expression of the parallelism between Re and Osiris in private tomb iconography.[99] For the purpose of this study, let us shift focus to the scene in the lower register. It depicts the owner kneeling before a tree goddess. Hatiay's *ba*, depicted

dence for such burials. In the area covered by the monumental tombs, no such evidence has yet been found, however.

97 Staring (2014–2015), 55–63.

98 The name of the god, *ʾImn*, is consistently erased where it is mentioned in the title of Hatiay (three times).

99 On this topic, and in relation to the Memphite necropolis, see e.g., Weiss (2017); Gessler-Löhr (2012), 166–167; Van Dijk (1996).



FIGURE 38 Round-topped stela of Hatiay, the overseer of cattle of Amun in the reign of Amenhotep III, Florence, Egyptian Museum inv. no. 42593–ME2593
PHOTOGRAPH SU CONCESSIONE DEL MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO NAZIONALE DI FIRENZE (DIREZIONE REGIONALE MUSEI DELLA TOSCANA)

as a human-headed bird with arms, is positioned behind him atop a structure that could be identified as the façade of his tomb chapel. It is a rectangular superstructure surmounted by a torus moulding and cavetto cornice. One may argue that the form of the façade is rather generic, and that the representation is not necessarily true to nature. Still, the depiction closely resembles the sort of tomb chapels excavated in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery (Chapter 5).[100] Thus, the structure's façade depicted on the stela of Hatiay presumably represents his tomb, from which his *ba* has just come forth by day in order to receive food and drink from the tree goddess. The form of the stela, round-topped, suggests that it stood in a chapel with a vaulted roof, set against the west wall. The semi-circular form of the vaulted roof is graphically illustrated in the contemporary stelae of Nebneteru [437] (Leiden AM 8-b; see Fig. 72) and Mahu (218/TPC; Cairo JE 33256), for example. In both cases, the 'lunette' is positioned atop the naos-shaped rectangular stela that is surmounted by a torus moulding and cavetto cornice. The latter stela was found *in situ* by Victor Loret a the mud-brick tomb chapel located in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery. The provenance of the former is unknown, although all indications point to the same cemetery north of Teti's pyramid. The stela depicts the tomb owner flanked by his wife and mother emerging from the chapel, leaving it by day in order to receive offerings. Thus essentially, the stela of Nebneteru illustrates a theme very similar to that illustrated in the lower register of the stela of Hatiay. The form and iconographic layout of the stela of Hatiay—round-topped with a protruding frame inscribed with two offering formulae, and the central panel divided into two registers, showing scenes carved in sunken relief—finds a parallel in the contemporary stela of Amenma (214/TPC; Berlin ÄM 7320), guardian of the house (palace) of His Majesty, and Sa [464] (Berlin ÄM 7272), scribe of documents of the chief steward.[101] Lepsius found the former stela *in situ* in a small chapel made of mud bricks, located in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery. The provenance of the latter stela is not known. However, given the stela's date, the chief steward mentioned in the title, albeit unnamed, can probably be identified as Amenhotep Huy (141/USC), whose tomb stood in the Unas South Cemetery. The comparisons between the stelae deriving from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery and the Unas South Cemetery (Table 5) indicate that, in the reign of Amenhotep III, the architectural form and layout of tomb

100 Similar such tomb chapels are also known from early New Kingdom cemeteries elsewhere in Egypt, including Thebes, where early examples are dated to the 17th Dynasty. See e.g., Galán/Jiménez-Higueras (2015); Polz (2007), 231–245.

101 The protruding frame contains no inscriptions.

TABLE 5 List of stelae derived from tombs in the Unas South Cemetery and Teti Pyramid Cemetery, late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III

Tomb no.	Museum inv. no.	Stela dimensions	Tomb owner	Title(s)
214/TPC	Berlin ÄM 7320	83×50×15 cm	Amenma	Guardian of the House of the King
218/TPC	Cairo JE 33256	112×73 cm	Mahu	Chief Guardian of the Treasury of Memphis
[437] (TPC?)	Leiden AM 8-b	102×63×32 cm	Nebneteru	Scribe of the Treasury
[454] (USC?)	Florence 2593	81×47 cm	Hatiay	Overseer of Cattle [of Amun]
[464] (USC?)	Berlin ÄM 7272	93×61.5×11.5 cm	Sa	Letter Scribe of the Chief Steward of the King

superstructures in both cemeteries were to a certain extend comparable. The social standing of the tomb owners differed, however, as is discussed in Chapter 5.

4.5.3 *The Burial(s) of an Influential Memphite Family*

The evidence for mid-18th Dynasty tombs in the Unas South Cemetery thus far explored in this study, suggests that these clustered in the south end of the cemetery. The few tombs identified for this period were made for viziers and high priests of Ptah, and date to the period between the reigns of Thutmosis III and Amenhotep III. Much of the evidence for the suggested location of the tombs and architectural setting of the stelae revolved around the Lower Egyptian Vizier Thutmosis [491], owner of stela Florence 2565. This vizier offers a link to the ensuing reign of Amenhotep III, because he was the father of Ptahmose [412], high priest of Ptah,[102] and Meryptah [429], steward in the temple of Amenhotep III. The family relations are based on the following two items:

Stela Florence 2565

The central panel depicts the High Priest of Ptah, Ptahmose, standing at an offering table before his seated father, the Vizier Thutmosis. Ptahmose is imme-

102 Raedler (2011), 138, table 1, refers to him as 'Ptahmose the elder', son of the Vizier Thutmosis, and suggests that he is perhaps to be identified with Ptahmose II of Maystre (1992), i.e. the high priest during the reign of Thutmosis IV.



FIGURE 39 Fragment of the upper part of the stela of Meryptah, Leiden, National Museum of Antiquities AP 11
PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF THE RIJKSMUSEUM VAN OUDHEDEN, LEIDEN

diately recognisable as a high priest, as he wears the leopard skin and the characteristic side lock of hair. The column of text below his figure identifies him with the titles *ỉm.y-r ḥm.w-nṯr n.w Šmʿ.w Mḥ.w sm wr-ḫrp-ḥmw.w*, Overseer of priests of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Sem* and High priest of Ptah. It thus follows that Ptahmose held the highest priestly office in the temple of the Memphite city god, Ptah, already at a time when his father held office as vizier of the North. The Thutmosis–Ptahmose family must therefore have been among the most influential at Memphis. The next item further reinforces this image.

Stela fragments Leiden AP 11 (84×95×30 cm) and London, Petrie Museum UC 14463 (80.3×55×9 cm) (Fig. 39).[103]

103 The join between the Leiden and London fragments was first made by Bosse-Griffiths (1955).

This naos-shaped stela is now broken in at least four pieces, one of which is lost. The upper part of the stela came to Leiden as part of the collection of Giovanni d'Anastasi (1828). Presumably, the agent(s) working on behalf of d'Anastasi left the fragments of the lower part of the stela at Saqqara, if indeed seen at the time, and took only the more 'interesting' fragment with the half-sculpted figures for inclusion in the private collection. The London fragments were bought in 1913 by University College, and previously formed part of a teaching collection of William Matthew Flinders Petrie (1853–1942).[104] It is not entirely clear how he came into possession of the fragments. It would seem that Petrie either found them at Saqqara—even though he did not excavate there—,[105] or bought them from dealers. The Leiden and London fragments do not join directly; a strip of c. 12 cm is missing, depicting a mirrored offering scene in sunk relief. The complete stela measured c. 176.3 cm in height, larger than any of the known Memphite tomb elements known to have been made up to that date.

The fragment of the upper part of the stela is of special interest, because it depicts a sort of 'family portrait'. Five individuals carved as half statues are represented as if exiting the naos.[106] The individuals are all identified through short lines or columns of text carved on their garment. They are, from left to right:

mw.t=f nb.t pr Tȝ.wy mȝʿ.t-ḫrw nb.t ỉmȝḫ

His mother, Lady of the House Tawy, true of voice, possessor of reverence.

sȝ ỉm.y-r nỉw.t ṯȝ.ty Ḏḥw.ty-ms ḥm-nṯr ỉm.y-r pr n.y tȝ ḥw.t Nb-mȝʿ.t-Rʿ mr.y-Ptḥ [*mȝʿ-ḫrw*]

Son of the Vizier Thutmosis, the Priest and Steward of the Temple of Nebmaatre, Meryptah [true of voice].

104 Stewart (1976), vii.

105 A photograph now kept in the Griffith Institute in Oxford shows that Petrie in 1881–1882 found in the sand the naophorous statue of Ptahmose (027/USC), now held in London, British Museum EA 1119: Málek (1987).

106 Their action of going out in order to receive offerings (note that they are standing positioned on an offering mat) links to the text carved along the top of the cavetto cornice, which is an Appeal to the Living, inciting those passing by the tomb to recite an offering.

sꜣ ỉm.y-r nỉw.t tꜣ.ty Ḏḥw.ty-ms sm wr-ḫrp-ḥmw.w Ptḥ-ms mꜣʿ-ḫrw

Son of the Vizier Thutmosis, High Priest of Ptah, Ptahmose, true of voice.

prr.t nb.t ḥr wḏḥ.w n.y Wnn-nfr n kꜣ n.y tꜣ.ty Ḏḥw.ty-ms mꜣʿ[*-ḫrw*]

All that which comes forth upon the offering table of Wennefer for the *ka* of the Vizier, Thutmosis, true of voice.

wr-ḫrp-ḥmw.w Ptḥ-ms sꜣ ḥm-nṯr Mn-ḫpr

High Priest of Ptah, Ptahmose, son of the Priest Menkheper.

The stela is centred on the two brothers, sons of the Vizier Thutmosis who officiated in the reigns of Thutmosis IV–Amenhotep III. The offering formulae carved on the lintel and jambs are distributed equally between Ptahmose and Meryptah. The Appeal to the Living carved along the top of the cavetto cornice and the text carved over the seven lines in the lower part of the stela, on the other hand, centre solely on Meryptah. This son of Thutmosis served as high priest and steward in the Memphite temple of Millions of Years of Amenhotep III.[107] This temple was constructed under the supervision of the Chief Steward in Memphis, Amenhotep Huy (141/USC), in the third decade of Amenhotep III's reign.[108] It is quite likely that the tomb(s) of the brothers Meryptah and Ptahmose stood in close proximity to that of Amenhotep Huy.

The third high priest represented in the stela, Ptahmose [413] son of the priest Menkheper, likely succeeded Ptahmose, son of Thutmosis, as high priest of Ptah at Memphis. He might be the priest offering to the two seated individuals (also priests, as can be deduced from the tails of their leopard skins) sitting back to back in the scene underneath the 'family portrait', now largely lost. Ptahmose is otherwise known only from a block statue now held in Florence (inv. no. 1790), dedicated by the High Priest of Ptah, Pahemneter, the son of Mahu(y), who held office in the 19th Dynasty. The father of Ptahmose, Menkheper, might be the same man as the owner of stela Leiden AP 53 [423].[109] This stela, which dates to Thutmosis IV–Amenhotep III, identifies him as *ỉm.y-r pr n.y tꜣ.ty*, steward of the vizier. The Lower Egyptian vizier whom he served is not mentioned by name. Yet the date of the stela would strongly suggest that

107 *Pace* Stewart (1976), 26–27, who states that it refers to the king's Theban temple.

108 For the date of the temple's construction, see: Murnane (1998), 213.

109 Limestone, 72 × 56 × 12 cm; ex-coll. G. d'Anastasi, 1828. Boeser (1913), 2, no. 3, pl. 14.

it was Thutmosis [491].[110] The scene in the lower register of stela Leiden AP 53 offers support to this identification, because it links Menkheper's social circle to the Memphite temple of Millions of Years of another king, Thutmosis III. The scene depicts two couples seated at a single offering table. They are Thutmosis, the *ỉdnw n.y pr Mn-ḫpr-Rᶜ*, 'deputy of the temple (*lit.* house) of Menkheperre (Thutmosis III)' and his wife Mahu; and Amunemmeruef, another deputy of the temple of Menkheperre, with his wife Ir. The precise nature of their relationship to Menkheper is unknown.

4.5.4 *Development towards Monumental Tomb Architecture*

The reign of Amenhotep III witnessed a development towards monumentalising tomb architecture. The evidence mainly revolves around the inscribed and decorated stone elements deriving from the tomb of the High Priest of Ptah, Ptahmose [412], just discussed, and the Chief Steward of Memphis, Amenhotep Huy (141/USC). The latter tomb was excavated in the 1820s, when items entered the collections of various Europeans including d'Anastasi and Nizzoli. Although its exact location has subsequently been lost, the description given by Nizzoli (see Section 4.4.3) combined with the find-spot of a tomb stela reused in the monastery of Apa Jeremias (Fig. 34)[111] strongly suggests that it must be sought in this part of the necropolis. Whether we should imagine it as a completely freestanding structure or as a rock-cut tomb (which may have had a freestanding part added to it), cannot be ascertained. The fact that no relief-decorated blocks deriving from the tomb are known today,[112] provides an indication that it differed somewhat from the so-called temple-tombs so well-known from the (post-)Amarna period at Saqqara.

4.6 The Amarna Period

The Amarna period refers to events that took place in the reign of king Akhenaten.[113] The first archaeologically attested, substantial tomb structures in this part of the North Saqqara plateau date to the Amarna period, more specifically the early years of the 17-year reign of King Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten (Fig. 40; Table 6). The evidence revolves around the tombs of two Memphite officials, Mery(ty)neith alias Meryre (032/USC) and Ptahemwia (025/USC), located on

110 Giovetti/Picchi (2015), cat. V.12.

111 Excavated by Quibell, see Quibell (1912), plate 84. See also Youssef (2017), 70–78, pl. 55.

112 The exception might be the fragment of a relief-decorated block of limestone seen on the art market: Pasquali (2012), 133–138.

113 Bělohoubková et al. (2021).

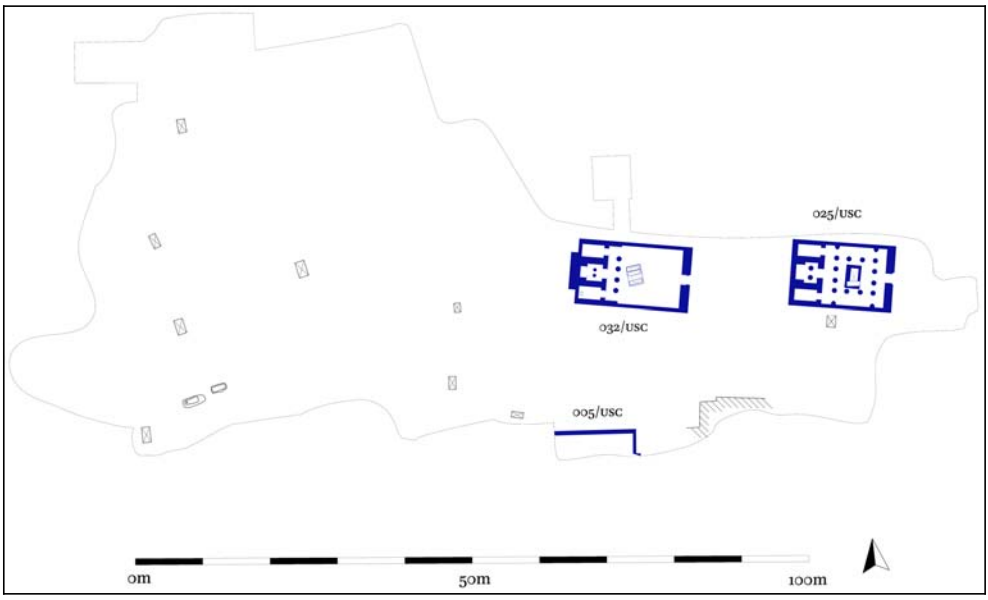


FIGURE 40 The Unas South Cemetery, Leiden-Turin concession area, in the late 18th Dynasty reign of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten.
IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR

TABLE 6 List of tomb owners in the Unas South Cemetery, late 18th Dynasty, Amarna period

Tomb no.	Date	Name	Titles
025/USC	Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten–Tutankhamun, early	Ptahemwia	Royal butler, etc.
032/USC	Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten–Tutankhamun, early	Meryneith/re	Steward of the temple of Aten in Akhetaten (and) Memphis, Greatest of seers of the Aten, etc.

the eastern extent of the current Leiden-Turin concession area. To the south, one more structure may date to this period. It has not been indicated on the plan of the Unas South Cemetery, because no trace of its superstructure has yet been observed. Only its substructure was seen through an opening made by (ancient) robbers when the burial complex of *NN* (082/USC; see Fig. 46) was

recorded in 2013.[114] The pottery observed (but not closely studied) in the burial chamber of the neighbouring tomb to the south suggests its early date.[115]

The tombs of Meryneith and Ptahemwia have been fully excavated and published. The two structures share roughly the same plan, although the tomb of Meryneith/re is slightly larger. Its plan was adapted in the immediate post-Amarna period, as is discussed further below. The two tombs represent the earliest archaeologically attested examples of what is often referred to as the 'typical' Memphite temple-tombs. Their architectural lay-out includes a pylon-shaped entrance gateway, pillared courtyard and three chapels in the west. The central chapel is divided in two by means of screen walls. A stela was originally set in or against the west wall of the inner chapel, although the stelae of neither of the two has survived.

The lives and careers of the two tomb owners have been extensively covered in publication, so we need not dwell on this subject too long. Meryneith was a senior administrator of the temple of Aten at Memphis. He is the only known bearer of the title steward of the temple of Aten (*ỉm.y-r pr n pr ʾItn*), an office he attained somewhere between regnal years 5 and 8 of Akhenaten. The period during which he held the office coincided with the establishment of the Memphite Aten temple. Since Meryneith also bore the title of overseer of works, he may have been responsible for managing the construction of the temple. The political situation of the time impacted on the life of both Meryneith and his Memphite tomb. When Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten established a new capital at Akhetaten (Tell- el-Amarna) in Middle Egypt, Meryneith, who changed his name to Meryre (probably a better fit for a high priest of the new state god), moved southwards, too. Thus, between year 9 of Akhenaten and years 1–2 of Tutankhamun, Meryneith additionally held office as the greatest of seers of the Aten in the temple of Aten (*wr mȝ.w n pȝ ʾItn m pr ʾItn*), at Memphis and at Akhetaten. Meryre also took up residence at the newly-founded city in Middle Egypt, possibly soon after its establishment in year 5 of the king. He also started constructing a more permanent house there, namely a new rock-cut tomb, numbered TA 04, known as the tomb of Meryre I.[116] Construction probably started at around year 9–10 of Akhenaten. Despite the 7 or 8 years that could potentially have been spent on its construction, the tomb was never finished. When under Tutankhamun the new capital was abandoned in favour of Mem-

114 For the underground chambers of *NN* (082/USC), see Raven (2020), 58–61.

115 I should like to thank Barbara Aston for sharing these observations with me. The chamber of the southern tomb was not further explored by the Leiden expedition, and the robbers' hole was bricked up and closed.

116 Davies (1903).

phis, Meryre returned northward.[117] He resumed work on his Saqqara tomb, became the high priest in the Memphite temple of Neith, and changed his name back to Meryneith. His return to Saqqara did not simply result in a continuation of the tomb building project according to the original plan. Instead, he took the opportunity to implement some architectural changes. For example, two additional chapels were built in the east part of the tomb, thereby also creating an entrance porch. This phase also saw the creation of a true peristyle courtyard. The north and south walls of the courtyard were provided with a limestone revetment bearing relief decoration. Before the move to Amarna, only the westernmost part of the tomb and the thicknesses of the entrance doorway had been decorated.

The style observed in the decoration programme of the tomb of Ptahemwia, a royal butler (*wb; nsw*), also suggests that work was carried out in both the early years of Amenhotep IV and in the immediate post-Amarna period.[118] Much of the relief decoration had been executed before the end of the Amarna period. Only the panels on the eastern doorjambs of the courtyard, depicting the seated tomb owner, were made in the reign of Tutankhamun. The fact that decoration had progressed further in his tomb than in Meryneith's, suggests that work on its construction had started before his peer came to the plateau and selected a plot of land to the west. It suggests that Ptahemwia may have started construction of his tomb before Meryneith did. The advanced stage of carving the relief-decoration may also explain why the tomb's plan was not changed, like observed in the tomb of Meryneith.

4.7 Post-Amarna Period: Reign of Tutankhamun

On present evidence, the reign of King Tutankhamun marked a period of considerable growth of the cemetery (Figs 41, 43–44, 46; Table 7). This development is not only attested archaeologically (i.e. by means of actual excavated tombs), it is also reflected in the number of de-contextualised tomb elements now held

117 Ipy [372], the son of Amenhotep Huy (141/USC), who succeeded his father as chief steward in Memphis, made the same itinerary as Meryneith/re, see Pasquali/Gessler-Löhr (2011), 287–296. His tomb is today lost, much like his father's.

118 Ptahemwia has not been identified as one of the tomb owners at Amarna, although this does not necessarily imply that that he did not move there, or indeed started construction of a tomb at the city's necropolis. The presently available evidence just does not allow us to identify him there.

TABLE 7 List of tomb owners in the Unas South Cemetery, late 18th Dynasty, post-Amarna period

Tomb no.	Date	Name	Titles
005/USC	Tutankhamun	Amenemone	General of the King, Steward in the temple of Thutmosis III, etc.
009/USC	Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten, late–Horemheb	Iniuia	Overseer of Cattle of Amun, Steward in/of Memphis, etc.
017/USC	Tutankhamun	Pay	Overseer of Cattle of Amun-Re, Overseer of the Royal Household of Memphis, etc.
028/USC	Tutankhamun–Horemheb	Maya	Overseer of the Royal Treasury, Overseer of Works in All Monuments of the King, etc.
038/USC	Tutankhamun	Ry	Chief of Bowmen, Overseer of Horses, etc.
039/USC	Tutankhamun	Ramose	Deputy of the Army, Chief of Bowmen of the King, etc.
046/USC	Tutankhamun	Horemheb	Commander-in-chief of the Army, Regent, etc.
082/USC	Tutankhamun	*NN*	?

in public and private collections around the globe. As a counter argument, one could argue that the early 19th-century excavators mainly happened to work in the areas of the cemetery that held tombs of this very period. However, since elements derived from tombs dated to other periods of the New Kingdom are also represented in museum collections, we may assume that the early excavators covered the cemetery rather evenly. Thus, the museum items can be considered representative of the actual situation at New Kingdom Saqqara.

The increase in the number of tomb elements dated to the late 18th Dynasty more generally also hints at a significant change in the concept and architectural lay-out of the tombs. We have observed that this process started in the second half of the reign of Amenhotep III, and materialised in the archaeological record in the reign of AmenhotepIV/Akhenaten.

The accelerated growth of the cemetery at this time is intimately linked to the fate of the short-lived capital Akhetaten (Tell el-Amarna) in Middle Egypt. This city entered a process of abandonment early in the reign of Tutankhamun. Among the owners of rock-cut tombs east of the city we encounter some officials who, at some point, had also started to construct tombs in the necropolises

of Thebes[119] and Memphis. Those officials who moved north to Memphis had to start construction of their tombs all over at Saqqara, as in the case of May(a). He had a tomb under construction at Amarna (TA 14, south group), and upon moving north, he started (and completed) a tomb at Saqqara: (028/USC). Others continued their previously suspended work at Saqqara, such as observed with Meryneith/re (032/USC), who had a nearly-finished a tomb at Amarna (TA 04, north group).

Thus, early in the reign of Tutankhamun, work in the tombs of Meryre (who changed his name back to Meryneith) and Ptahemwia resumed. The latter merely finished decoration in the eastern part of the tomb, while the former made some changes to the architecture.

4.7.1 *The Tomb of Iniuia*

The first new tomb in this area after Akhenaten appears to be that of Iniuia (009/USC) (Figs 41–42). It looks as if he started construction of his comparably modest tomb late in the Amarna period. The tomb stela set against the west wall of the inner chapel identifies him as a scribe of the treasury of silver and gold of the Lord of the Two Lands (*sš pr-ḥḏ n.y ḥḏ-nbw n.y nb tꜣ.wy*). The title of 'scribe' may possibly obscure a more elevated office in the state treasury. The style observed in the relief decoration of the inner chapel certainly 'leans' against the Amarna art. However, since the accompanying inscriptions additionally identify Iniuia as an overseer of cattle of Amun (*ỉm.y-r ỉḫ.w n.w ỉmn*), a date in the second half of the reign of Akhenaten seems out of the question. One of the scenes on the interior walls of the inner chapel forge a link to the tomb of Meryre I at Amarna (TA 04).[120] The scene depicting Iniuia supervising the unloading of amphorae from boats, on the north wall of the chapel, was inspired by a scene centred on the king (Akhenaten) visiting the Aten temple at Akhetaten as depicted in the Amarna tomb of Meryre. The link opens up the possibility that relief-decoration in both tombs was made by the same conceptual artists or sculptor, although the hypothesis needs further exploration. If such were indeed the case, one could also hypothesise that the same artists continued work in the Memphite tomb of Meryneith. In light of that possible scenario, it warrants noting that on stylistic grounds the reliefs in the tomb of Iniuia would seem to predate those in the tomb of Meryneith, Phase 2.

119 The royal butler and god's father, Parennefer, had a tomb in the Asasif (TT 188), constructed in the early years of King Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten, and a rock-cut tomb at Akhetaten (TA 07). See Kampp (1996), 475–478 and Davies (1908b), respectively.

120 Staring (2021a), 58–61, figs 19–20.

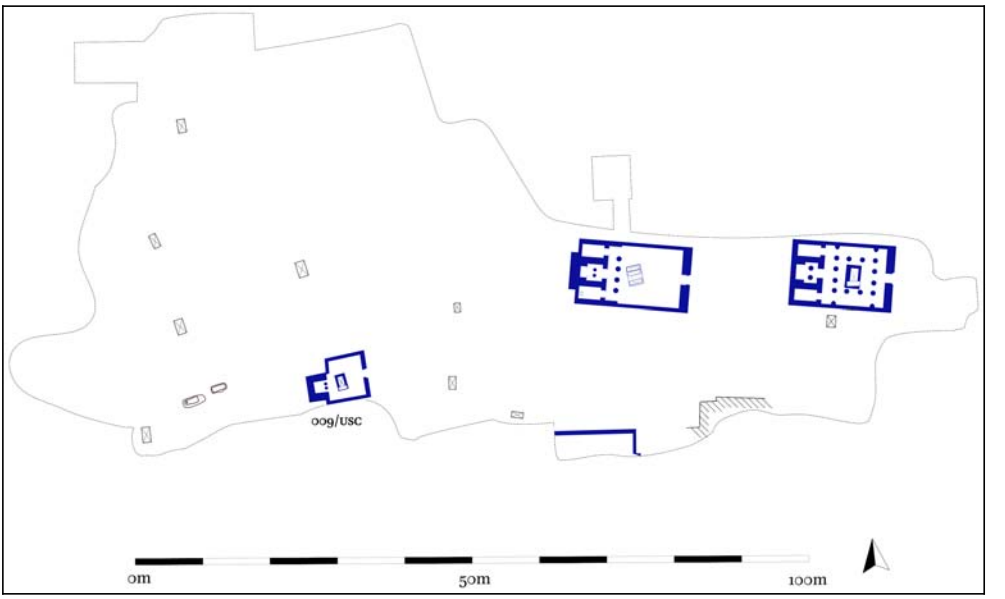


FIGURE 41 The Unas South Cemetery, Leiden-Turin concession area, in the late 18th Dynasty, late Amarna/immediate post-Amarna period
IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR



FIGURE 42 Tomb of Iniuia (009/USC) after excavation in 1993, facing north-east
PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY/RIJKSMUSEUM VAN OUDHEDEN, LEIDEN

The tomb of Iniuia was also decorated in at least two stages, possibly three. The second phase of decoration coincided with a change in the architectural lay-out of the tomb. The interior walls of a second, vaulted chapel, situated in the northwest courtyard, contains decoration painted on a mud layer.[121] The style of the figures represented on the walls differs from those in the west chapel, and suggest that these were added later in the reign of Tutankhamun. In order to make place for the new chapel, part of the north wall of the courtyard and the north slope of the pyramid enveloping the first, western chapel had to be removed. One wonders why the architect chose to construct this chapel largely within the confines of the existing structure, which necessitated the removal of portions of the mud-brick structure. If we take the tomb out of isolation, and view it in spatial context, it becomes clear this had to do with the presence of the tomb of Horemheb, which, in the meantime, was under construction at less than 2 m to the north.

The style of the relief-decoration in the entrance doorway to the courtyard of Iniuia's tomb also points to a date later in the reign of Tutankhamun or Ay.[122] Here, Iniuia bears the additional title of (great) steward of/in Memphis (*ỉm.y-r pr m/n.y Mn-nfr*). He likely succeeded Ipy [372] in this office, who was the son of Amenhotep Huy (141/USC). The title of steward is also recorded on the two stelae flanking the entrance of what had become the southwest chapel of Iniuia.

4.7.2 *A Cemetery for Tutankhamun's Court Officials*

The next stage in the development of the cemetery is marked by the arrival of high-ranking officials of Tutankhamun's court (Figs 43–46). First and foremost among them was the king's regent (*ỉr.y-pʿ.t*), the commander-in-chief of the king's army (*ỉm.y-r ỉm.yw-r mšʿ nb tȝ.wy*), Horemheb (046/USC). As is argued in the next section, his tomb was made in two main phases, 1a–b and 2. The sheer size of the project, especially in terms of making the relief decoration, would

121 Schneider (2012), 31–38, does not address the tomb construction history in his treatment of the architecture. The way in which the walls are drawn in the tomb plan published as fig. 11.2a on p. 32 does seem to imply that the north-western chapel was bonded neither with the north wall of the courtyard nor with the north slope of the pyramid enveloping the western chapel.

122 Note that the stone anthropoid sarcophagus is very similar to that made for Senqed, overseer of nurses, late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Ay: El-Ghandour (1997a, b). Senqed's tomb was located in Awlad Azzaz, see Ockinga (1997). The sarcophagus never left Memphis and was reused in the 19th Dynasty by Ray (043/USC), overseer of the double granary. The sarcophagus is not listed among the parallels for the sarcophagus of Iniuia in Schneider (2012).

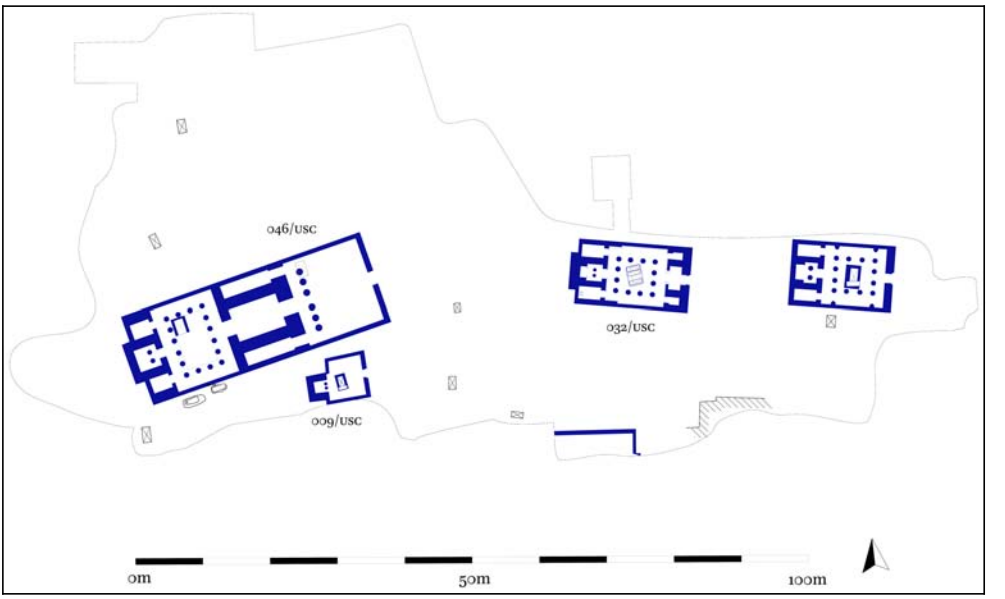


FIGURE 43 The Unas South Cemetery, Leiden-Turin concession area, in the late 18th Dynasty post-Amarna period, *temp*. Tutankhamun, early
IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR

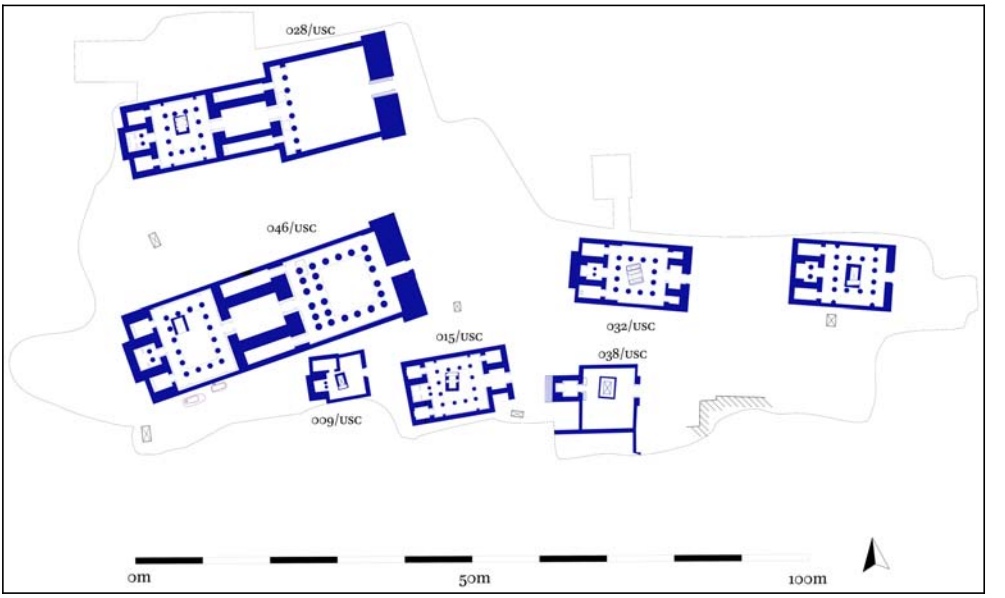


FIGURE 44 The Unas South Cemetery, Leiden-Turin concession area, in the late 18th Dynasty post-Amarna period, *temp*. Tutankhamun
IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR



FIGURE 45 Tomb of Maya (028/USC), after excavation by the EES-Leiden expedition in 1986, seen from atop the entrance pylon, facing west
PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY/RIJKSMUSEUM VAN OUDHEDEN, LEIDEN



FIGURE 46 The Unas South Cemetery, Leiden-Turin concession area, in the late 18th Dynasty post-Amarna period, *temp*. Tutankhamun–Horemheb
IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR

suggest that the expert artistic workforce available at Memphis was occupied with this quasi-royal monument for a while. The location selected for the monument lay at the then northern extent of the New Kingdom cemetery.

At one point, the architect of Horemheb's tomb decided to move the eastern wall of the building further to the east, so that the first court could be transformed into a peristyle courtyard. The entrance was turned into a more substantial pylon gateway. The change of plan must have been realised within the 9-year reign of Tutankhamun, as the relief-decoration on the east end of the newly constructed courtyard walls, still date to his reign.

When work on the tomb of Horemheb was under way, the next truly monumental tomb-building project was started less than 20 m to the north, for Maya (028/USC). Even though the tomb was excavated 35 years ago, the building and decoration processes have not been subject to thorough study. However, one can easily distinguish more than one style in the execution of the relief decoration, which is also present in spaces of the subterranean complex—highly unusual. It would seem that the decoration spans from the early reign of Tutankhamun (e.g., reliefs in the inner courtyard) to the reign of Horemheb (e.g., scenes in the subterranean chambers). More detailed study of the reliefs should enable a more precise date of the work in progress.

It is likely that much of the work in the tombs of Horemheb and Maya was largely carried out simultaneously. Changes of plan in the one tomb influenced work in the other. The Phase 2 forecourt of Horemheb, for example, was 'modelled' after the pre-existing forecourt of Maya, which is wider than the western part of the tomb, and which includes relief-decoration on the north and south walls of the entrance gateway. Decoration in Maya's gateway was finished, whereas the limestone revetment blocks in Horemheb's entrance gateway were left undecorated. The peculiar orientation of the subterranean complex of Maya may have been modelled after that of Horemheb in Phase 2 (see below).

To the south of the Amarna-period tombs, the party excavated wall numbered 005/USC is tentatively identified as the tomb of Amenemone, an army general. It should be noted that there is no inscriptional evidence to confirm the identification at present. The tomb of the Troop-commander Ry (038/USC), built against the north wall of structure 005/USC, offers a relative date. The fact that Ry built his tomb against a pre-existing building to the south may be indicative of a professional relationship to his neighbour. One candidate would be the General of the Army Amenemone (005/USC), well known from numerous high-quality relief-decorated blocks now spread over many collections worldwide. Whether this really was his tomb cannot be ascertained at this moment, however. Ry built his tomb early in the reign of Tutankhamun, so 005/USC should be earlier. This date fits well with Amenemone, who succeeded Horemheb as commander-in-chief when the latter general became king rather unexpectedly.[123] It is possible that Amenemone had already started the construction of his tomb before his promotion.

The tombs of Pay (017/USC), overseer of the royal household, and Ry (038/USC), chief of bowmen and overseer of horses, were also built at this time. A preliminary analysis of the style and iconography of Ry's tomb revealed very close ties with those of Pay, Iniuia, and Horemheb.[124] Thus the impression is that the number of tombs that were worked on at this time grew as the reign of Tutankhamun progressed. The tombs of Pay and Ry were sited in an open area bound by the tombs built just before the Amarna period and the monumental tomb of Horemheb.

The rather a-symmetrical plan of Ry's tomb was likely due to a desire to make use of an already extant tomb shaft. The peculiar shape was also the result of reckoning with already extant structures and the passageways between them

123 Staring (2020), 46–47, with further references.
124 Staring (2020).

used by the living. One of the pre-existing structures to reckon with, was 108/USC, in this study cautiously dated to the reign of Amenhotep II or III. By shifting the entrance to his courtyard as far as possible to the north, Ry created an axial approach to his tomb. Thus, in its current position, it does not 'hide' behind the older structure from people arriving from the east.

Pay started construction of his tomb shortly after Ry had started. The main axis of former's tomb is slightly titled to the north, thereby accommodating Ry's tomb, which at that time was only just under construction. The tomb's builders made use of an existing Old Kingdom shaft, which is not neatly positioned in the centre of the courtyard. The deviating position is worthy of note, given that tomb architecture generally tends to strive for symmetry. The whole structure could easily have shifted north, in order for the shaft to be neatly in the centre of the courtyard. That this was not done has to do with the neighbour to the west, Iniuia. Should Pay have built his tomb somewhat further to the north, Iniuia's much smaller structure would have disappeared from view and practically cut off from its access route. Iniuia was still alive when Pay started construction, so the eventual position may have been arrived at in negotiation.

Towards the end of the reign of Tutankhamun the cemetery became increasingly more densely built. The spaces between the tomb superstructures were reduced by the addition of new structures and the expansion of existing ones. Most strikingly, the tomb of Horemheb was enlarged with about a third of its size by adding a forecourt to the east. In its final form, the south tower of the mud-brick pylon almost touches on the west side of the pyramid of Meryneith's tomb. Still, the spaces all around most tombs allowed the living to easily access the individual structures and to navigate the cemetery freely.

The spaces in between the extant monumental temple-shaped tombs became increasingly built-in with more modest structures—although these were still large compared to the funerary arrangements of the large majority of the population at the time. In the east, a tomb (082/USC) was set in the area between the tomb of Ptahemwia and an earlier tomb, still unexcavated.[125] The erstwhile owner of 082/USC is not known. The chapel has been stripped off all limestone revetment, perhaps removed by early 19th-century excavators.[126]

125 Hays (2011) and Raven (2020), 58–61, studied the tomb in-depth, and proposed a date. However, neither study produces a conclusive date.

126 One possible candidate might be Paatenemheb (150/USC), the late 18th-Dynasty royal butler (*temp.* Horemheb, early). Nearly all of the relief-decorated blocks of his tomb chapel and the two papyriform columns are in Leiden (ex-coll. G. d'Anastasi, 1828). The chapel at Saqqara measures 3.14 m wide and 2.51 m deep, whereas the blocks in Leiden allow for a chapel measuring 318 cm wide and c. 280 cm deep. New measurements could neither be

A noteworthy feature of this tomb are the two returns flanking the entrance between the two 'pylon towers'. The same feature can be observed in the tomb of Ramose (039/USC), built in between the tombs of Horemheb and Maya. Ramose was a deputy of the army (*ỉdn.w n.y pȝ mšʿ*) and chief of bowmen of the army/the king (*ḥr.y-pḏ.t n.y pȝ mšʿ/nb tȝ.wy*).

At around the same time, Meryneith partly closed off the area to the east of his tomb by building a wall between the southeast corner of his monument and the southwest corner of that of his neighbour, Ptahemwia. The wall was built to enable the placement of stelae inside six or seven niches. Four such stela niches were previously also built against the west exterior wall of Ptahemwia.[127] The forecourt area was not closed off in the north, likely with an eye to accessibility.

4.8 Excursus: The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb

The largest Saqqara New Kingdom tomb excavated to date was made for Horemheb (046/USC), the commander-in-chief of Tutankhamun's army and regent to the young king. The tomb construction was started when Horemheb held both elevated titles. His exceptional position at court translates in the sheer size of the tomb and the quality of craftsmanship, such as illustrated by the relief decoration. Horemheb's remarkable career would eventually see him becoming king of Egypt, succeeding Ay, the successor of Tutankhamun.[128] Subsequently, he abandoned his Memphite tomb and started construction of a new tomb in the Valley of the Kings at Thebes, KV 57.

The Memphite tomb has been extensively studied and published, with volumes covering the architecture and iconographic programme,[129] finds,[130] pottery,[131] and human skeletal remains.[132] The tomb owner, Horemheb, is also well known from historical sources. These sources mainly derive from outside the Memphite region and mostly pertain to the time when he was king. The combined information base makes him one of the best documented individuals with a tomb at Saqqara. It potentially makes his funerary monument an

taken at Saqqara nor in Leiden, because structure 082/USC has been backfilled with sand in 2015, and the chapel in Leiden is mounted behind a glass structure.

127 These niches offer another link to the tomb of Meryre at Amarna: Van Walsem in Raven/Van Walsem (2014), 51–53.

128 For the road to his kingship, see e.g., Kawai (2010); Van Dijk (1993).

129 Raven et al. (2011b); Martin (1989), again published (slightly revised) as Martin (2016).

130 Schneider (1996).

131 Bourriau et al. (2005).

132 Strouhal (2008).

excellent benchmark against which the later development of the site can be analysed. However, despite the wealth of information available about him, we are still faced with significant lacunae in our knowledge about the life history of his tomb. For example, we do not know precisely when the building project was started, when it was finished, nor in how many stages it was made.[133] This study offers a new proposal for the development of the tomb.

4.8.1 *A Brief History of Exploration and Excavation*

The origin story of the former EES-Leiden expedition to Saqqara has already been addressed at the start of this chapter. The quest for the tomb of Maya (028/USC), Tutankhamun's treasurer, resulted first in the (re-)discovery of the tomb of Horemheb. The spectacular find was made in the first week of fieldwork, yet it would take the expedition another five seasons of work before the final report could be written, eventually published in 1989. In the 1970s, the structure was not unearthed in its entirety, however. In 2006, the Leiden expedition redirected attention to the sand hill in front of the tomb of Horemheb, cleared it in the course of one season, and revealed a large the forecourt, stretching all the way to Horemheb's neighbour in the east, Meryneith (032/USC).

The modern archaeological exploration merely re-discovered the long-lost tomb of Horemheb. It was previously accessible to antiquities collectors as early as the 1820s. At that time, large numbers of statues and relief-decorated elements were removed and later dispersed to museum collections around the world.[134] Until recently, it was believed that the last recorded visit to the tomb before it was lost under the sand, was when Emmanuel de Rougé (1811–1872) copied the grand stela with a hymn to the sun god Re, which stood *in situ* against the west wall of the peristyle court.[135] An unpublished notebook of Auguste Mariette suggests that he stood in the tomb and copied various inscriptions as late as March 1875.[136] Mariette was certainly not the final visitor to the tomb before it disappeared under the sand, because at some point after his last recorded visit, the stela was smashed to pieces. The fragments were subse-

133 There exists also controversy over who was or were buried in the subterranean complex, and when the(se) burial(s) took place. This study is not the place to address this issue in detail; however, it will be briefly signalled further below.

134 Indeed, the catalogue of this study contains the largest number of de-contextualised tomb elements now held in public and private collections.

135 Posthumously published by his son Jacques De Rougé (1877), pls 104–108.

136 The notebook is held in the collection of the Bibliothèque national de France in Paris, MS NAF 20190 (Folio 68^{v}, 69^{r}, 69^{v}, 70^{r}). See Staring (in press, b).

quently collected and taken to the Cairo Egyptian Museum.[137] Soon after the French scholar visited (the accessible part of) the tomb it slowly disappeared under the shifting desert sand. We have no later record of its existence—not until 1975—exactly 100 years later.

4.8.2 *Architectural Lay-Out of the Superstructure and Burial Complex*

The accessible superstructure of the Memphite tomb of Horemheb measures roughly 65 m from east to west. The architectural lay-out mirrors that of contemporary temples made for gods and kings. It is entered through a massive pylon gateway, followed by an open courtyard, a second pylon, peristyle courtyard, a statue room flanked by lateral chapels (in publication casually referred to as 'magazines'), an inner peristyle courtyard and three chapels in the west. The central chapel is divided in two by screen walls, creating an antechapel and inner chapel. A naos-shaped stela would have stood against the chapel's west wall.[138] The thick mud-brick walls, screen walls, two columns,[139] lintel, and roofing slabs presumably supported a pyramid structure topped by a pyramidion. No traces of the latter two elements have survived, however. The walls of the tomb are built of mud bricks throughout, and limestone is used for architectural elements such as columns, lintels, and paving stones. The interior walls of the monument west of the forecourt were fitted with a limestone revetment bearing fine relief-decoration. In select areas, such as the inner courtyard, the relief-decorated wall measures up to 3 m in height. Making and decorating the tomb must have been a massive operation involving large numbers of specialists such as painters and sculptors.[140]

The tomb has two burial shafts that were used in the New Kingdom. The shaft located in the first peristyle courtyard (117/USC) was not used—or rather reused—until the Ramesside period, and did not form part of the initial tomb's design.[141] Horemheb's burial apartments are accessed from a 10 m deep shaft

137 Martin (1989), 5.

138 The excavators initially suggested that a dyad statue representing Horemheb seated alongside his wife (both anonymous due to the lack of inscriptions), found inside the fill of the chapel area, stood against its west wall: Martin (1977), fig. 1, pl. 2.4.

139 Note that the excavators initially reconstructed four columns inside the central cult chapel: Martin (1989), pl. 5, even though the bases of only two columns were found *in situ*: Martin (1977), 17, fig. 1. The presence of screen walls, bearing relief-decoration on two sides, separating the inner chapel from the antechapel leave too little space for a second set of columns, however.

140 For this subject, see Staring (2021), 29–33.

141 Martin (1989), 132–137, shaft i. The subterranean apartments accessed from this shaft were constructed by elaborating from a pre-existing one of Old Kingdom date. Not all avail-

situated in the inner courtyard (shaft no. iv). The builders reused a shaft that had previously belonged to an Old Kingdom mastaba tomb. No trace of the former superstructure survived, while the subterranean structure was adapted to facilitate the burial of the new user. The newly created complex was made in two stages, and reaches a depth of c. 28 m beneath the tomb's pavement.

4.8.3 *The Subterranean Complex*

The subterranean complex accessed from shaft iv in the inner courtyard consists of a series of shafts, corridors, stairways and rooms. The complex can be divided in two levels. The upper level complex constitutes the original design, and the lower level signals a change of design. The precise date of when this happened is subject to discussion.

The tomb shaft (iv) leads to what used to be the Old Kingdom burial complex (M, L). This part of the complex was adapted by the New Kingdom builders, who enlarged the complex further south. The corridor between the shaft (iv) and room L was closed off with limestone blocks and sealed, following a burial. The south end of the room L has a side chamber (B) in the east and a descending corridor (A) opening to the west. This corridor leads to a second shaft (C), c. 6 m deep. At the bottom of the shaft, a corridor (E) leads west to a burial chamber (F) with barrel-vaulted ceiling and a rock-cut false door on the two short walls. A rectangular pit sunk in the floor was intended for depositing the nested wooden coffins, of which only the decayed remains were found upon excavation. The east end of the corridor (E) was closed off with limestone blocks and subsequently sealed, following a burial in chamber (F). An opening high up in the north wall of the shaft (C) gives access to a corridor leading further north. At the end of this corridor a third shaft (D) opens. A corridor (G) at the bottom of the shaft leads west towards a rectangular room (H), originally intended as the main burial chamber, and situated metres underneath the central west-chapel of the superstructure. The west and east long walls are carved with a panelled 'palace façade', and the rock of the north and south short walls are carved to represent naos-shaped stelae. A doorway and stairs in the northeast corner of the 'sarcophagus' chamber lead to a stairway (I) descending east to a chamber (J) followed by another short passage (K) that opens into a large, square pillared hall (N), the ceiling supported by four large pillars hewn from the rock.

able spaces were reappropriated in later times, as witnessed by the stone sarcophagus of an Old Kingdom official named Khuywer, left undisturbed in its original burial chamber. Interestingly, the roofing over Khuywer's sarcophagus pit had been constructed with relief-decorated blocks, which were previously used in the construction of an unidentified Old Kingdom royal monument.

This room was still filled with limestone chips from the unfinished chamber (P). Also diorite pounders used by the workmen to bruise the rock were found when entered in the 1970s. The ancient workmen had started creating a passage in the east wall of the hall, but it was never finished. A fourth shaft (O) descends from between the two pillars on the south side of the hall, accessing the unfinished rectangular burial chamber.

4.8.4 *A New Proposal for the Development of Horemheb's Tomb*

Geoffrey Martin and Kenneth Frazer, the EES-Leiden expedition surveyor, concluded that the tomb was made in three phases.[142] In their interpretation, they were heavily influenced by what was already known about the historical persona of Horemheb from textual sources. Thus, the stages of his career are linked to phases of construction. There is a discrepancy between the description offered by Martin and the figures drawn by Frazer to illustrate the construction phases. Jacobus van Dijk already signalled the discrepancies, and proposed a somewhat different development of the structure.[143] When both Martin and Van Dijk published their observations on the development of the Memphite tomb of Horemheb, the eastern forecourt with entrance pylon had not yet been excavated.[144] Thus, both scholars based their reconstruction on two-thirds of the above-ground architecture. Today, we also have to our advantage access to a substantial number of archaeologically surveyed tombs in the Unas South Cemetery and elsewhere on the North Saqqara plateau. Martin had to make do with less than a handful of parallels from Saqqara. The currently available parallels can also be analysed in their spatial context. The life histories of individual tombs are all closely tangled, and architects and patrons had to reckon with what had been built before. Thus, certain choices made with regards to the architectural lay-out can only be comprehended when taking the wider spatial context into consideration. This study takes into account the wider spatial and temporal setting of Horemheb's tomb, and arrives at a slightly different interpretation of the building phases. Newly identified scenes of Horemheb's iconographic programme help to adjust the image even further. The relief decoration, albeit not nearly preserved intact, offers a sound chronological framework for the tomb construction project. The present study identifies two main stages in construction: Phase 1a and 1b, and Phase 2, and proposes that in Horemheb's life, the tomb was used once for burial of his wife, queen (Amenia-)Mutnodjmet.

142 Martin (1989), 9–10 (summarised), 10–15, figs 2–4.

143 Van Dijk (1993), 24–28.

144 For the excavation of the forecourt, and its interpretation, see: Raven et al. (2011b), 33–34.

We know little with certainty about Horemheb before he became Tutankhamun's regent.[145] Yet in light of the exceptional position he held at court (as regent), it seems reasonable to assume that he had occupied an elevated position at the court of Akhenaten. It means that he would have resided at Akhetaten, where he may have had a tomb under construction in the cliffs east of the town. One of the tombs in the southern group at Amarna, TA 24, may have been made for him.[146] Construction of this rock-cut tomb was only at an early stage. The project was abandoned when the court moved from Akhetaten back to Memphis, where various high-ranking officials started to construct a tomb in the Memphite necropolis. It is very likely that his necropolis neighbour at Saqqara, May(a) (028/USC), did the same. He had started a tomb construction project in the same southern tomb group at Aketaten (TA 14), and after moving to Memphis he had to start all over again. Others, such as Meryneith alias Meryre (032/USC), resumed work on their funerary monuments, which they had started earlier in the reign of then-king Amenhotep IV.

The monumental dimensions of the spaces in the Phase 1 structure of Horemheb at Saqqara suggest that it was designed from the beginning as the funerary monument of the regent. The tomb's size excludes the possibility that its construction had started before Tutankhamun became king. Thus, when Horemheb arrived at Saqqara, the tombs of Iniuia (009/USC), Ptahemwia (025/USC), and Meryneith (032/USC) were already under construction. Horemheb selected a plot of land not far from the standing monuments of his peers, officials that had made a career in the reign of Akhenaten.

Phase 1a (Fig. 43)

One of the first works carried out at the construction site of Horemheb's tomb would have been adapting the Old Kingdom burial chamber and further excavating the subterranean complex.[147] This complex included two spaces that were destined to be used as burial chambers: F and H. The material excavated from the subterranean spaces was deposited on the surface where the tomb was

145 See the discussion in Van Dijk (1993), 10–64; updated in Martin (2016), 143–146.

146 Davies (1908a), 15, pl. 13. The few preserved inscriptions identify its intended deceased inhabitant as Paatenemheb, perhaps the name Horemheb took in the course of Akhenaten's reign. In the tomb inscriptions, Paatenemheb bears the titles of royal scribe (*sš nsw*), general of the Lord of the Two Lands (*im.y-r mšʿ n.y nb tꜣ.wy*), steward in the house of the Lord of the Two Lands (*im.y-r pr n.y nb tꜣ.wy*), and overseer of works in Akhetaten (*im.y-r kꜣ.t m ꜣḫ.t-ʾItn*).

147 That is, after preparing the surface above-ground, which may have included demolishing one or two (mud-brick?) mastaba tombs.

to be built. The stratigraphic sequence observed in a test trench set against the exterior south wall of the Phase 1 superstructure demonstrates that the foot of the wall is located at a depth of about 1.5 m below pavement level inside the tomb (Fig. 47).[148] The tomb's flagstones were positioned at a level c. 80 cm higher than the contemporary desert surface outside the tomb. Thus, the material excavated from the subterranean complex was used to raise the surface level upon which the tomb stood.

Phase 1 of the tomb's superstructure covers the structure from the chapels in the west to the comparatively thin east wall. At a certain moment during construction, the latter wall was removed. Its remains are still visible underneath the pavement of the first peristyle courtyard, and in the brickwork of the adjoining perimeter walls. The Phase 1a structure measures c. 40 m from east to west. Construction was started in or soon after year 1 of Tutankhamun, although the precise date cannot be pinned down based on present evidence.

The sculptors probably started work on the limestone revetment soon after the mud-brick walls had been set in place. They started work in the eastern part of the tomb: first the central west-chapel (the focus of the cult for the deceased and thus the most important part of the structure) and the walls of the inner courtyard.

Phase 1b (Fig. 44)

Phase 1b merely represents a change in design of the original tomb layout. We must remember that at this time, the 'typical' Memphite temple-tomb was conceptually very much in development. It means that there were few pre-existing examples that the architect could draw on, while at the same time measures would have been taken to differentiate Horemheb's monument from those of his peers. The tomb built for Tutankhamun's regent had to stand out from those made for all the other high officials and courtiers.

At this stage, the thin east wall was demolished and rebuilt further east as a massive entrance pylon. The change of design created a peristyle courtyard. When exactly the change was implemented cannot be known. What we do know is that it happened within the 9-year reign of Tutankhamun. The clue lies in a fragmentarily preserved portion of the south wall of Horemheb's peri-

148 Raven et al. (2011b), 34–35, figs 1.13–14. This corresponds with the observations at tomb 120/USC, east of Horemheb. In this area a test trench was excavated in order to locate the entrance to the 2nd-Dynasty burial complex underneath Meryneith, and cut through the stratigraphic sequence from the rim of 120/USC's tomb shaft to the bed rock (personal observation).

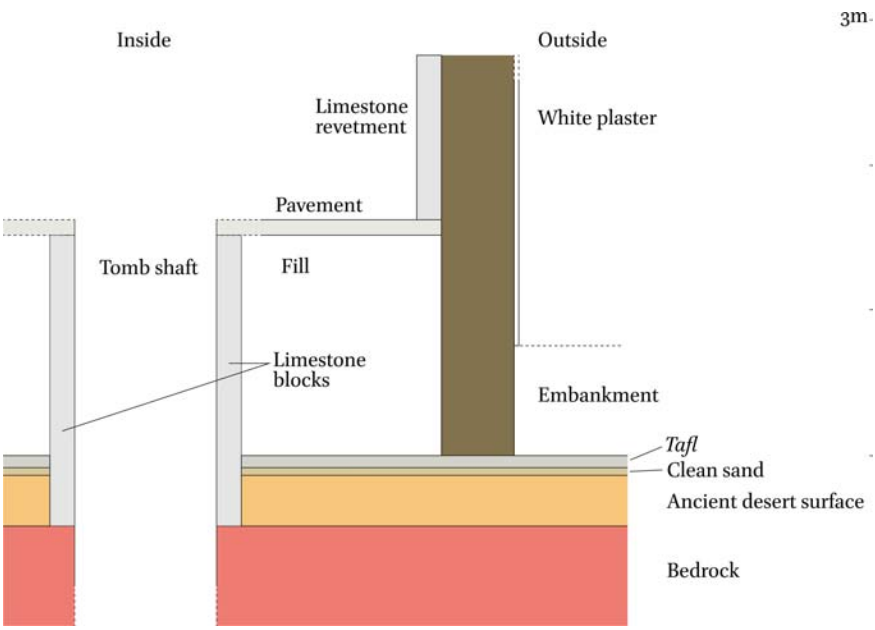


FIGURE 47 Schematic cross section of the tomb of Horemheb (046/USC). IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR, ADAPTED FROM RAVEN, M.J., VERSCHOOR, V., VUGTS, M., VAN WALSEM, R. (2011B), *THE MEMPHITE TOMB OF HOREMHEB COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF TUTANKHAMUN, V: THE FORECOURT AND THE AREA SOUTH OF THE TOMB WITH SOME NOTES ON THE TOMB OF TIA*, PALMA 6, TURNHOUT: BREPOLS, FIG. I.14.

style courtyard.[149] At its east end it includes a scene executed in raised relief, depicting a Window of Appearances and the adjoining walls of the king's Memphite palace wall decoration.[150] To the right-hand side of the window, there is a scene depicting the king, Tutankhamun, identified with a cartouche, wearing the *khepresh* (or blue) crown. He is seated on a cushioned stool while he shoots a bow and arrow, taking aim at an ingot target. The depiction of Tutankhamun's Memphite palace strongly suggests that the scene was carved in his reign. It is unlikely that Tutankhamun's palace would have been included in the iconographic programme of a tomb post-dating his reign, not only due to the later *damnatio memoriae* campaign which targeted the Amarna rulers, but also because it would simply lack relevance. After all, officials wished to underline their close proximity to the *reigning* king. The proposed date of this

149 Martin (1989), 24–28 [2], pls 18–19.
150 Johnson/Hawass (2016), 24–29; Martin (2016), 24–29, scene [2], fig. 13, pls 11, 94.

scene also sheds new light on the identities of the individuals depicted on the opposite north wall of the peristyle courtyard. This wall contained the much-contested depiction of a non-royal individual presenting the Gold of Honour to another official. If the decoration in this part of the tomb was made during the reign of Tutankhamun, the individual awarding the Gold of Honour can only be Horemheb in his role as regent; the individual receiving the honour is not known by name.[151]

For dating of the construction phases, the important conclusion can be drawn that all decoration in the superstructure of the tomb was produced within the 9-year reign of the King Tutankhamun—spanning the time when Horemheb acted as regent. The fact that the scene with Tutankhamun's palace was left unfinished, suggests that work on the decoration stopped when the king died. The event marked the end of Horemheb's role as regent, which may have meant that the sculptors assigned to work on his monument were (temporarily) put to work elsewhere.[152] The fact that the scene was not finished in the course of the 14-year reign of Horemheb suggests that no work was carried out at all during his time on the throne. The reason is obvious: Horemheb was no longer a private individual, and as king, he would have had no reason to continue work there. He redirected attention to his royal tomb in the Valley of the Kings at Thebes.

Phase 2 (Fig. 46)

For the same reasons it is equally unlikely that the Phase 2 grand forecourt was created when Horemheb was king.[153] The limestone revetment of the entrance gateway contains no finished decoration; only roughly scratched outlines of scenes. If this addition to the tomb was created under royal patron-

151 See most recently Martin (2017).

152 Various scholars posit that a rivalry existed between Ay and Horemheb, and that when the former became king (and pushed his son Nakhtmin forward as crown prince), the role of the latter was completely played out: e.g., Kawai (2010); Van Dijk (1993). This is not the place to engage in this discussion; however, one option might be that the artists who worked in Horemheb's tomb were redirected to work on the tomb of the deceased king, Tutankhamun, and were subsequently assigned to work on the tomb of his successor, Ay. The royal tomb construction project fell under the responsibility of Maya (028/USC), and it has been suggested that Userhat Hatiay [493] was involved in its making. Hatiay was also involved in the making of Maya's tomb, and may have worked on Horemheb's before that.

153 *Pace* my earlier conviction that the forecourt was created at that time, and that Horemheb sought to transform the private tomb into a royal tomb: Staring (2019–2020), 85–86.

age of Horemheb, one would perhaps have expected that the decoration had advanced further. It rather suggests that the forecourt was also created during the reign of Tutankhamun, left unfinished like the decoration in the first peristyle courtyard.

The Phase 2 forecourt was made in conjunction with the enlargement of the subterranean complex (Fig. 48). The enlargement of the underground structure clearly represented a change in design, and the same can be argued for the superstructure. The initial entrance pylon was cased in limestone, and the mud-brick walls of the new forecourt were simply built against the east face of the façade. The material excavated from the underground complex was deposited in front of the phase 1 eastern pylon entrance, raising the level of the surface to match that of the rest of the tomb.

The change of design of the subterranean complex affected the burial chamber H, which was likely where Horemheb was supposed to be buried had he not become king. It is unclear when the underground complex was changed, and precisely why this happened. Perhaps the whole tomb project was nearing completion only a few years into the reign of Tutankhamun. It opened up the possibility to amplify the monument, both above ground and underground. The untimely death of the king terminated the project rather suddenly.

The project was abandoned when Tutankhamun died. It was never finished because Horemheb's ascension to the throne made the burial complex obsolete.[154] The king started a new project in the Valley of the King at Thebes (KV 57), like his predecessors in office before him. The Memphite tomb of Horemheb would ultimately be used to receive the burial of Horemheb's wife, the queen Mutnodjmet.[155] She was buried in burial chamber (F), which was intended for

154 Van Dijk (1993), 44, observes that the extension of the burial complex is royal in character, being similar in plan to the royal tombs immediately before the Amarna period. However, note that all tombs of that period include a 90 degrees turn. Horemheb's extension does not have this. The straight axis rather reminds one of the royal tomb at Amarna: Martin/Lehner (1989), pls 11–12. The extension also appears to be a forebear to the plan of Horemheb's royal tomb, KV 57, from room (F) onwards, see: Hornung (1971), folding plate after pl. 66. The architect of the Memphite tomb may have intended a further eastward extension of the pillared hall (N). However, work was halted prematurely.

155 Martin (1989), Schneider (1996), and Van Dijk (1993) suggest that the burial in room (F) was that of Amenia, generally accepted to be the first wife of Horemheb, and the burial in room (P)—the remains of which were later deposited in room (N)—was intended for queen Mutnodjmet, Horemheb's second wife. The identification of the human remains recovered from the lower level complex as Mutnodjmet (Strouhal 2008; Martin 1982), however, is problematic for various reasons, not the least its radiocarbon date.

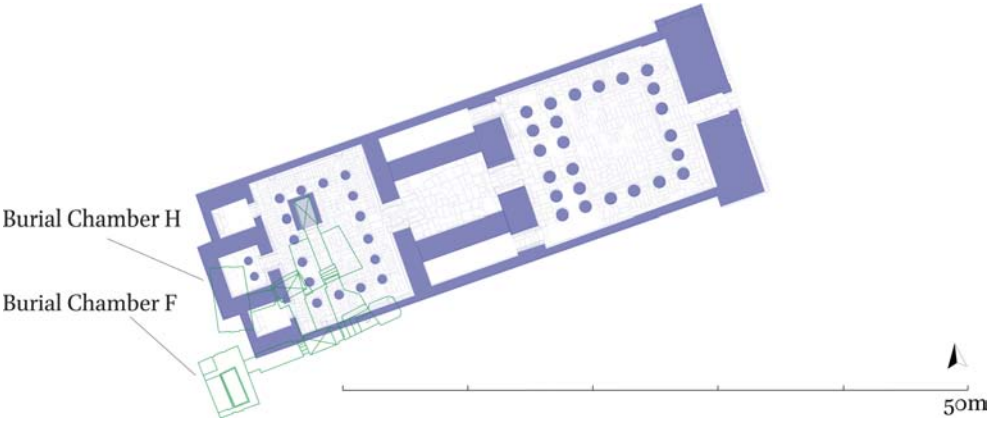


FIGURE 48A Superstructure and subterranean complex of the tomb of Horemheb (046/USC), Phase 1
IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR

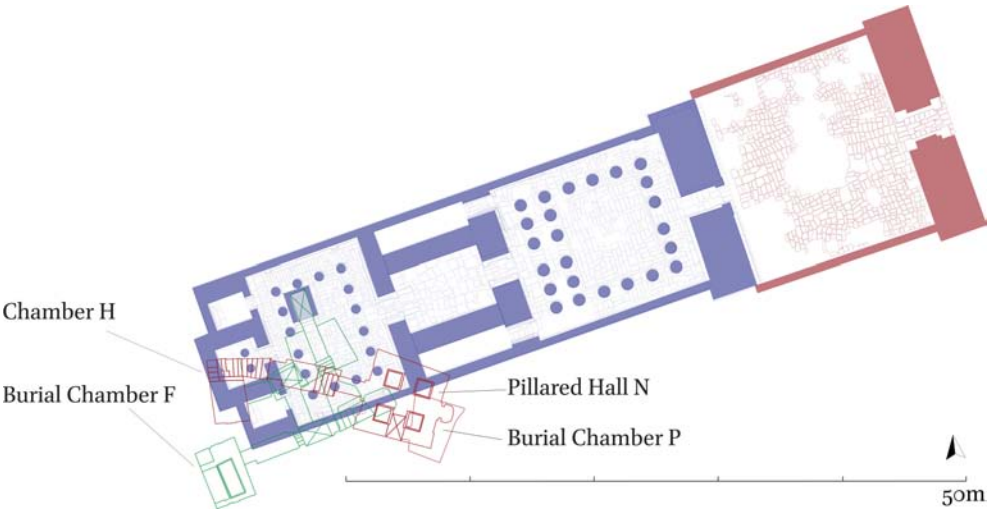


FIGURE 48B Superstructure and subterranean complex of the tomb of Horemheb (046/USC), Phase 2
IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR

her use from the start.[156] The funeral is dated by the hieratic dockets mentioning year 13 of King Horemheb.

156 The Valley of the Queens was first used for the actual burial of queens only in the reign of Ramesses I, Horemheb's successor. The tomb of Ramesses I's consort, Satre (QV 38) is generally regarded as the earliest queen's tomb in this valley.

4.8.5 *Burial and Later Life of the Tomb*

The pottery recovered from the spaces in the upper level subterranean complex include mainly small vessels.[157] These in all likelihood contained valuables such as fine unguents and perfumes. The pottery also includes a series of blue-painted wares and a number of plain and polychrome amphorae which contained wine, some of which bear hieratic dockets. Very few storage vessels were found.

The pottery found in the lower level, more specifically shaft (O) and room (P), consists overwhelmingly of large storage vessels (total n=32). These vessels likely contained dry foodstuffs such as cereals, grain, and flour. The plates and dishes recovered from the same contexts were probably used as the lids of the storage vessels. room (P) also held miniature dishes, which were not found in the upper level.[158] By contrast, room (P) contained neither blue-painted tableware nor small vessels, and included only three wine amphorae.

According to the pottery experts, the neat distribution between the upper and lower levels shows that the two pottery groups complement one another, and that these formed part of a single assemblage. This suggests that all material should be assigned to a single burial. The fine wares and containers that once held expensive commodities were placed closest to the burial in room (F), either inside the burial chamber or in close proximity to it, such as the corridor (E). The larger storage jars that held bulk material were deposited farther away. Janine Bourriau and David Aston point out that a very similar distribution pattern of pottery types can be observed in the contemporary tomb of Maya (028/USC).[159] There the large storage jars (n=12) were deposited in a room (labelled 'L') situated off a corridor leading towards the burial chambers.[160] Outside of the Memphite necropolis, in the tomb of Tutankhamun in the Valley of the Kings, KV 62, a similar distribution of objects has been observed, which allows for a division of tomb space in a 'funerary sphere' and a 'quotidian sphere'.[161]

Bourriau and Aston argue that the two pottery groups belonged to a single tomb group associated with a single burial. The only material evidence for

157 The observations in this paragraph and the next are taken from Aston/Bourriau in Bourriau et al. (2005).

158 The authors note that miniature dishes (n=72) were also associated with large storage vessels in the embalmers' cache of Tutankhamun, KV 54, see Winlock (1941), 14.

159 The volume on the pottery material from the tomb of Maya, written by Barbara Aston and David Aston, is in press.

160 Aston (1988), 10, mentions eleven large storage jars that were found *in situ*.

161 Phelps (2020).

a burial was found in room (F). The most likely candidate for the individual interred there is Mutnodjmet, because fragments of a calcite vase inscribed with her name were found in that room.[162] Bourriau and Aston also point to the fact that room (P) was evidently intended as the main burial chamber, but that its unfinished state may have influenced the choice for burial in room (F). It is in the latter room that the fine painted pottery, furniture, and other fine objects were stored, and perhaps more items were placed in the adjacent rooms. The burial chamber (F) did not provide enough space for the inclusion of the large storage jars, which were instead placed down in room (P). That room would no longer have been required for a burial since Horemheb had become king.[163]

In my view, the wife of Horemheb mentioned and depicted in the iconographic programme of the superstructure, Amenia, is the same individual as Horemheb's queen, Mutnodjmet, who first enters our sources the moment her husband ascends the throne.[164] Amenia adopted a new name on the occasion of her husband ascending the throne of Egypt, because the career jump of her husband also affected her status. Her example is not unique in Egyptian history. In fact, there is strong evidence to suggest that her example was followed very soon afterwards—c. 15 years later, to be precise. The wife of Horemheb's immediate successor on the throne, Ramesses I, did exactly the same. Tia changed her name to Satre when her husband, the military official Ramessu, became king.[165] Seti I, son of Ramesses I, named his daughter after his mother, Tia. The name of one of the daughters of Ramesses II, grandson of Ramesses I, lends further support to the hypothesis, as she bears the compound name Tia-Satre.[166]

Following the burial of Amenia-Mutnodjmet and the death of Horemheb soon after, the Memphite tomb was turned in a sort of memorial temple. The images of Horemheb are changed to royal images by the addition of a uraeus

162 Schneider (1996), cat. 261.

163 Those scholars in favour of the scenario of two burials that took place at two different moments in time would need to argue that the person buried in the upper level was equipped exclusively with fine wares and no large storage vessels, and that the person buried in the lower level had access to no fewer than 32 food containers, but no fine wares.

164 Dyad statue Turin, Museo Egizio acc. no. 1379. See: Van Dijk (1993), 14–19; Gardiner (1953).

165 First suggested by Bietak (1975), 185 n. 786, and followed by Dodson (2002), 271. The argument draws on the identification of individuals mentioned on the so-called 400-year stela: Stadelmann (1986), cols 1039–1043. Stadelmann does not accept the identification of the viziers (Ramessu, Seti) with the homonymous kings (Ramesses I, Seti I).

166 Dodson (2002), 271.

to his brow. The tomb's offering cult was cared for by a family of priests, who erected two limestone plinths supporting recumbent statues of the jackal-god Anubis in the west-end of the so-called statue room for the sake of their own memorial. Pottery evidence further suggests that the cult remained operational well into the 19th Dynasty.[167] Large numbers of graffiti scratched in the limestone revetment of the entrance doorway and elsewhere in the tomb testify to the ancient visitors to the tomb-turned-memorial temple of this deified king.[168]

4.9 Transition of the 18th to the 19th Dynasty

On present evidence it is difficult to tell precisely how the cemetery grew further to the north after Horemheb (Fig. 49; Table 8). There is very little archaeological evidence for tombs dated to this king's reign—a reign which lasted longer than Tutankhamun's. Much of the cemetery of this period might still be hidden under the sand in the area between the present Leiden-Turin concession area and that of Cairo University. Indeed, the northernmost tomb in the former area is that of Maya (028/USC), who died in year 9 of Horemheb (the *terminus ante quem* for the end to his tomb construction project), and the southernmost tomb in the latter area is that of Ptahmose (027/USC), the chief steward in the temple of Ptah (*ỉm.y-r pr wr m pr Ptḥ*) and great mayor of Memphis (*ḥꜣ.ty-ʿ wr m ʾInb.w-ḥḏ*), who began constructing and decorating his tomb only a few years after Maya, in the reign of Seti I.[169] Given Ptahmose's elevated titles held early in the reign of Seti I, he must have been a prominent citizen of Memphis already in the previous reigns of Ramesses I and Horemheb. The same goes for Ptahmose's necropolis neighbour to the north, Urkhiya (004/USC), general of the army (*ỉm.y-r mšʿ wr*), and Hormin (047/USC), overseer of the royal household at Memphis (*ỉm.y-r ỉp.t nsw n.yt Mn-nfr*), whose lost tomb must be sought a little to the northwest of Maya's.

Further work in this part of the cemetery in the late 18th Dynasty consisted mainly of small-scale construction works, including the amplification of existing structures. At the moment of writing this chapter, the Leiden-Turin expedition is excavating a tomb (090/USC) situated immediately north of the north

167 Aston in Raven et al. (2011b), 226.

168 Staring/Perfetti (2020), 73–80; Van Pelt/Staring (2019); Staring (2018).

169 For the proposed date of the tomb of Ptahmose, and the comparisons to Maya, see Staring (2014).

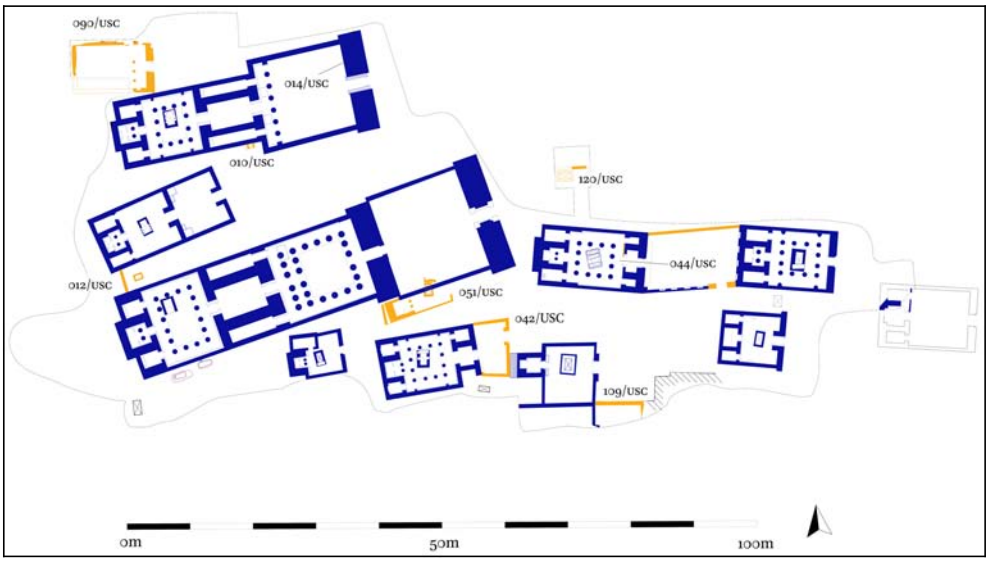


FIGURE 49 The Unas South Cemetery, Leiden-Turin concession area, in the late 18th to early 19th Dynasty
IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR

TABLE 8 List of tomb owners in the Unas South Cemetery, late 18th to early 19th Dynasty

Tomb no.	Date	Name	Titles
010/USC	Late 18th/early 19th Dynasty	Yamen	Lector Priest
012/USC	Early 19th Dynasty	Irdjedi	?
042/USC	Late 18th/early 19th Dynasty	Raia	Overseer of the Royal Household in Memphis, etc.
044/USC	Late 18th/early 19th Dynasty	Hatiay	High Priest of Iah, Chief Lector Priest, etc.
051/USC	Early 19th Dynasty	Khay	*Wab* Priest of the Front of Ptah
090/USC	Early 19th Dynasty	*NN*	?
109//USC	Early 19th Dynasty (?)	*NN*	?
120/USC	Early 19th Dynasty (?)	*NN*	?

exterior wall of the inner courtyard of Maya (Fig. 50).[170] The new tomb is not yet fully excavated: only parts of the mud-brick walls have been unearthed, and no relief-decoration has been found, rendering the monument anonymous. The

170 Del Vesco et al. (2020), 67–71.



FIGURE 50 The entrance doorway to tomb 090/USC, facing west, during excavation by the Leiden-Turin expedition in 2019
PHOTOGRAPH BY PAOLO DEL VESCO/LEIDEN-TURIN EXPEDITION TO SAQQARA, 2019

fact that the tomb was built against the north exterior wall of Maya proves that it was built later than its famous neighbour to the south, i.e. during the reign of Horemheb, or, perhaps more likely, during the early 19th Dynasty. A small sondage in the southeast corner of the courtyard of 090/USC reveals that its pavement level is c. 80 cm above that of Maya. Further excavation should reveal what caused the difference in elevation. One option would be that the tomb was built on an artificial deposit of sand and rubble (also observed elsewhere in the cemetery).

The same uncertainty in date applies to 120/USC, situated north of Meryneith (032/USC). The tomb shaft and part of what is presumably the north wall were recorded in a test trench, cut in order to locate the entrance to the 2nd Dynasty burial largely situated underneath the tomb of Meryneith (032/USC).[171] The fact that the tomb, as reconstructed, is positioned rather close to the north exterior wall of Meryneith suggests that it is not contemporary to that tomb (the late 18th Dynasty monuments were generally built at a small distance to their neighbours). A date in the reign of Tutankhamun also

171 Raven (forthcoming).

seems unlikely, because in that case it would have been built right in front of Horemheb's monumental gateway. It is unlikely Horemheb would have allowed someone to block the entrance to his tomb. Therefore, it seems more likely that is was built a while after Horemheb abandoned his tomb upon ascending the throne.

The adaptation of the above-ground architecture of Meryneith's tomb may offer a further clue to the date of 120/USC. Late in the 18th Dynasty, or possibly early in the ensuing 19th Dynasty, an official named Hatiay (044/USC), a high priest of Iah (the moon god) (*ḥm-nṯr tp.y n.y iʿḥ*), added to the tomb's iconographic programme, hinting at a case of diachronous dual occupancy of a funerary monument.[172] He added relief decoration to the previously undecorated east wall (north section) of Meryneith, and placed one round-topped stela against the eastern façade. The base of a second stela might point to a possible second stela of Hatiay. The wall connecting the tombs of Meryneith and Ptahemwia (025/USC) in the north can also be credited to Hatiay. This adaptation turned the area between the two structures into a closed courtyard. At the same time, a new doorway was made in the courtyard's existing southern wall. It meant that the tomb was no longer accessed from the north, but from the south. The change of access may have to do with a changed situation in the north. Although the area to the north is largely unexcavated, rendering much unclear, the construction of 120/USC could have effected these changes. At this time, the former tomb of Horemheb, which saw the funeral of queen Mutnodjmet late in his reign, was turned into a quasi-memorial temple, replete with its own priesthood. Such a prominent building may have seen a considerable number of visitors on various occasions throughout the year—as exemplified by the large number of visitors' graffiti scratched on the walls.[173] The now-anonymous owner of tomb 120/USC may have anticipated the visitors to the cemetery and built precisely on the access route leading up the king's 'memorial temple'. He may not have been the only one to do so. The building activity east of Horemheb may have led to a situation in which his monument, along with that of Meryneith, became increasingly more difficult to access from this direction. The southern access route towards Horemheb led along the southern exterior of Meryneith's tomb, thus necessitating the creation of an opening in the south wall of its courtyard.

None of the inscriptions added by Hatiay to the tomb of Meryneith betray the nature of his relationship to Meryneith—if indeed a relationship existed

172 Staring (in press, a).

173 Staring (in press, c); Staring in Del Vesco (2020); Van Pelt/Staring (2019); Staring (2018).

at all. Since none of the representations of Meryneith—as far as preserved—were damaged by the second occupant of the tomb (if indeed the additions were meant to mark a burial, which is not indisputably the case), it seems that it was not a matter of flat-out usurpation.[174] Instead, I have suggested elsewhere that this example presents a case of diachronic dual occupancy along the lines of professional affiliation.[175] Both men had officiated as high priests: Meryneith was a greatest of seers of the Aten, the sun god; and Hatiay was a first prophet of the moon, or the nocturnal sun. One may also point to the fact that Hatiay additionally bore the title of chief lector priest (*ḫr.y-ḥb ḥr.y-tp*), which may give an indication that he was involved in the organisation of the funeral of Meryneith and members of his family, and the later maintenance of his offering cult. A parallel for the practice of a priest materially associating himself with the tomb of his patron can be found at the tomb of Maya. The priest responsible for the high official's offering cult was a lector priest named Yamen (010/USC). He built a small memorial structure against the south exterior wall of the tomb of Maya (Fig. 51). The modest mud-brick chapel accommodated a small stela (h: 72 cm), commemorating his relationship to Maya. In the upper register of the stela, Yamen is depicted offering to Osiris enthroned, and the lower register depicts Yamen in office, offering to the deceased couple Maya and Meryt. It is unclear whether the chapel marked a burial. No shaft has been found associated with the chapel.

Yamen was not the only individual who built a small chapel against the south exterior wall of the tomb of Maya. A second chapel is situated wedged between that of Yamen and the protruding corner of Maya's outer courtyard, and the remains of a third structure were noted west of Yamen's. The former chapel has tentatively been attributed to Peraaerneheh, a lector priest of the overseer of the treasury Maiay (*ḫr.y-ḥb n.y ỉm.y-r pr Mʿiẓy*), attested by a small round-topped stela now held in the Warsaw National Museum.[176] Interestingly, the wife of the stela owner, Medjeria, who was a servant (*sḏm-ʿš*), along with her daughter, Ankh, are depicted presenting offerings to a seated lady of the house (*nb.t pr*) named Tya. This lady might possibly be identified as the sister of Ramesses II, who married a man named Tia (057/USC). The two Tia's were buried in their tomb wedged between those of Maya and Horemheb. That Tia was mentioned on the stela of a priest of Maya implies a relationship between the cults for Maya and Tia, and points to the continued maintenance of the former's cult well into the reign of Ramesses II.

174 As characterised by the excavators, Raven/Van Walsem (2014), 55–56.

175 Staring (in press, a).

176 Warsaw, Muzeum Narodwe 142294 (h: 54.5 cm): Raven (1997).



FIGURE 51 The memorial chapel of the priest Yamen (010/USC) built against the south exterior wall of the tomb of Maya (028/USC)
PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY/RIJKSMUSEUM VAN OUDHEDEN, LEIDEN

In the late 18th to early 19th Dynasty, a number of pre-existing passageways between the monumental structures were blocked for the first time by newly built tombs.[177] One example is situated in the space between the north exterior wall of Horemheb, at its west end, and the neighbour to the north, Ramose (039/USC). The thin wall of mud bricks served to demarcate the location of the burial of a man named Irdjedy (012/USC), accessed from a burial shaft due east of the wall. At this stage, the burial space appears not to have been demarcated on the east, although possible remains may have disappeared below the later (20th Dynasty) additions in this area.

Further to the south, the open area between the tombs of Pay (017/USC) and Ry (038/USC) was utilised by Raia (042/USC), a son of Pay who succeeded his father as overseer of the royal household (*ỉp.t nsw*). He lived to see the early Ramesside period, probably well into the reign of Seti I. Raia adapted the tomb of his father both underground and above ground to accommodate his own

177 Figure 49 also dates wall 109/USC to this period, although this is not at all certain, see Raven et al. (forthcoming). The wall has not been fully excavated and its relationship to the adjacent walls, belonging to structures 005/USC and 108/USC, needs further study.

burial—another case of diachronous dual occupancy of a tomb. In front of the entrance to his father's tomb, he built a new forecourt with walls in mud bricks. The limestone doorjambs of the entrance to the forecourt are inscribed for Raia, as are the two stelae positioned on either side of the original entrance to Pay's tomb. The asymmetric shape of the newly added courtyard, with its entrance off the centre to the north, indicates that Raia had to reckon with a pre-existing structure to the east, namely the tomb of Ry (038/USC), like Raia a military official. Both men held the office of overseer of horses. The creation of the new forecourt meant that the tomb entrance could no longer be accessed from the south. Perhaps a southern approach was already impossible due to the presence of tomb 005/USC in that area. We do not presently know how far 005/USC extended to the west, however it is not improbable that its west wall was south of Pay's superstructure. From now on, the only means of accessing the tomb of father and son, Pay and Raia, was from the east.

The shape of the superstructure of the burial of Khay (051/USC), a *wab* priest of the front of Ptah (*wʿb n.y ḥȝ.t n.y Ptḥ*) and chief gardener of the king (*ʿȝ n.y š n.y pȝ š n.y pr-ʿȝ ʿ.w.s.*) is clearly adapted to the particular spatial configurations of this section of the cemetery. Khay made use of what appears to be an Old Kingdom tomb shaft located under the south wall of Horemheb's Phase 2 forecourt. The shaft was made accessible by cutting an arched niche of c. 2.2 m high, 1.6 m wide, and 0.52 m deep in the exterior face of the south wall of Horemheb's forecourt.[178] The difference in height between the surface level of Khay's tomb and the rim of the Old Kingdom shaft was bridged by inserting a number of limestone blocks acting as steps. The tomb's rather narrow forecourt lay east of a single chapel, divided in two by means of screen walls. The chapel area was built against the pylon of Horemheb's monument. The narrow forecourt may have lent its peculiar shape to the tomb of Iniuia (009/USC) further to the east. Had Khay extended his courtyard south, connecting it to the north exterior wall of Pay (017/USC), he would have cut off the route leading up to Iniuia's tomb. The alignment of Khay's superstructure suggests that this path was not to be obstructed, in turn suggesting that the offering cult of Iniuia was very actively maintained at this time. Indeed, the relief-decorated block depicting the grandchildren of Iniuia, dating to the early 19th Dynasty, lends support to this hypothesis.[179] One of the individuals depicted, labelled as the 'son of his son', was clearly named after his grandfather, Iniuia, and bears the title first

178 Raven et al. (forthcoming).

179 Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 31.5.25.11: limestone block with decoration in raised relief. See Schneider (2012), 121, fig. V.2. A female is described as the 'daughter of the son of I[u]y'; Iuy was the wife of Iniuia. The block was found at Saqqara, but the find context is unknown.

TABLE 9 List of tomb owners in the Unas South Cemetery, early 19th Dynasty

Tomb no.	Date	Name	Titles
004/USC	Early 19th Dynasty, Seti I–early Ramesses II	Urkhiya	Chief Steward in the Ramesseum, General, etc.
027/USC	Early 19th Dynasty, Seti I–early Ramesses II	Ptahmose	Mayor of Memphis, Chief Steward in the Temple of Ptah, etc.
047/USC	Early 19th Dynasty, Seti I–early Ramesses II	Hormin	Overseer of the Royal Household of Memphis, etc.
085/USC	Early 19th Dynasty	*NN*	?

prophet in the temple of Djeserkhaperure-Setepenre son-of-Ptah-who-loves-the-inundation (*ḥm-nṯr tp.y n.y tꜣ ḥw.t ḫpr-ḏsr(.w)-Rʿ-stp.n-Rʿ sꜣ Ptḥ mr.y-bʿḥ*). He was, in other words, high priest in the Memphite temple of Millions of Years of Horemheb.[180] The king's temple probably stood on the edge of the cultivated land, at the foot of the escarpment, although there are no archaeological remains of the actual building. It is not the same institution as the former private tomb of Horemheb, which also had an active cult celebrated for the deified king. In the Ramesside period, the priesthood turned the tomb *de facto* into a memorial temple. The fact that the tomb of the grandfather of the high priest of the king's memorial temple stood so close to the former private tomb-turned-memorial-temple strongly suggests that access to the tomb was secured for a while into the Ramesside period.

4.10 The Cemetery's Lateral Growth in the Early 19th Dynasty

The early 19th Dynasty includes the reigns of Ramesses I, Seti I, and the first two decades of Ramesses II. This time period includes the tombs built for officials who had their roots in the late 18th Dynasty and who started constructing their tombs in the reign of Seti I. Some of these officials continued work on their funerary monuments into the reign of Ramesses II.

For this stage in the development of the cemetery, we need to zoom out and shift our focus further to the north (Fig. 52; Table 9). As already noted in the previous section, a large part of the cemetery covered by this period represents

180 Staring (2019), 214, table 13.1.

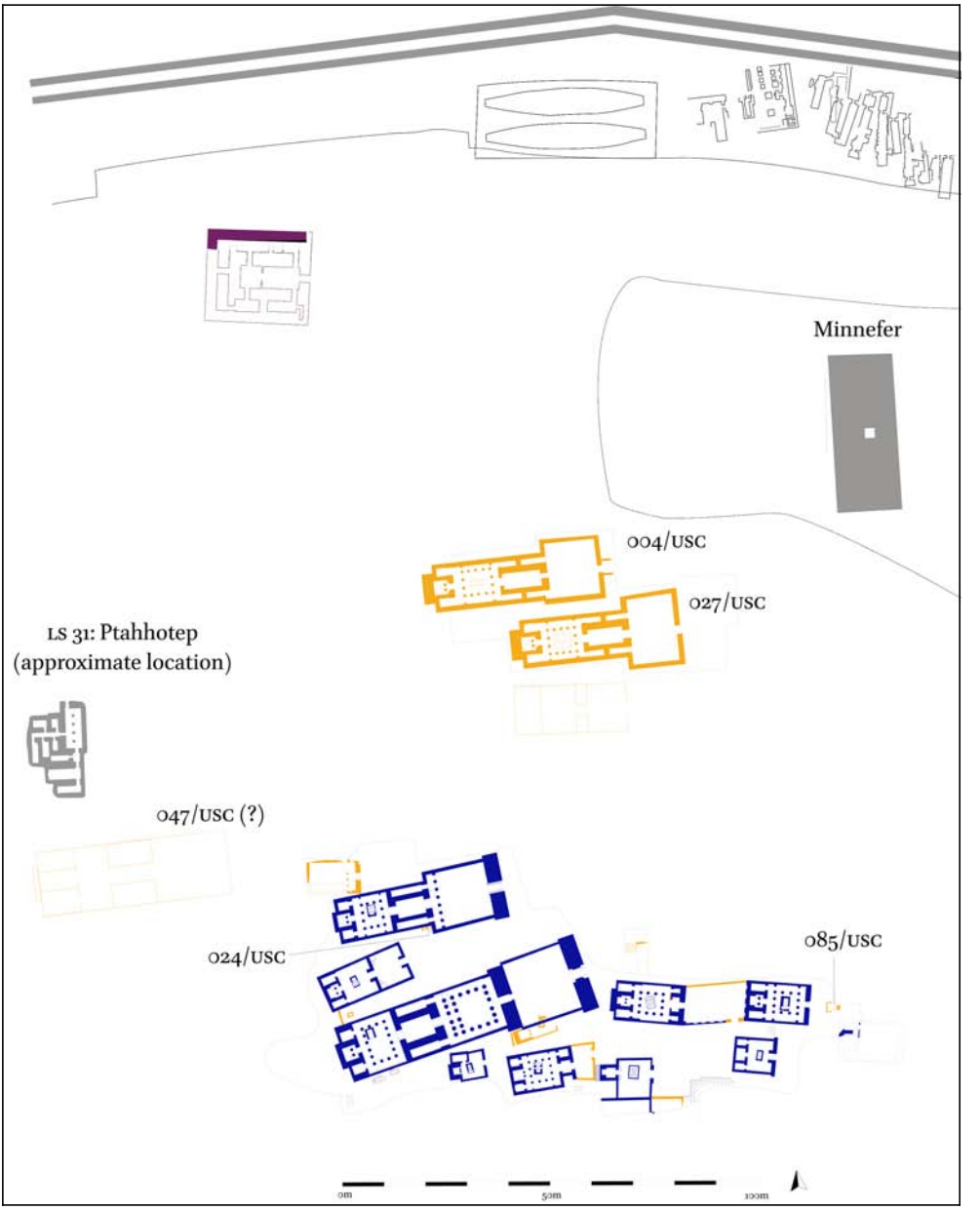


FIGURE 52 The Unas South Cemetery in the early 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Seti I–early Ramesses II
IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR

a blind spot on our map, because this area has not been covered by modern archaeological work. Excavations in this area carried out in the 19th century were largely undocumented, which means that all finds from tombs potentially located in this area are now of unknown provenance. A number of the tombs excavated by Auguste Mariette in 1859 and photographed by his assistant Théodule Devéria (1831–1871) are probably located in precisely this area.[181] Two of these tombs have been re-discovered in more recent years by the Cairo University archaeological expedition led by Ola el-Aguizy. These include the tombs of Ptahmose (027/USC), re-discovered in 2010, and Ptahemwia (026/USC), located in 2018 and still under excavation at the moment of writing. The latter tomb dates somewhat later in the reign of Ramesses II, and will be discussed in the next section. The early 19th Dynasty part of the cemetery includes three monumental tomb structures: the already mentioned monument of Ptahmose (027/USC), Urkhiya (004/USC), and Hormin (047/USC).

4.10.1 *The 'Lost' Tomb of Hormin*

The tomb of Hormin (047/USC), overseer of the royal household of Memphis (*im.y-r ỉp.t nsw n.yt Mn-nfr*), now lost, was accessible from the early 1820s until the late 1850s, when it was gradually stripped off much of its relief-decorated blocks, statues, and stelae. These elements are now housed in museums in Europe and Egypt. The relief block now held in the Musée du Louvre is perhaps best known, because it depicts the king, Seti I, standing at the Window of Appearances of his palace as he awards Hormin with the Gold of Honour.[182] The only indication for the tomb's location is offered by Lepsius. The Prussian expedition noted an 'inner door' (*innere Thüre*), which was given tomb (LS) 29.[183] On the map of Saqqara, the tomb's location is indicated to the northwest of LS 27, the tomb of Maya (028/USC),[184] rediscovered by the EES-Leiden expedition in 1986.[185] By reckoning with the known location of the tomb of Maya, it is possible to identify the structure of Hormin's tomb on the magnetometric survey map of the area west of Maya, produced by the Glasgow Museums Saqqara Geophysical Survey Project (SGSP) in 2009.[186] The survey map shows distortions in the local, subsurface magnetic field. These distortions are caused by the presence of mud bricks (limestone blocks do not show

181 Pasquali (2017); Staring (2016a); (2014).
182 Paris, Musée du Louvre C 213 = E 3337 = IM 6166. See e.g., Barbotin (2005), 170–171, no. 92.
183 LD, *Text*, I, 185.
184 LD, pl. 31.
185 Martin (1987b).
186 I am indebted to Campbell Price and John Dittmer for sharing the data of this survey.

up when using this method). Thus, the shapes defined by the black contour lines can be identified as the mud-brick walls of structures (presumably tombs) covered by the desert sand. The survey map covers an area to the west and north of the current Leiden-Turin concession area and partly overlaps with what is now the south extent of the Cairo University concession area. One of the largest structures recognizable in the latter area has been excavated in 2010: the tomb of Ptahmose (027/USC). The shape of the structure detected beneath the sand, matches the actually excavated structure seamlessly, underlining the value of the survey technique. By overlaying the survey map onto the plan of the cemetery (showing the actually excavated tombs), and adding the locations of tombs given by Lepsius, it is possible to identify the lost tomb of Hormin (Fig. 53). Lepsius marked the locations of a few tombs on his map of what is now referred to as the Unas South Cemetery, including that of Maya (LS 27). We know that Lepsius's location of this tomb is not correct; the actual tomb was found c. 20 m north of the spot marked by the Prussian expedition. If we assume that all tombs were mapped with the same margin of error,[187] all LS-numbers should be shifted northwards accordingly. If we project the corrected LS-numbers on the geophysical survey map, the dot indicating LS 29, Hormin, coincides precisely with the black-lined contour of a large mud-brick structure. Even when we allow for a larger margin of error, this structure would come closest to where Lepsius indicated its location. From what we can gather from the survey image, the tomb of Hormin displays an architectural lay-out and size comparable to the tombs of Maya (028/USC), Ptahmose (027/USC), and Urkhiya (004/USC). From east to west, we can recognize an open forecourt,[188] a space usually referred to as the statue room, flanked by lateral chapels, an inner courtyard, and three chapels in the west. The northern lateral chapel is densely coloured black, which may indicate that it is either well-preserved, including its (presumably) vaulted roof, or the space is filled with the mud-bricks of the collapsed roof. Lepsius's dot to mark the tomb's location is placed on the west end of the southern lateral chapel, which may indicate that the 'inner door' seen by him can be identified as the southern doorjamb of the doorway between the inner courtyard and the statue room.[189]

187 Note that LS 28, the 'tomb of Raia' is incorrectly placed on Lepsius's map: the location probably indicates where the expedition found the stelae (now Berlin ÄM 7270–7271), taken from their original position.

188 Its entrance is not visible on the survey map, which indicates it is located under the metres-thick sand dump on the western edge of the Leiden-Turin concession area.

189 The dot marking the location of LS 28, the tomb of Raia, is situated immediately north of the north exterior wall of Hormin. It may suggest that the stelae of Raia were deposited

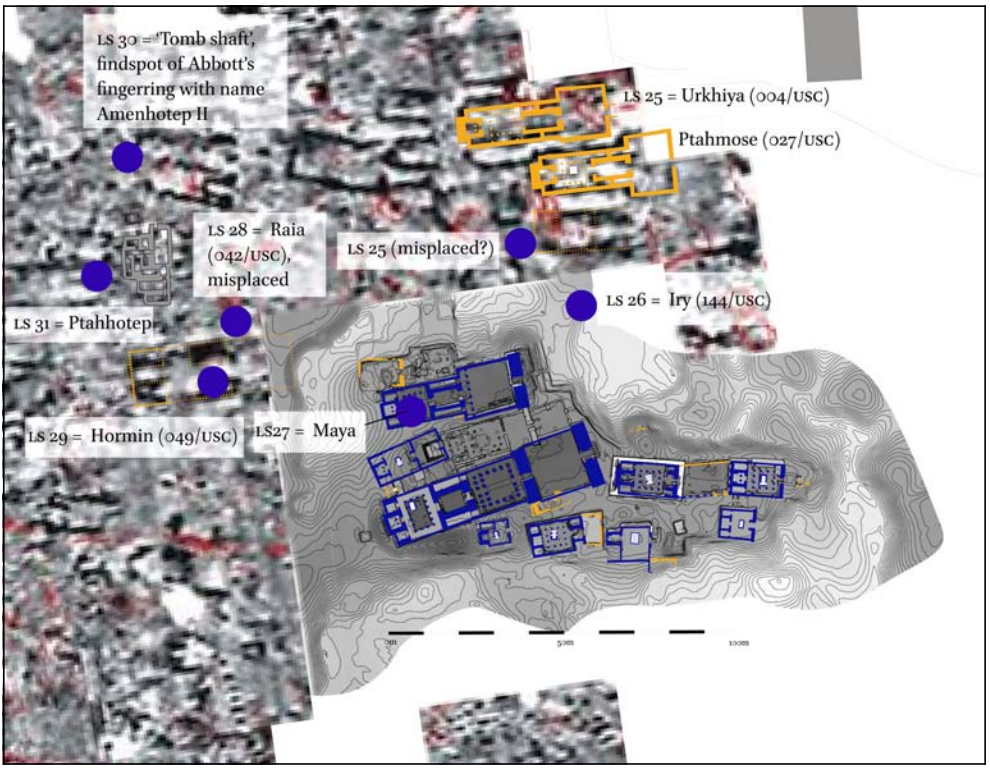


FIGURE 53 The long-lost tomb of Hormin (047/USC) identified on the SGSP geophysical survey map IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR, ADAPTED FROM THE MAP PRODUCED BY THE GLASGOW MUSEUMS SAQQARA GEOPHYSICAL SURVEY PROJECT, 2009, REPRODUCED WITH KIND PERMISSION BY JOHN DITTMER, AND THE ELEVATION MAP PRODUCED BY THE 3D SURVEY GROUP, POLITECNICO DI MILANO/LEIDEN-TURIN EXPEDITION TO SAQQARA, 2019

4.10.2 *Funerary Monuments of Urkhiya and Ptahmose*

Urkhiya (004/USC) and Ptahmose (027/USC), two prominent officials during the reigns of Seti I and Ramesses II, built their tombs c. 50 m north of the tomb of Maya, on a slight elevation of the plateau (Fig. 54).[190] Both men held close ties to the king. Urkhiya served as the first steward in the Theban temple of Millions of Years of Ramesses II (*ỉm.y-r pr m ḥw.t Wsr-mȝʿ.t-Rʿ-stp.n-Rʿ* [*m*] *pr ʾImn*), better known as the Ramesseum, and Ptahmose held the same office in

(by early 1820s antiquities diggers?) alongside Hormin following their removal from his courtyard.

190 In the north, the natural desert surface is c. 2 m higher than in the south.



FIGURE 54 The tomb of Ptahmose (027/USC) during excavation by the Cairo University expedition in 2013
PHOTOGRAPH BY OLA EL-AGUIZY, REPRODUCED WITH KIND PERMISSION

the king's Memphite temple (*ỉm.y-r pr wr m tȝ ḥw.t Rʿ-ms-s(w) mr.y-ʾImn m pr Ptḥ*). Ptahmose in addition held senior offices that can be connected to large-scale building activities at Memphis. For example, he served as steward in the temple 'Beneficial is Seti-Merenptah' in the house of Ptah (*ỉm.y-r pr m ḥw.t nṯr ȝḫ-Stḫy-mr-n-Ptḥ m pr Ptḥ*). The temple can be identified as the great hypostyle hall that Seti I built in the temple of Ptah at Memphis, quite comparable to what he did in the temple of Amun at Karnak.[191] His son, Ramesses II, probably continued work in that part of the temple, and further extended it in an eastward direction, which was made possible due to the eastward migration of the Nile.

191 Staring (2015a), 177–178. In this respect, it is perhaps not insignificant that a block deriving from Ptahmose's neighbour to the north, Urkhuya (004/USC), a contemporary who officiated *inter alia* as steward of the (Theban) Ramesseum, depicts a scene that strongly evokes the reliefs of the so-called Shasu campaign of Seti I as depicted on the outer north wall of the great hypostyle hall at Karnak. See El-Aguizy (2018). It is quite possible that scenes depicting the same campaign of Seti I was were also used to decorate the outer walls of the hypostyle hall of the Memphite temple of Ptah.

The two tombs of Urkhiya and Ptahmose are nearly identical in their architectural lay-out and size. They are both built of mud bricks and present a variation to the plan of Maya's tomb.[192] Both tombs measure c. 40 m in length, have three chapels in the west (the central one topped by a pyramid), a peristyle inner court, a 'statue chamber' with four lateral chapels, and a forecourt that is wider than the eastern part of the tomb. Two of the lateral chapels are accessed from the forecourt and two are accessed from the inner courtyard. The tomb shaft is accessed from the latter space.

Like the tomb of Hormin, the tomb of Urkhiya, also known as Hatiay,[193] a military official, who bore the titles of troop commander (*ḥr.y-pḏ.t n.y nb tꜣ.wy*) and general (*ỉmy-r mšʿ wr*), has been visited by the Prussian expedition led by Lepsius, numbered (LS) 25.[194] A brief description is provided in the text volume of his *Denkmaeler*:

> *… Es waren hier 5 Säulen, sie sind bis auf eine weggeschleppt worden, eine ist in Sakkara, 3 sind in Tura. Die zurückgebliebene ist zerbrochen.*

The *djed* pillar seen in the village of Saqqara stood in front of the house of the mayor. It was taken for the Cairo Egyptian Museum in 1935 and entered the collection as JE 65061.[195] The tomb itself has been re-discovered by the Cairo University expedition in 2018, and awaits full publication.[196] It contains textual and decorative evidence for use over two generations. The son of Urkhuya/Hatiay, named Hatiay, further embellished the tomb. It is not certain whether the better-known son, Yupa (011/USC), also known as Ramessesnakht, was also buried in the tomb of his father, however. His long and successful career, spanning most of the reign of Ramesses II, can be traced in the objects and inscriptional documents that bear his name. Thus, in the so-called 'Louvre Leather Roll', dated to Ramesses II's fifth year in office, Yupa is mentioned as one of 40 members of the great stable of Ramesses-Mery-Amun (*ỉḫw ʿꜣ n.y Rʿ-ms-sw-mr.y-ỉmn*).[197] Towards the end of his life, Yupa is attested by an

192 For a detailed treatment of the tomb of Ptahmose, see Staring (2016b); (2014). Some of the observation are repeated in Raven (2018).

193 El-Aguizy (2020a), 51.

194 LD *Text*, I, 182. In the hieroglyphic rendering of the official's name, Lepsius erroneously mistakes the *w* for the *m*. For Urkhiya, see e.g., Staring (2014–2015), 74–76; Ruffle/Kitchen (1979), 55–74, pls 1–8. The reference to the tomb in LD is not included in the list of Ruffle and Kitchen.

195 Gauthier (1935).

196 El-Aguizy (2020a); (2019); (2018).

197 Charged with the production of mud bricks: Virey (1887), 494; Ruffle/Kitchen (1979), 72–73; *KRI* II, 790.12–13 (= col. II.6), 791.1–2 (= col. II.9).

inscription at Armant, near Thebes, as he proclaims the ninth Sed festival of Ramesses II, in year 54.[198] Yupa further succeeded his father as steward of the Ramesseum. Bearing that title, he is depicted on the stela of the Troop commander (*ḥr.y-pḏ.t*), Pahemneter from Sedment.[199] Even though Yupa is featured in the tomb of his father, the iconographic programme is very much focused on Urkhiya as tomb owner, and the pyramidion, the capstone of the tomb's pyramid, only bears his name and title.[200] This suggests that Yupa may have built his own funerary monument elsewhere in the same cemetery. A statue of Yupa seen at Saqqara may lend support to this hypothesis. The dyad statue of Yupa seated alongside his wife, Nashaia, was seen in 1983, sticking out of the desert sand in a shallow depression marking the open courtyard of a sanded-in tomb, roughly halfway between the tomb of Tia (057/USC) and the boat pits along the causeway of Unas.[201] The dyad statue seen in 1983 has not been found during excavation of Urkhiya's tomb, which is a further indication that it stood in another structure. The SGSP survey map reveals the contour lines of a somewhat smaller tomb alongside Urkhiya's to the north, which is precisely halfway between Tia and the boat pits. If Yupa's tomb was built somewhat later in the reign of Ramesses II, a location north of Urkhiya fits well with the general northward expansion of the cemetery through time.

4.10.3 *Continued Transformation of the 18th Dynasty Cemetery*

At the time when the cemetery grew laterally to the north, the 'old', 18th Dynasty cemetery continued to be transformed also. Spaces in between the large superstructures were further filled with more modest funerary buildings. The lack of inscriptional evidence paired with the fact that very few of these later structures were fully excavated and only minimally published, makes it difficult to pinpoint them chronologically. Thus, some of the developments observed in Section 4.9 may in fact be dated slightly later, in the early 19th Dynasty.

The memorial chapel of Peraaerneheh (024/USC), a priest of Maya, was added to the south exterior wall of his (deceased) patron. The fact that multiple such chapels were built against the south exterior wall of this tomb, may be suggestive of considerable 'traffic' crossing the cemetery at this point, because

198 Mond/Myers (1940), 163, pls 7.1, 87.1, 93.1; *KRI* II, 396.10–11.

199 As [chief steward of the] temple of Usermaatre-Setepenre in the domain of Amun: Petrie/Brunton (1924), II, pl. 68; *KRI* III, 244.8.

200 El-Aguizy (2020a), 51.

201 Van Dijk (2016). The statue was not removed from the site and subsequently was covered again by the drifting desert sand.

TABLE 10 List of tomb owners in the Unas South Cemetery, 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II, first half

Tomb no.	Date	Name	Titles
003/USC	Ramesses II, first half	Iurudef	Scribe of the Treasury, etc.
013/USC	Ramesses II, first half	Wadjmose	Chief of Medjay of the King
021/USC	Ramesses II, first half	Paser	Overseer of Builders of the King
024/USC	Early 19th Dynasty	Peraaerneheh	Lector Priest of the Overseer of the Treasury Maiay
026/USC	Ramesses II, first half	Ptahemwia	Overseer of Cattle of the Theban Ramesseum, Overseer of the Treasury of Silver and Gold of the Theban Ramesseum, etc.
053/USC	Ramesses II	Suherawyamun	?
056/USC	Ramesses II, first half	Tatia	Chief of Goldworkers of Ptah, *Wab* Priest of the Front of Ptah, etc.
057/USC	Ramesses II, first half	Tia	Great Overseer of Cattle, Overseer of the Treasury of the king, Overseer of the Treasury of the Theban Ramesseum, etc.
084/USC	Ramesses II, first half	*NN*	?
116/USC	Ramesses II, first half	Amenemheb Pakharu?	?

these small buildings were meant to attract the attention of the living and receive offerings.

In the east end of the Leiden-Turin concession area, a freestanding chapel (085/USC), situated west of a burial shaft, was built right in front of the tomb of Ptahemwia. The position was likewise strategically chosen, 'forcing' visitors to the tomb of Ptahemwia, arriving from the east, to walk past the new chapel, to see it, and eventually leave offerings in it.

4.11 Reign of Ramesses II, First Half

The first three decades of the reign of Ramesses II witnessed a further growth of the cemetery in a northward direction (Fig. 55; Table 10). The monumental

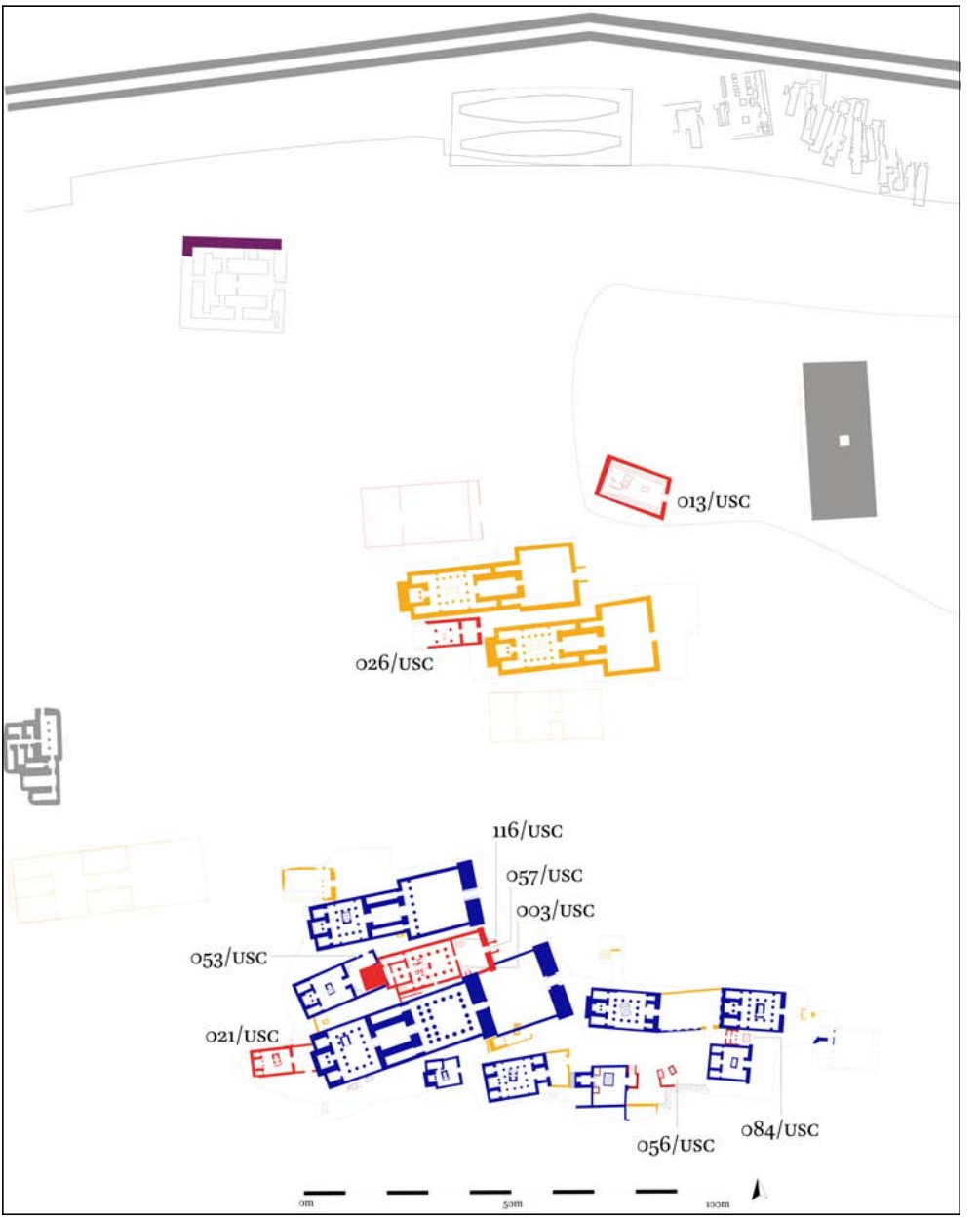


FIGURE 55 The Unas South Cemetery in the 19th Dynasty, first three decades of Ramesses II
IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR

tombs built in this period are thus far only visible on the southern edge of the current Cairo University concession area. Their owners started construction in the early 19th Dynasty, if not slightly earlier. Ptahmose (027/USC) continued work on his funerary monument until the third decade of the reign of Ramesses II, as can be witnessed in the changing style of the tomb decoration. In the style of the reliefs, we can observe the passage of time from the late 18th Dynasty into the early Ramesside period.[202] The same is true for the funerary monument of Urkhiya (004/USC), which may have been worked on for two or even three generations, and which displays the same passage of time in its relief decoration.[203]

The area between the southern extent of the Cairo University concession area and the northern extent of the Leiden-Turin concession, should hold comparably large structures built at this time. The area has not been archaeologically surveyed in modern times, however, so we cannot be certain at this point.

The tomb of Yupa, son of Urkhiya, might possibly be situated alongside his father's, to the north, in this study labelled 011/USC.

4.11.1 *A Cemetery Increasingly Crowded in the North*

Two more tombs excavated in the Cairo University concession area can also be dated to the first half of Ramesses II's reign. The monument of Ptahemwia, great overseer of cattle of Amun in the Ramesseum (*ỉm.y-r ỉḫ.w wr m t; ḥw.t Wsr-m;ʿ.t-Rʿ-stp.n-Rʿ m pr ʾImn*), is built very close to the tombs of Urkhiya and Ptahmose. The eastern part of the building was excavated in 1859 by Auguste Mariette, and photographed by his assistant Théodule Devéria.[204] The doorway was relocated in 2018 by the Cairo University expedition led by Ola el-Aguizy.[205] The excavation of the building west of the doorway is currently in progress, so

202 Staring (2014), 494.

203 See photographs published in el-Aguizy (2020), and the discussion on the family's genealogy. Especially compelling is the difference in style between the relief Florence, Museo Egizio 5412 (Wreszinski 1914–1942), I, pl. 395), which joins Strasbourg, Institut d'Égyptologie de l'Université de Strasbourg 2540A (Roccati/Vittozzi, 137–138, cat. nos IV.22–23), and the stela found in the peristyle courtyard (El-Aguizy 2020a, fig. 3). The former can be easily confused for Amarna art, whereas the latter displays all characteristics of the advanced Ramesside art style.

204 Staring (2016a). It appears that Mariette did not remove any of the inscribed or relief decorated stone elements from the tomb. The pyramidion was found a year later, in March 1860 (Cairo JE 8371 = CG 17109 = TN 7.11.24.3).

205 I am indebted to professor Ola el-Aguizy who very generously shared with me the latest news from the field, and showed me the tomb of Ptahemwia in course of excavation.

we do not yet know its full architectural lay-out.[206] Even so, it is obvious that the building is considerably smaller than its northern and eastern neighbours. The tomb was clearly aligned with those of Ptahemwia's illustrious predecessors, who may have still been alive when he started building it. From a landscape phenomenological point of view, it is interesting to note that visitors could only enter the tomb through the narrow passage between the monuments of Urkhiya and Ptahmose. It is practically hidden behind their eastern pylon façades. One wonders if the unknowing, contemporary visitor to the site would have been able to locate the tomb of Ptahemwia at all when standing in front of the two larger buildings to the east. Judging from the present-day situation, it would seem that only those who knew about the tomb's existence were able to reach it—if not by sheer accidence. The siting of the structure at this hidden location also suggests that the 'blind spot' between the Leiden-Turin and Cairo University concession areas, as well as the area to the north, were already tightly packed with tombs at this time. This situation led 'late-comers' to the cemetery to select less advantageous locations for their burials—at least with regards to visibility and accessibility. Association by proximity may have been just as important, as witnessed by the example of Ptahemwia.

Northeast of Urkhiya we find the tomb of Wadjmose (013/USC), chief of Medjay of the king (*wr n.y mḏ3y.w n.w nb tꜣ.wy*). It was excavated in 2007 and awaits publication.[207] It is notable that its main axis is tilted south in comparison to the earlier Ramesside tombs in this part of the cemetery, both to the north and the south. The reason for its divergent orientation is unknown.

4.11.2 *Tia Wedged between Maya and Horemheb*

The development of the cemetery in the south is further characterised by filling of spaces between the pre-existing monumental superstructures. The most eye-catching addition at this time concerns the tomb of Tia (057/USC), who married the daughter of Seti I, also named Tia. He held a range of titles, including great overseer of cattle (*ỉm.y-r ỉḫ.w wr*), overseer of the treasury (*ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ*), and overseer of the treasury of the Ramesseum (*ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ m tꜣ ḥw.t Wsr-mꜣʿ.t-Rʿ-stp.n-Rʿ m pr ỉmn-Rʿ*). He attained these offices in the reign of his brother-in-law, Ramesses II. A mud brick stamped with Tia's name was found not far from the Ramesseum,[208] and a relief-decorated block depicting him has

206 The excavation work in progress was filmed for the National Geographic show 'Lost Treasures of Egypt', 2021.

207 Preliminary notes in El-Aguizy (2007a), 41–50; (2007b), 1–4.

208 Compton et al. (1908), 40, fig. 34; Martin (1997), no. 334; PM II/2, 424; *KRI* III, 371, no. 8. His titles were: *ỉr.y-pʿ.t ḫꜣ.ty-ʿ sš nsw ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ*.

been excavated in the chapel of the memorial temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri, where it had been reused during the Coptic period.[209] On the relief block, Tia bears the titles overseer of the treasury of the Ramesseum and fan bearer on the right of the king. He is positioned standing behind the larger-scale representation of Ramesses II. The king's *nomen* is written as [*Rᶜ-m*]*s-s*(*w*), which points to a date early in the reign of that king. Tia also held office as *ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ n.y nb tꜣ.wy*, overseer of the treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands, i.e. the chief treasurer of the country's central administration.[210] In that office, he succeeded Suty, who had made a career in the army, somewhere after year 16,[211] and he himself was succeeded by Panehsy, who was in office in year 24,[212] a date that serves as a *terminus a quo* for Tia's death. Panehsy did not hold office as overseer of the treasury of the Ramesseum. Instead, that office was transferred to Ptahemwia (026/USC).

The tomb of Tia presents the earliest available example of a New Kingdom private tomb on the North Saqqara plateau built throughout of limestone blocks. Until that time, all structures had mud-brick walls, with relief decoration on a limestone revetment. The funerary monument of Tia is wedged between the pre-existing monuments of Maya (028/USC) and Horemheb (046/USC). Its construction had consequences for the extant structures in this part of the cemetery, where space was becoming increasingly limited. The new structure also altered paths crossing the cemetery, as we will see below. As to the choice of location, it is noteworthy that the tomb was built against the north exterior wall of Horemheb, thereby forging an association with the former private monument of the founder of the Ramesside dynasty. The wished-for association to Horemheb is neither emphasized further in the iconographic programme, nor in the inscriptional evidence, however. Instead, one inscription reveals that the king, Ramesses II, had the tomb made as "his monument for his father Osiris".[213]

209 Barwik (2007), 67–70, pls 7–8. The fragment probably formed part of a stela.

210 Van Dijk (1997), 54.

211 Staring (2014–2015), 68–69; Yoyotte (1954), 224–228; KRI III, 140–147; Gnirs (1996), 181–185; Van Dijk (1997), 54 n. 7. His titles were: *tꜣy-ḫw ḫr wnm.y n.y nsw, sš nsw, ỉm.y-r mšᶜ wr n.y ḫm=f, ỉm.y-r pr n.y nb tꜣ.wy, ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ ḫw.t-nṯr ꜣḫ Stḫy-mr*(*ỉ*).*n-Ptḥ m* [*pr*] *ỉmn*. His tomb is located at El-Khawaled, Asyut: Châban (1901), 137–140; Brunton (1937), 135–136. See also KRI III, 140–147; Kamal El-Din (2010), 131–142. Bohleke (2002), 158 n. 10; (1991), 321, places Suty after Tia and succeeding Panehsy.

212 Van Dijk (1993), 106: O. Gardiner, 86; Černy/Gardiner (1957), I, 22, pls 81–82; KRI III, 138–140. A flask with docket in two lines of hieratic (wine jar label) found in the tomb of Tia mentions year 31, which might indicate the date of a burial: Raven et al. (2011b), 188, cat. 329.

213 Martin (1997), 39 [123], pl. 66; see also Van Dijk (1993), 95.



FIGURE 56 The freestanding pyramid of Tia (057/USC) built in the courtyard of the tomb of Ramose (039/USC)
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR, 2017

In building the tomb, part of the north wall of Horemheb's forecourt was taken down and replaced by a stone wall to demarcate Tia's forecourt. The tomb does not touch on the northern neighbour, Maya, even though the stela of the priest Peraaerneheh (024/USC) hints at a relationship between the cults performed in the tombs of Tia and Maya. A very narrow passage was left between the pylon façades of Tia and Maya, allowing people to still reach the small memorial chapels built against the south wall of Maya, and navigate the cemetery further to the west. Tia's construction project most drastically affected the tomb of Ramose (039/USC), built in the reign of Tutankhamun. Tia situated his freestanding pyramid in the forecourt of Ramose (Fig. 56). In the process, much of the latter's east wall and part of the south wall of the forecourt were demolished. Even so, the cult for the deceased (Ramose) appears to have continued after the radical changes made to its superstructure. A newly created entrance doorway, replete with limestone doorjambs, in the north wall of the forecourt makes clear that the tomb continued to receive visitors. A number of figural graffiti incised in these doorjambs are the silent witnesses of some of its former visitors.[214] In the same north wall, on its exterior, a little to the west of the

214 Staring (in press, c), fig. 7; Martin (2001a).

new entrance, a niche was created for embedding a stela. It was inscribed for a man named Suherawyamun (053/USC).[215] The stela records no titles of this man, so the exact nature of his relationship to Ramose remains unknown. It is possible, however, that he was a priest in service of the offering cult of one of the tombs in this area, like Yamen and Peraaerneheh, who built their memorial chapels on the opposite north side of the same narrow 'street' from which the tomb of Ramose could now be accessed.

Paser (021/USC) offers a second case of association by proximity to the tomb of Horemheb. He built the north and south walls of his forecourt against the exterior west wall of the latter's northwest and central chapels, respectively. The west wall of Horemheb thus served as the east wall of Paser's forecourt. The forecourt is accessed from the south.[216]

Paser was an overseer of builders of the king (*ỉm.y-r ḳd.w n nb tꜣ.wy*), a member of a rather well-known Memphite family: his brother was Tjunery (201/USC), overseer of works on all monuments of the king (*ỉm.y-r kꜣ.t m mn.w nb n.y nb tꜣ.wy*).[217] He also had a tomb at Saqqara, which is now lost. It is where Mariette found the celebrated Saqqara king-list,[218] featuring (nearly) all kings up to and including Ramesses II. As a Chief Lector Priest, Tjunery was responsible for the cult of the deified kings from the past. This may explain why his brother (and likely Tjunery also) selected their burial place in close proximity to Horemheb, the 'founder' of the Ramesside dynasty.

4.11.3 *Redirecting Routes in the (Former) 18th Dynasty Cemetery*

At the 'core' of the 18th Dynasty cemetery, more precisely the area built in the reign of Tutankhamun, the walking surface was gradually raised in the spaces between the larger monuments. It was the result of the accumulation of wind-blown sand, refuse thrown out of the interiors of tombs that were still maintained, and *tafl* (marl) from the excavation of underground burial spaces of the various chapels of Ramesside date that increasingly start to dot the map.[219] One such chapel was built roughly halfway the east wall of Ry (038/USC) and the west wall of *NN* (082/USC). It belonged to Tatia (056/USC), a chief of gold-

215 The stela may possibly date later in the reign of Ramesses II.

216 At a later date, a doorway was cut in the north wall of the courtyard. It is not clear when this happened precisely. The north entrance is 1.20 m wide, the south entrance 1.63 m.

217 The two brothers are depicted alongside each other in the lunette of Paser's tomb stela (London, British Museum EA 165), standing in adoration before Osiris, Isis, and the Hathor cow emerging from a mountainside.

218 Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 11335 = CG 34516.

219 See e.g., Del Vesco et al. (2019), 12–13.



FIGURE 57 The anonymous chapel 084/USC built in the passageway between the tombs of Ptahemwia (025/USC) and an anonymous official (082/USC)
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR, 2017

smiths of the gold house in the temple of Ptah (*ḥr.y nby.w n.w ḥw.t-nbw m pr Ptḥ*) and *wab* priest of the front of Ptah (*wʿb n.y ḥ3.t n.yt Ptḥ*).[220] His two-room chapel was built against the north wall of the unexcavated structure, probably dated to the reign of Amenotep III or earlier.

Further east, and probably sometime after the chapel of Tatia had been built, a now anonymous individual ordered the construction of a chapel (084/USC) right in the passageway between the tombs of *NN* (082/USC) and Ptahemwia (025/USC) (Fig. 57). The construction of this chapel had far-reaching consequences for the area further west, because it had become almost impossible to reach it. Thus, the entrance to the tomb of Ry would have been hidden from view. It would have become increasingly more difficult for casual visitors to the cemetery to find the tomb. Perhaps as a reaction to this development, a north-south porch was added to the exterior of the north tower. The new construction 'funnelled' visitors from the north towards the south, and fenced off the tomb entrance from the rubble and *tafl* accumulating outside (Fig. 4.58–59). Those responsible for making this new entrance porch may have also made the low

220 Oeters (2017).



FIGURE 58 The newly added 'porch' built in front of the entrance to the tomb of Ry (038/USC)
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE LEIDEN-TURIN EXPEDITION TO SAQQARA, 2015



FIGURE 59 Anonymous chapel 105/USC
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR, 2017

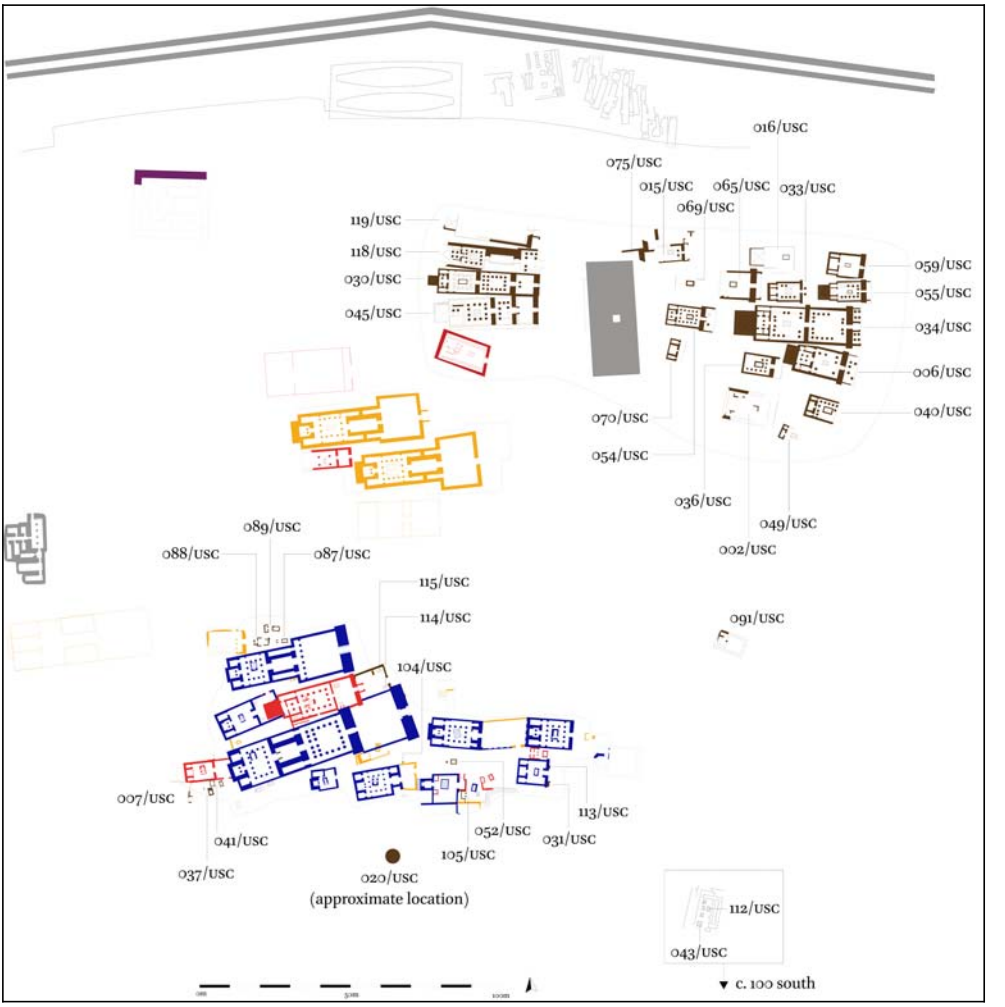


FIGURE 60 The Unas South Cemetery in the 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II, second half
IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR

platforms in the west end of Ry's courtyard, on either side of the doorway into the chapel. These platforms were used to store offering pottery no longer used in the service of the cult of the deceased.

4.12 Reign of Ramesses II, Second Half

The Unas South Cemetery witnessed many changes in the second half of the reign of Ramesses II (Fig. 60; Table 11). The cemetery grew further north, where

monumental tomb superstructures were built, all entirely made of limestone. A substantial number of these tombs were badly preserved when excavated, which in many cases renders it impossible to identify their original owners. We also lack additional clues for dating the structures more precisely than labelling them as 'Ramesside'. This is also true for the tomb chapels and shaft burials marked by stelae built in the former 18th Dynasty section of the cemetery. These structures are nearly all anonymous, and since the tomb shafts of but a few chapels have been excavated, we also lack supporting archaeological and ceramic evidence to date them more precisely. Thus, quite possibly, some of the chapels discussed in Section 4.13, covering the late 19th to 20th Dynasty, were built earlier, during the reign of Ramesses II.

TABLE 11 List of tomb owners in the Unas South Cemetery, 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II, second half

Tomb no.	Date	Name	Titles
002/USC	Ramesses II	Ianefer	Royal Butler
006/USC	Ramesses II, year 24–53	Amenemone	Overseer of the Treasury of the King, etc.
007/USC	19th Dynasty	Amenmose	Head of Guardians of the Documents of the King
015/USC	Ramesses II	Usermaatre-nakht	Overseer of Silver and Gold
016/USC	Ramesses II	Baketwerner (?)	Chantress of Wadjet
020/USC	Ramesses II, second half	(Pa-)Rahotep	Vizier, etc.
030/USC	Ramesses II	Nebnefer & Mahu	Chief Stewards of Ptah, etc.
031/USC	Ramesses II, after year 30	Merymaat	Controller of the Divine Offerings
033/USC	Ramesses II	Nebmehyt	General
034/USC	Ramesses II, end 6th decade	Neferrenpet	Vizier, High Priest of Ptah, etc.
036/USC	Ramesses II	Neferhotep	Chamberlain of the King, etc.
037/USC	19th Dynasty	Nennaemdia-mun	Head of Sandal Makers
040/USC	19th Dynasty	Ramessesnakht	Royal Scribe
041/USC	19th Dynasty	Raia	Chief Singer of Ptah, etc.

TABLE 11 List of tomb owners in the Unas South Cemetery, 19th Dynasty (*cont.*)

Tomb no.	Date	Name	Titles
043/USC	19th Dynasty	Ray	Great Steward of the King, etc.
045/USC	19th Dynasty	Huynefer	Overseer of the *ḫtm* of the *wꜣḏ-wr*, etc.
049/USC	Ramesses II	Khayemipet	Royal Scribe
052/USC	Ramesses II	Samut	Stone Mason
054/USC	Ramesses II	Suner	Royal Butler
055/USC	Ramesses II	Tasahuy	Royal Butler
059/USC	Ramesses II	Djehutuemheb	'Priest'
065/USC	Ramesside	*NN*	?
069/USC	Ramesside	*NN*	?
070/USC	Ramesside	*NN*	?
075/USC	Ramesside	*NN*	?
087/USC	Ramesses II, second half?	*NN*	?
088/USC	Ramesses II, second half?	*NN*	?
089/USC	Ramesses II, second half?	*NN*	?
091/USC	Ramesside (?)	*NN*	?
104/USC	Late 19th Dynasty	*NN*	?
105/USC	Ramesside	*NN*	?
113/USC	Late 19th Dynasty, or later	*NN*	?
114/USC	Ramesses II, or later	*NN*	?
115/USC	Ramesses II, or later	*NN*	?
118/USC	Ramesses II, late	*NN*	?
119/USC	Ramesses II, late	*NN*	?

4.12.1 *A Cemetery of Ramesses II's Senior Officials*

The area north of the tomb of Wadjmose (013/USC) saw the establishment of a row of tombs, which continued as far north as where the plateau slopes down to the causeway of Unas. These tombs are sited c. 15 m west of the extant stone-built mastaba of Minnefer, a vizier from the late 5th Dynasty reign of Unas, which towers high above the Ramesside cemetery (Fig. 61). The choice of location so close to this mastaba is remarkable, because the Old Kingdom monument obstructs the Ramesside tombs from the view of visitors arriving from the east. Possibly, these tombs were not so much oriented towards a fixed point in the landscape (e.g., a monument), but rather reckoned with the pre-



FIGURE 61 The stone-built mastaba of Minnefer
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR, 2019. REPRODUCED WITH KIND PERMISSION BY OLA EL-AGUIZY/CAIRO UNIVERSITY

dominant point of access to, or perhaps rather exit from the cemetery. If thus interpreted correctly, the space between the façades of these tombs and the west wall of the mastaba of Minnefer served as a main route crossing the cemetery. This street later moved further east, c. 75 m east of the mastaba of Minnefer—a move prompted by the construction of the highest office-holders of that time. The presence of their tombs shifted the cemetery's 'centre of gravity' eastward. The street west of Minnefer thus became of secondary importance, and was subsequently filled up by tombs of 20th Dynasty officials (see Section 4.13).

4.12.2 *Ramesside Tombs Fronted by a 'Main Street'*

A total of four tombs have been excavated along the main street (a processional way?) east of the mastaba of Minnefer. Two of these tombs, 118/USC of unknown ownership, and 045/USC of Huynefer, partly lean against 030/USC, the tomb of Nebnefer and his son Mahu.[221] It leads to the conclusion that the former two tombs were built later than those of Nebnefer and Mahu. Thus, the

221 Gohary (2009).

tombs of Nebnefer and Mahu, and the anonymous tomb 119/USC, the northernmost structure excavated in the Cairo University concession area, were built first.

Nebnefer and Mahu both held a range of titles pertaining to the administration of the temple of the Memphite city god Ptah and the king, including that of chief steward of Ptah (*ỉm.y-r pr wr n.y Ptḥ*), steward of the Memphite Ramesseum (*ỉm.y-r pr m tꜣ ḥw.t Rʿ-ms-sw mr.y-Ỉmn m pr Ptḥ*), and a royal messenger (*wpw.ty nsw* [*ḥr ḫꜣs.wt nb.wt*]). A number of the Memphite titles held by Nebnefer were previously held by Ptahmose, whom he succeeded in these offices.[222] Mahu subsequently followed in the footsteps of his father. The iconographic programme identifies Nebnefer and Mahu both as 'main' owners, which makes 030/USC an example of synchronous dual occupancy.[223] The status of the two high-profile tomb owners is mirrored in the architectural lay-out, which includes three courtyards: until then only seen in the tomb of Horemheb (046/USC). The tombs later built to the north and south adopted the same architecture.

Huynefer, owner of 045/USC, has been considered another son of Nebnefer.[224] He held office as overseer of the *ḫtm* of the *wꜣḏ-wr* (*ỉm.y-r ḫtm n pꜣ wꜣḏ-wr*), a title he has in common with Nebnefer.[225] According to Said Gohary, who published the tomb, Huynefer usurped the tomb of his father, as he supposedly erased the name of Nebnefer from the tomb stela, and replaced it with his own name.[226] In a more recent re-analysis of the tomb's inscriptional evidence, focusing on the genealogical information, Ola el-Aguizy arrived at a slightly different reconstruction.[227] She argues that Huynefer and Nebnefer were brothers, and that Mahu was a grandson of the original owner of tomb 045/USC (ST 217). It would suggest that 045/USC predates 030/USC, which is impossible in view of the stratigraphic sequence described above. A further indication that 045/USC was built later than 030/USC can be found in a palaeographic peculiarity. The name of Huynefer is followed by the so-called cloaked man determinative. This sign originated from Memphis, and is first observed in inscriptions of Khaemwaset, fourth son of Ramesses II, and his circle, around this king's

222 Staring (2015a).
223 Staring (in press, a).
224 Gohary (2010); (2009).
225 For a discussion of the title, see: Vandersleyen (2010), who translates it as overseer of the civil administration of the Delta. Gohary (2009) translates it as fortress commander of the Great Green.
226 Gohary (2010).
227 El-Aguizy (2015a, b).

year 30.[228] The cloaked man determinative is absent from the inscriptions in the tomb of Nebnefer and Mahu. So, whatever the nature of the relationship might have been between the owners of tombs 030/USC and 045/USC (if indeed any), the former predates the latter. The cloaked man determinative additionally offer a clue as to when this 'street of tombs' was completed, namely after year 30 of Ramesses II.

4.12.3 *The Cemetery Fanning Out*

The cluster of Ramesside tombs east of the mastaba of Minnefer is more difficult to unravel. The large majority of these structures is of unknown ownership, because the structures were heavily quarried for their stone blocks. Moreover, the relief decoration and inscriptions preserved on the walls is usually damaged. The whole cemetery was covered in a 7-page article by Sayed Tawfik, who, due to his untimely death, never had the possibility to publish the tombs in full.

At a first glance, the spatial distribution and positioning of the funerary monuments may present us with some leads. For example, the entrances of the six tombs on the far east are all neatly aligned, as if they were built along an existing path crossing the cemetery. However, if we take the elevation of the plateau into consideration, it becomes clear that these tombs are situated with the entrances at the edge of an escarpment. The plateau drops c. 8 m to the depression where the later Coptic monastery of Jeremias was built.[229] At approximately 70 m south of the southernmost tomb located in the Cairo University concession area (049/USC), Quibell recovered the remains of possibly a Ramesside chapel (091/USC) more than a century ago (in 1908–1910; Fig. 62). This chapel was probably partly demolished to make way for the half underground tomb-church that was part of the monastery of Apa Jeremias. The elevation of the plateau drops further on the east side of the church, which is suggestive of a natural slope in this area. It probably indicates that this area marked the easternmost extend of the cemetery in the New Kingdom. Tomb 059/USC built for a 'priest' named Djehutyemheb, dated to Ramesses II, stands at the northeast corner of the plateau. A few metres to the north, the terrain drops c. 11 m towards the causeway of Unas.[230] Since the edge of the escarpment

228 Van Dijk (2017a), 333.

229 The elevation of the plateau on which the tombs are situated, measures 58 m ASL, and the pavement level of the monastery is at 50 m ASL. These measurements are taken from Google Earth Pro, and require verification on site.

230 The elevation of the terrain surrounding 065/USC measures 58 m ASL, and the pavement of the causeway of Unas is situated at 57 m ASL. These measurements are taken from Google Earth Pro, and require verification on site.



FIGURE 62 The excavation of the half underground tomb-church of the monastery of Apa Jeremias by James Quibell, 1908–1910
AFTER QUIBELL, J.E. (1912), *EXCAVATIONS AT SAQQARA (1908–9, 1909–10): THE MONASTERY OF APA JEREMIAS*, CAIRO: IFAO, PL. 18.2

was not selected for the burials of earlier tombs—these are all sited further to the west—it is clear that the ridge with its view over the valley was not necessarily prime necropolis real estate. It rather seems that the cemetery in this area followed the general northward expansion also observed in the south. The row of tombs 'started' by Horemheb and Maya in the late 18th Dynasty continued further north, while at the same time the cemetery fans out towards the east/northeast, eventually bound by the edge of the escarpment. Two tombs in the cluster of at least 16 sizeable superstructures can be dated with more precision. Their owners are identified by the inscriptions, and they are also known from other sources.

The first is Amenemone, who was the royal scribe of letters of the king (*sš nsw šʿ.t n.y nb tꜣ.wy*), the king's private secretary.[231] He also held a number of titles associated with the state treasury, including those of overseer of the treasury of the king (*ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ n.y nb tꜣ.wy*) and overseer of the treasury of Upper and Lower Egypt (*ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ Šmꜣ.w Tꜣ-mḥ.w*). In that office, he probably succeeded Panehsy (the successor of Tia), who was attested in year 24 of Ramesses II. Paytenheb is attested as the treasury overseer in year

231 This title is attested on his statue now in St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum 738. See *KRI* III, 211.2–3; Gohary (1991), 204–205, pls 51–54, 56–60.

53, and he may have been Amenemone's successor.[232] Since no inscription pertaining to Amenemone contains a date, those of Panehsy and Paytenheb provide the earliest and latest possible limits for Amenemone, who probably served during Ramesses II's fourth and fifth decades on the throne. He additionally served in the administration of the Theban Ramesseum.[233] He was overseer of the treasury of the Ramesseum (*ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ pꜣ /// pr Rᶜ-ms-sw mr.y-ʾImn ḥr.y-ỉb wꜣ.t ỉmn.tyt Wᶜs.t*), also in the king's fourth to fifth decade. In this office, he succeeded Khay (194/USC), whose tomb is now lost, and preceded Khnumhotep, buried at Thebes (TT 26). Amenemone additionally served as the Ramesseum's chief steward (*ỉm.y-r pr* (*wr*) [*m*] *tꜣ ḥw.t Wsr-mꜣᶜ.t-Rᶜ-stp.n-Rᶜ m pr ʾImn*) in the sixth decade of Ramesses II's reign. In this office, he succeeded Yupa (011/USC), and preceded a man named Neferrenpet, of whom no tomb is yet known. The dates known for this official suggest that the eastern edge of the plateau this far north was reached at around the early sixth decade of Ramesses II.

The second tomb owner for whom we have fixed dates, is Neferrenpet. He served as high priest of Ptah (*sm wr-ḫrp-ḫmw.w*) and vizier of the north (*ỉm.y-r nỉw.t tꜣ.ty*). He first attained the latter office at around year 50 of Ramesses II. He held the high priestly title in the sixth[234] or seventh[235] decade of the king's reign. In both offices he succeeded (Pa-)Rahotep (020/USC), who was buried at Sedment, and who is known to have built a *ka* chapel in the Unas South Cemetery, somewhat south of the tombs of Pay (017/USC) / Raia (042/USC) and Ry (038/USC). The dates available for Neferrenpet suggest that he started construction of his tomb somewhere in the sixth decade of Ramesses II, at a time when he had attained the first of these high offices.

One statue derived from his Memphite tomb, now in Leiden (AST 16), was usurped by Neferrenpet's namesake (035/USC), the vizier from the 20th Dynasty reign of Ramesses IV.[236] It suggests that the later Neferrenpet embellished the tomb of his predecessor for his own use. Jacobus van Dijk even suggests that the 20th Dynasty Neferrenpet added a forecourt to the former's tomb, because from this court, a tomb shaft gives access to the burial chamber.[237] A tomb shaft situated in the forecourt is indeed unusual, and its presence there

232 *KRI* III, 147: O. Louvre 2261.
233 Staring (2014–2015), 70–71, 76.
234 According to Nouh (2010), Neferrenpet became high priest of Ptah in year 55 of Ramesses II.
235 Raedler (2011), 129, table 1.
236 Raedler (2004), 394 n. 470.
237 Van Dijk (2018).

may point to the fact that it concerns a secondary burial—i.e., a burial following that of the main tomb owner, and not concerning his immediate family members, who would normally have been buried in the subterranean complex accessed from the same tomb shaft. The tomb shaft in the forecourt was therefore likely introduced at a later stage. The suggestion of a forecourt added later seems highly unlikely, however, because tombs 055/USC, of the royal butler (*wḏ; nsw*) Tasahui, which dates to the reign of Ramesses II, and 006/USC of Amenemone, reckon with the tomb of Neferrenpet as a whole. The northwest part of the tomb of Amenemone appears to be built against the south exterior wall of the inner and outer courtyard of Neferrenpet—although, alternatively, Neferrenpet might possible have built over part of Amenemone's tomb; either way, the two tombs were built close in date. The fact that Tasahui built his tomb north of the area occupied by the forecourt of Neferrenpet, and not further south, in front of the supposed Phase 1 structure of the vizier, suggests that the forecourt was already there when Tasahui started building his tomb.

In conclusion, the order of appearance of tombs in this Ramesside cemetery is difficult to ascertain. The cemetery grew in a northward direction, as well as from west to east. Thus, in those instances where multiple tombs are built in front of one another, it is most likely that the westernmost tomb was built first and the one to the east later. This is clear from the example of Amenemone, where the southwest corner of the tomb pyramid is built on the entrance porch of 036/USC of Neferhotep, a chamberlain of the king (*ỉm.y-r ḫnt n.y nb t;.wy*). The order of appearance of the three tombs north of Neferrenpet would thus logically be 065/USC (anonymous), followed by 033/USC (Nebmehyt, general), followed by 055/USC (Tasahui, royal butler).

4.12.4 *Amplification of Tomb Space: The Example of Tia and His Household*

The amplification of funerary architecture is best exemplified with the tomb of Tia (057/USC), the brother-in-law of the king (see also Section 4.11.2). The initial forecourt contained two burial shafts each associated with a stone-built chapel. The shaft and chapel in the south were built for Iurudef (003/USC), a scribe of the treasury (*sš n.y pr-ḥḏ*). He was a subordinate to Tia in the state treasury. Further monuments of the Tia's from Kafr el-Gebel also feature Iurudef,[238] bearing the title of overseer of works of His Lord in Rosetau (*ỉm.y-r k;.t n.y nb=f m r-st;.w*), attesting his close personal relationship to his superior. This rela-

238 Bács (2019); Abdel-Aal (2000).

tionship was further materialised when Iurudef was given burial space in Tia's tomb, replete with a memorial chapel. Iurudef also features on a stela along with Amenemheb Pakharu, the main dedicator, together adoring their superior, Tia.[239] This stela might originate from the destroyed chapel opposite that of Iurudef in the north of the forecourt (116/USC),[240] or it may derive from the Kafr el-Gebel monument. It is not known when the funerals of Iurudef and Amenemheb took place. Their respective tomb shafts received multiple burials. The burial spaces accessed from the chapel of Iurudef accommodated at least nine members of his family.[241] Another two burial complexes were accessed from shafts located in the forecourt of the tomb. The newly added forecourt was made of mud bricks and likely dates to the second half of the reign of Ramesses II. Since the forecourt did not form an integral part of the original tomb plan, the superstructure was expanded to create additional burial space not foreseen upon initial construction. The extant north wall of the forecourt of Horemheb served as the new court's south wall, while little more than a doorjamb was added to the north face of Horemheb's north pylon tower to make the south end of the east wall. Two burial shafts were cut in the northeast (115/USC) and southeast (114/USC) corners of the courtyard. The lower half of a stela associated with the northern shaft depicts various individuals who, according to the text labels, were members of a single family.[242] The half stela does not offer information regarding their relationship to Tia. Perhaps these individuals served in Tia's household, like Iurudef did, or, given the rather late date of the creation of their burial space, they serviced the offering cult of their patron and took care of the general upkeep of the building. The example shows that in the course of the Ramesside period, various burial spaces and cult places within a single tomb complex could serve to accommodate the extended household[243] of a single high-status main owner.[244] The available evidence indicates that the household included not just the family members of the high-status main tomb owner, but also his subordinates in office and their respective family members.

239 Durham, Oriental Museum N. 1965.

240 Raven (1991), 4 n. 4.

241 Raven (1991).

242 Raven et al. (2011b), 156–158, 160–161.

243 Cf. Moreno Garcia (2012).

244 The custom is of course not limited to Saqqara: similar patterns have also been observed, for example, in the New Kingdom necropolis at Sedment, in particular in relation to the large, multi-roomed Ramesside tombs. See e.g., Franzmeier (2017), 362–369.

4.12.5 *Segmentation of Space in the 'Old' 18th Dynasty Cemetery*

In the second half of Ramesses II's reign, the segmentation of available cemetery space in between the existing tombs continues further. The difficulty with evaluating the development, is that most structures antedating the larger monumental superstructures cannot be dated with any precision. In publication, these are usually considered 'Ramesside', 'late 19th Dynasty', or '19th–20th Dynasty'. It is possible, therefore, that some of the structures discussed in the next section, covering the late 19th Dynasty to the end of the New Kingdom, were actually built earlier, in the second half of Ramesses II's reign.

In the area immediately north of the tomb of Maya (028/USC), a small cluster of three modest tomb chapels are being excavated at the moment of writing this book. These structures are founded on a surface that is 1.60 m higher than the floor level of Maya's forecourt, which goes to show that the landscape outside the large tombs changed drastically in the course of almost one century. The smallest of the three chapels, 087/USC, is built at the outer corner of the northern lateral chapel and the forecourt. This corner may have served as a sort of courtyard for the burial of the anonymous owner of 087/USC. The chapel measures only 1.05×1 m, with an inner space of no more than 80×80 cm.[245] The relief-decorated slabs of limestone served as the chapel's north, west, and south walls, preserved to a height of less than a metre. A tomb shaft east of the chapel gives access to the subterranean burial chamber.

The owners of the two other Ramesside chapels in this area, 088/USC and 089/USC, are also anonymous to us. Their chapels are fragmentarily preserved, and their tomb shafts have not been excavated at the moment of writing. Chapel 088/USC is divided in two by screen walls, and has a north-south oriented rectangular shaft to the east. Chapel 089/USC has one room, with the bases of pillars preserved at the east side, which results in a very narrow opening into the chapel area. Little remains of the iconographic programme; however, the lower part of the stela in the west wall preserves half statues of (presumably) the tomb owner with his wife and child (two mirrored groups), with a row of seated deities represented as half-sculptures above.[246] One of the two sculptures of the male individual represent him with shaven head, which suggests that he served as a priest. The sculpture as a whole is reminiscent of Old Kingdom wall statues found in mastaba tombs. One may also think of the stela depicting the Ptahmose–Meryptah family portrait from the reign of

245 Raven et al. (2019), 139–141, figs 12, 14.
246 Del Vesco et al. (2019), 9–11.

Amenhotep III (see Section 4.3.3). An east-west oriented rectangular shaft lies to the east of the chapel.

The three chapels in this area were all built on the approach to the now-anonymous early 19th Dynasty tomb 090/USC. Chapel 088/USC is even situated right in front of its entrance doorway, a mere 2 m to the east. Visitors on their way to the larger tomb, undoubtedly built for a high-status patron, were required to pass the Ramesside chapel, thus maximising its visibility and exposure to possible visitors and bringers of offerings.[247] The location right in front of the entrance doorway may have been prime choice, suggesting that 088/USC was built first, followed by 089/USC and finally 087/USC, set up in the remaining nook of the formerly open space around the tomb of Maya. The possible identification of the male individual buried in 089/USC as a priest might perhaps suggest that the owners of these chapels were priests, including those in service of the offering cults of one or more of the nearby monumental tombs. Indeed, one of the few chapels for which we have a known owner, 056/USC, was built for a priest (of Ptah), Tatia. Another individual associated with the temple of Ptah, Raia (041/USC), a chief singer of Ptah Lord of Maat (*ḥr.y ḥsw.w Ptḥ nb Mꜣʿ.t*), built his comparably-sized, single-room chapel against the south wall of the tomb of Paser (021/USC). The rim of the burial shaft east of the chapel lies alongside the entrance doorway to Paser's forecourt. The positioning suggests that Raia reckoned with future visitors (foremost of whom priests) to Paser's tomb to walk past (and potentially see and visit) his.[248]

Not only priests or other staff of the temple of Ptah were in a position to build funerary chapels in this part of the cemetery. The large tomb shaft south of Raia's chapel belongs to a man named Nennaemdiamun (037/USC), who was a head of sandal-makers (*ḥr.y ṯb.w*). The stela identifying this man was found on the pavement of the destroyed chapel west of the shaft.

Further to the west, also partly touching on the tomb of Paser, the remains of a larger tomb structure were noted (007/USC), but not fully excavated. *Djed*

247 That tomb 090/USC was still accessible (and accessed) in the Ramesside period is confirmed by the stratigraphic sequence of archaeological deposits: a thick layer of rubble, marl, and pottery sherds of the Ramesside period connect the exterior surface of the tomb with the interior. This layer partly covers the column bases inside the courtyard. See Del Vesco et al. (2020), 67–71.

248 A small number of votive stelae found inside the antechapel of Paser give us a sense of their identities. See Martin (1985), 20, 22–23, cat. 7–9, pls 12, 30. One of the stelae (cat. 8) gives the name and title of the priest who dedicated the votive stela as: chief of the offering table of Ptah (*ḥr.y wḏḥ.w n.y Ptḥ*) Tenerdipara. He is depicted standing before an offering table, censing and libating, with another male figure and a female in his following, presumably his spouse and son.

pillars likely deriving from this tomb identify the owner as Amenmose, head of guardians of the documents of the king (*ḥr.y sꜣw.ty* [*n.y*] *sš.w n.w nb tꜣ.wy*). Only a corner of the superstructure was unearthed in excavation, and the surrounding area has not been further investigated. Yet, the fact that this tomb was built so close the pre-existing building of Paser suggests that available space was becoming scarce in this area also.

In the cemetery further east, in between the monumental late 18th Dynasty tombs, the surface level was raised by natural and anthropogenic actions, on average 60 to 90 cm. A variety of funerary structures were built in this area later in the New Kingdom. Thus, a man named Amennakht (008/USC) set his stela against the east face of the north wing of Horemheb's entrance pylon. His stela was founded on a rubble floor level. The tomb shaft likely associated with the stela may be located in the unexcavated area further to the east.

The late 19th Dynasty stela of an anonymous individual (104/USC) was similarly set against the north exterior wall of Raia's forecourt (Fig. 63).

The custom of building a chapel against the walls of an extant funerary monument is rather widespread at this time. The eastern façade of the tomb of *NN* (082/USC) saw the construction of two chapels, one against the east side of the north wing of the entrance pylon, and another to the south. Only the base once supporting a stela remained of the northern chapel, and a small, anepigraphic fragment survived *in situ*. The associated tomb shaft lies immediately to the east. The southern chapel was found better preserved. It was built of limestone blocks, and preserved the limestone pavement supporting a stela, found *in situ*. It identifies the owner of this small chapel as Merymaat (031/USC), controller of the divine offerings (*sš ḫrp ḥtp.w n.w nṯr*). The tomb shaft belonging to this chapel has not yet been located.

A better preserved chapel (105/USC), albeit anepigraphic in its present state, was built against the east side of the south wing of Ry's (038/USC) pylon façade (see Figs 57–58). This chapel was fitted in the space between the annex built in front of Ry's entrance and the wall belonging to a yet unidentified tomb in the south. The rims of two tomb shafts were found to the east, although it is unlikely that either of the two belonged to the chapel originally. The larger tomb shaft appears to predate it (and perhaps even predate the tomb of Ry), whereas the smaller shaft could possibly be dated to the Late Period.

Roughly halfway between the tombs of Ry (038/USC) and Meryneith (032/USC) stood a four-sided stela, measuring 82 × 45 × 45 cm. There are few parallels for stelae inscribed and decorated on all four sides. The stela of Samut apparently stood there not associated with a built superstructure, its rectangular tomb shaft situated to the east. Such a remarkable monument would have stood out in this part of the cemetery, which became increasingly crowded with



FIGURE 63 The stela of an anonymous individual (104/USC) set against the north wall of the forecourt of Raia (042/USC)
PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF THE RIJKSMUSEUM VAN OUDHEDEN, LEIDEN

chapels. The uniqueness of the monument, and the fact that it could be seen and read from four sides, may have increased its efficiency in attracting future visitors. The monument is inscribed for Samut (052/USC), a stone mason (*ḥr.ty nṯr*). Such a craftsman was in a pre-eminent position to produce such a unique monument. Note that Tia (057/USC) had two near-identical (albeit larger) four-sided stelae made for his monument at Kafr el-Gebel (ancient Rosetau) near Giza,[249] one of which is now in the Cairo Egyptian Museum (JE 89624).[250] It is hypothetically possible that Samut was involved in making the stelae for Tia.

4.12.6 *A 'Temple of Eternity' for the Vizier and High Priest of Ptah, (Pa-)Rahotep*

A number of monuments of unknown provenance point to the existence of a memorial chapel at Saqqara built for the Vizier and High Priest of Ptah, (Pa-)Rahotep (020/USC), who held office in the second half of the reign of Ramesses II.[251] This high official is well known for his tomb at Sedment, located c. 90 km south of Memphis near the entrance to the Fayum.[252] One of the monuments include a stela, now in Cairo.[253] The rectangular stela is made of red granite, measures 157 × 83 × 34 cm, and is inscribed on all four sides. The two broad sides contain text and image, and the two narrow sides are each inscribed with an additional three columns of text.[254] It includes an Appeal to the Living,

249 The floodplain site of Kafr el-Gebel is located roughly halfway between Saqqara and Giza, and held a sanctuary associated with the cult of Sokar. The site is today covered by a modern settlement.

250 See Bács (2019), for the Kafr el-Gebel monument of Tia, and the context of the four-sided stelae, an "uncommon and special type belonging primarily within the context of temples". The stela is published in Martin (1997), 46–47, pls 96–97. See also: Pasquali (2021). The iconographic programme of the four-sided stela now in Cairo is paralleled on the pyramidion (Cairo TN 7.11.24.1) of Amenhotep Huy [382], mayor of Memphis (*ḥ3.ty-ʿ wr m Mn-nfr*), *temp.* Ramesses II, whose tomb is now lost. See: Myśliwiec (1978). Amenhotep Huy held a number of the titles previously held by Ptahmose (027/USC), which situates him in the third decade of the king at the earliest, and which makes him a contemporary of Tia and possibly also Samut. See Staring (2015a).

251 See e.g., Raedler (2011), 135–154; (2004), 277–416. The viziers Rahotep and Parahotep have long been considered to be two different individuals. For the identification of the two men as the same individual, see Raue (1998).

252 Sedment, Cemetery B, Tomb 201, first published by Petrie/Brunton (1924), 28–31, pls 71–76. See also Franzmeier (2017), I, 220–229; II, 776–813, (2013), 63–64.

253 Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 48845 = SR 13494 = TN 14.4.24.4: Moursi (1981).

254 *KRI*, III, 53–55; Moursi (1981), 321–329.

and reveals that the vizier and high priest had a 'temple of eternity' (*ḥw.t n.t nḥḥ*) at Saqqara. The text is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6. The present section explores the provenance of (Pa-)Rahotep's monument.

The Memphite provenance of the stela is recorded in the *Journal d'Entrée* of the Cairo Egyptian Museum. To the entry was added that the object had been in the museum since the time of Mariette.[255] Many years after Mariette, additional inscribed stone elements bearing the name and titles of (Pa-)Rahotep were unearthed, likely deriving from the very same monument. These finds can help us narrow down the area where the monument might have stood. The first indication is given by a find made in 1955. Zakaria Goneim, who excavated the step pyramid of Horus Sekhemkhet to the west of the New Kingdom cemetery, found a red granite naophorous statue (with an image of Ptah) near the site of the monastery of Apa Jeremias.[256] Jean-Philippe Lauer reported the find in the following year:[257]

> Cette statue fut probablement érigé en l'honneur de Rahotep dans un petit sanctuaire de Ptah édifié en ce point. Quelques blocs de calcaire des murs de ce temple ont, en effet, été trouvés près de la statue.

Goneim did not move the statue from where it was found. It was only in 1972 that the Saqqara inspectorate returned to the find spot, removed the statue, and transferred it to the open air museum at Mit Rahineh, where it has been on display since 1972.[258] According to their report, the statue was found 275 m south of the Unas causeway and 130 m southwest of the ruins of the Jeremias monastery,[259] which allows us to suggest that the statue was found c. 30 m south of the tomb of Pay (017/USC). The siting of (Pa-)Rahotep's monument in this general area of the cemetery is further corroborated by the finds of additional stone elements inscribed for the vizier. The former (EES-)Leiden expedition

255 It was registered as late as 26.11.1924, around 65 years after it had entered the museum collection: Moursi (1981), 321–329. See also Pasquali (2017), 575.

256 Leclant (1956), 256; Lauer (1956), 62–63; Altenmüller/Moussa (1974), 1–14.

257 Lauer (1956), 63.

258 The statue has inv. no. M02: Gräzer Ohara (2020), 50 (with figs 47–48), 268–271. According to Altenmüller/Moussa (1974), the statue was set up near the Saqqara ticket office.

259 Altenmüller/Moussa (1974). Leclant (1956), 256, reported that the statue was found some 50 m south-west of the monastery's ruins. The different distances can be easily explained, because the site of the Jeremias monastery is large and in 1955/56 more would have been visible than in 1972. It also makes a difference from where exactly the measurements were taken.

found a red granite fragment, probably part of a pyramidion, in the surface debris near the south wall of the tomb of Horemheb,[260] and a limestone column fragment in the fill of the Late Period shaft 99/1, situated immediately south of the tomb of Horemheb.[261]

The reconstructed location of (Pa-)Rahotep's chapel is somewhat remarkable, because near the end of the reign of Ramesses II, the 'centre of gravity' of the cemetery had moved northward. It is there that we find the tombs of the country's highest administrators. The southern end of the cemetery contained the century-old monuments of long-dead officials. Increasingly fewer people would have known who these officials were, and it is likely that some structures located in this area started to fall into disrepair. The cemetery also transformed into a quasi-labyrinth which became more and more difficult to navigate. That (Pa-)Rahotep built his chapel in this part of the cemetery suggests that it still saw many passers-by, arriving either from the south or from the east (see further in Chapter 6).

4.13 The 'Labyrinth' at Its Most Complex: Towards the End of the New Kingdom

Towards the end of the 19th Dynasty, the Unas South Cemetery had grown to its farthest possible eastern and northern limits. The escarpment beyond the edges of the plateau prevented the cemetery from extending any further. The same situation will have existed in the south, because this is where the earliest New Kingdom tombs are expected to be located. It is not presently known what the situation was like in the west. This part of the plateau has not been systematically excavated and documented by archaeologists in modern times. A part of this 'unexplored' area is covered by the geophysical survey map produced by a Scottish mission in 2009 (see Section 4.14). Its value is limited, however, because the technique used in the survey exclusively detects subsurface structures made of mud brick. Those made of limestone remain invisible on the map, which creates a considerable lacuna in our knowledge, since the later New Kingdom tombs are made of stone material. Thus, while these tombs are expected to have dotted the map, they do not show up in the survey map.

260 Schneider (1996), 93, NK 11. The fragment is inscribed with a selection of the most distinctive titles of this official, but does not include his name.

261 Raven et al. (2011b), 58, no. 28 (Sak. 2003-R92).

4.13.1 *The North Extent of the Cemetery in the 20th Dynasty*

The cemetery extended as far north as the causeway of Unas, just west of the complex's boat-shaped pits (Fig. 64; Table 12). The cemetery appears not to have extended north of the causeway, as none of the excavations carried out in that part of the cemetery recorded architectural remains of tombs dated to the New Kingdom. The area between the south enclosure wall of Djoser and the causeway of Unas was extensively used for tomb building in the Old Kingdom. In one of the mastaba's in this area, that of Niankhba, located immediately north of the causeway of Unas, the tomb construction dossier of a scribe named Buqentuf was found by Quibell.[262] The dossier records the first stages of the tomb construction project for a royal scribe (*sš nsw*) and general (*ỉm.y-r mšʿ*) named May (168/USC), dated to year 15 of Ramesses III (20th Dynasty). It is the only such document known from the Memphite New Kingdom necropolis. Unfortunately, it is not known where the tomb of May stood, and this individual is not otherwise known to us. The find spot of the dossier, on the northern extent of the New Kingdom cemetery, suggests that the tomb of May stood close by. This suggestion is corroborated by the fact that the cluster of Ramesside tombs east of the mastaba of Minnefer includes a tomb built for an official bearing the same office title (i.e., Nebmehyt, 033/USC),[263] and that no more than c. 20 m south of the mastaba of Niankhba stood the tomb of another official of the 20th Dynasty.

The western part of the limestone superstructure of the royal scribe (*šs nsw*), chief steward of the king (*ỉm.y-r pr wr n.y nb tȝ.wy*), and overseer of works (*ỉm.yr kȝ.t*) named Djehutynakht was excavated by the Freie Universität Berlin/Universität Hannover expedition in 2000–2001.[264] The tomb was situated right on the edge of the rocky ridge cut in the time of Unas in conjunction with the construction of his causeway.[265] The excavated western part of the tomb consists of a freestanding limestone pyramid, a tripartite chapel area, and a tomb shaft accessed from the courtyard. The burial chamber still contains the red granite sarcophagus. Only the foundations of the south and west wall

262 Quibell/Olver (1926). The dossier includes the following papyri: P. Cairo 52002, 52003, P. MMA 3569 + Vienna 3934 + 3937 + 9352. See: Olsen (2018), 31–65; Soliman (2019–2020); (2017); Posener-Kriéger (1996); (1981).

263 It cannot be entirely ruled out that one of the anonymous tombs excavated in this area of the cemetery was in fact the tomb of May.

264 Youssef (2017), 276–281; Lacher-Raschdorff (2014), 98, fig. 18; Munro (2001). I thank Claudia Lacher-Raschdorff for kindly sending me a digital copy of the latter unpublished report.

265 The excavators initially identified this feature as the north wall of the tumulus of 2nd Dynasty King Ninetjer: Munro (2001).

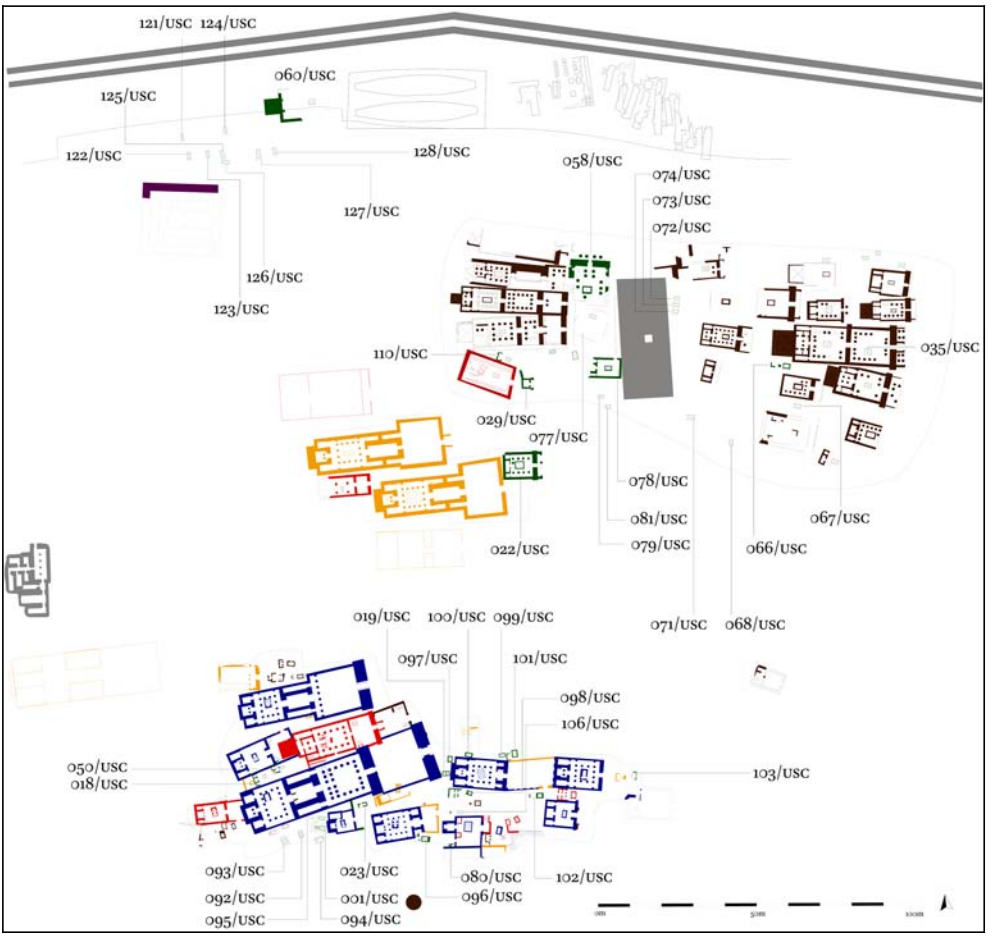


FIGURE 64 The Unas South Cemetery at the end of the New Kingdom
IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR

TABLE 12 List of tomb owners in the Unas South Cemetery, late 19th to 20th Dynasty

Tomb no.	Date	Name	Titles
001/USC	19th / 20th Dynasty	*NN*	?
018/USC	Late 19th / early 20th Dynasty	Pabes	Troop commander of merchants, etc.
019/USC	Late 19th to 20th Dynasty	[Pen]dua	?
022/USC	Ramesses II, after year 30, to 20th Dynasty	Paser	Chief of guardians of records of the army, etc.
023/USC	Late 19th Dyansty, after Merenptah, to 20th Dynasty	Penaa / Sementawy (?)	Priest of the carrying-chair

TABLE 12 List of tomb owners in the Unas South Cemetery, late 19th to 20th Dynasty (*cont.*)

Tomb no.	Date	Name	Titles
029/USC	Ramesside	May	?
035/USC	20th Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses IV	Neferrenpet	Vizier, High priest of Ptah, etc.
050/USC	Late 19th to 20th Dynasty	Khay	Merchant of the treasury of the king
058/USC	20th Dynasty, Sethnakht–Ramesses III	Tjairy	Chief overseer of the royal household
060/USC	20th Dynasty	Djehutynakht	Chief steward of the King
066/USC	Ramesside	*NN*	?
067/USC	Ramesside	*NN*	?
068/USC	Ramesside	*NN*	?
071/USC	Ramesside	*NN*	?
072/USC	Ramesside	*NN*	?
073/USC	Ramesside	*NN*	?
074/USC	Ramesside	*NN*	?
077/USC	Ramesside	*NN*	?
078/USC	Ramesside	*NN*	?
079/USC	Ramesside	*NN*	?
080/USC	Ramesside	*NN*	?
081/USC	Ramesside	*NN*	?
092/USC	Late 19th / 20th Dynasty	*NN*	?
093/USC	Late 19th / 20th Dynasty	*NN*	?
094/USC	Late 19th / 20th Dynasty	*NN*	?
095/USC	Late 19th / 20th Dynasty	*NN*	?
096/USC	Late 19th / 20th Dynasty	*NN*	?
097/USC	Ramesside	*NN*	?
098/USC	Ramesside	*NN*	?
099/USC	Ramesside	*NN*	?
100/USC	Ramesside	*NN*	?
101/USC	Ramesside	*NN*	?
102/USC	Ramesside	*NN*	?
103/USC	Ramesside	*NN*	?
106/USC	Ramesside	*NN*	?
110/USC	Late 19th / 20th Dynasty	*NN*	?

of the tomb, and part of the foundation blocks delineating the three chapels were preserved; the rest had been disassembled long ago. Various fragments of relief-decorated blocks and other items were recovered in excavation.

The tomb of Djehutynakht is surrounded by late New Kingdom tomb shafts, dotting the map between the tomb's remains and the monument of Amenhotep II, c. 27 m to the southwest. The shafts penetrate the subterranean galleries of the 2nd Dynasty tomb of King Ninetjer, adapting the existing spaces and turning them into burial chambers facilitating multiple burials.[266]

The 19th Dynasty cemetery lies c. 65 m southeast of the west end of Djehutynakht's tomb superstructure. In this section of the cemetery, spaces between the large tombs made by high-ranking administrators of Ramesses II started to be filled in with new structures. Most notably, the 'street' west of the mastaba of Minnefer became locked in. Three tombs were located in the limited space available. The available space, or rather the lack thereof, influenced the orientation and architectural lay-out of the tombs. Thus, the tomb blocking the north end of the street, made for Tjairy, also known as Ramessesnakht (058/USC), the 20th Dynasty (*temp*. Sethnakht–Ramesses III) overseer of the royal household of Memphis (*ỉm.y-r ỉp.t nsw wr n.yt Mn-nfr*), has a main axis oriented north to south instead of the usual east-west. The entrance is facing north, perhaps built along a much-trodden path accessing the cemetery from this direction. One may perhaps imagine something similar to the situation today, where a foot path leads up against the face of the slope from the causeway of Unas c. 11 m below.

The positioning of the tomb of Tjairy (058/USC) in the street to the west of the mastaba of Minnefer affected the accessibility of the anonymous tomb (118/USC), which, given its dimensions, will have belonged to a high-profile official of Ramesses II's reign. The tomb of Tjairy is built right in front of its entrance doorway (Fig. 65). Yet, judging from the published plan of the tomb by Tawfik,[267] as included in the total map of the concession area, 118/USC remained accessible—albeit via the tomb of Tjairy, through an opening in the west wall of the pillared courtyard.

The two tombs south of 118/USC are of unknown ownership. Very little remains of 077/USC, situated in the middle. The southern tomb, 078/USC, is somewhat better preserved. The structure is built right against the west wall of the mastaba of Minnefer, which meant that it could not be entered from the east. It is interesting to note that the entrance to the tomb's single courtyard is

266 Lacher-Raschdorff (2014), 97–99, fig. 18; (2011), 545–547.
267 Tawfik (1991), 406, fig. 1.



FIGURE 65 The ruinous remains of the tomb of Tjairy (058/USC)
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR, 2017. REPRODUCED WITH KIND PERMISSION BY OLA EL-AGUIZY/CAIRO UNIVERSITY

not in the south, opening towards the cluster of tombs made for high-profile officials of Seti I–Ramesses II, but to the north. Here, a very narrow alley offers access to 078/USC. Ancient visitors would have passed the east exterior walls of 058/USC and 077/USC on their way south. This alley did not continue further south, because the positioning of the east wall of 078/USC leaves no space to the adjoining mastaba of Minnefer. The tomb's position did not turn the alley into a dead-end road, however, because it would have made a 90 degrees turn west, opening towards the tomb of Wadjmose (013/USC). A number of limestone chapels were made in the area between 078/USC and 023/USC. These all date to the later New Kingdom.[268] In their choice of location, the owners of the chapels took the living visitors to the extant structures in this area into consideration. Thus, chapel 110/USC (the name of the owner not preserved) was built in the space between the north wall of the tomb of Wadjmose and the south wall of the tomb of Huynefer (045/USC), thereby closing the street between the two.[269] The chapel possibly built for a man named May (029/USC) is built right in front of the entrance to the tomb of Wadjmose. The extension of the west wall to the north, which has the appearance of a sort of annex, may have been

268 El-Aguizy (2007a), 44, fig. 14; Tawfik (1991), fig. 1.

269 Note, however, that the west ends of both tombs nearly touch, which raises the question in how far the street could be used as a thoroughfare.

built so shield off the space between the chapel and the larger tomb to the west, thereby 'forcing' people to walk past the entrance of 029/USC on their way to 013/USC.

The rims of at least five tomb shafts were recorded in this area of the cemetery, three of which are dated to the New Kingdom. In their present state of preservation, these are not associated with remains marking the burial above ground. Given the date late in the New Kingdom, their possible superstructures would have been made of limestone blocks, removed from their original positions long ago. No information is available about the two shafts situated west of 078/USC. If the eastern one of the two proves to be of New Kingdom date, its location is noteworthy, because an associated chapel or freestanding stela would have stood in the middle of the alley leading from the corner of 078/USC and the mastaba of Minnefer in the east to the tomb of Wadjmose in the west: a further example of a tomb owner 'laying claim' to a highly visible and much-frequented spot in the cemetery.

More tomb shafts are located in the part of the cemetery east of the mastaba of Minnefer. There is not much information available about these features. Two burials were set in between the larger, extant superstructures. The first, 067/USC, lies in the space between 002/USC of the Royal Butler (*wḏ; nsw*) Ianefer and 036/USC of the Chamberlain of the King (*ỉm.y-r ḫnt n.y nb t;.wy*), Neferhotep. No remains of a possible superstructure associated with the shaft were noted in the preliminary excavation report.[270] A possible chapel would have 'blocked' the street between the two larger structures. The second burial in this part of the cemetery, 066/USC, lies between the west ends of 036/USC and 034/USC, the tomb of the Vizier and High Priest Neferrenpet. The location is rather curious, because it could not have been accessed from the east at its time of construction, since the 'street' is closed by the skewed position of the tomb of Amenemone, 006/USC. This would suggest that the chapel was accessed from the south. The choice of location in close proximity to the tomb of Neferrenpet may have been of greater concern than a wish for optimum accessibility or visibility from the point of view of the living.

4.13.2 *The Old 18th Dynasty Cemetery in the 20th Dynasty*

The patterning of burials in the southern extent of the Unas South Cemetery attained the form of an increasingly complex labyrinth. At this stage of the cemetery's life, no more large tombs were added; instead, the increasingly scarce available spaces in between the larger 18th Dynasty and more modest

270 Tawfik (1991), 405, fig. 1, pl. 57c, 59b.

19th Dynasty tombs are claimed by individuals of lower rank. The majority of burials recorded in excavation are anonymous, because in general very little remains of the structures that marked them above ground.

In Section 4.11.2 we saw that Tia (057/USC) built his tomb against the north wall of Horemheb's tomb (046/USC), and in the process partly disassembled the east part of the superstructure of Ramose (039/USC). The arrival of Tia's tomb created an open 'square' bound by the tombs of Ramose, Tia, and Horemheb, and the wall built by Irdjedy (012/USC) in the west. This largely locked-in space could only be accessed from the north, via the new doorway in the north wall of Ramose's forecourt and the now-demolished south wall. In the 20th Dynasty, this space was used to construct a small family burial complex, consisting of the tripartite chapel of Pabes, troop commander of merchants of the house of Ptah (*ḥr.y-pḏ.t šw.ty n.y pr Ptḥ*), and the two-room chapel of Khay, gold-washer of the king/the treasury (*i͗w nbw n.y nb tȝ.wy/pr-ḥḏ*) and merchant of the treasury of the king (*šw.ty n.y pr-ḥḏ n.y nb tȝ.wy*). Pabes identifies himself as son of Khay.[271] The genealogy would normally suggest that Khay built his chapel before Pabes.[272] The former chapel is indeed situated at the most prominent spot, right across the entrance into the forecourt of Ramose. Khay positioned himself next to Ramose, thereby extending the forecourt. The chapel was built on a deposit of *tafl*, raising it above the forecourt, thereby adding to its visibility from the entrance area in the north—and possibly even beyond, from the street between Maya and Ramose. Khay did not build his chapel against the north exterior wall of Horemheb's inner courtyard. In not doing this, he may have reckoned with the chapel of Irdjedy (012/USC) further to the west, which could only be accessed by passing through the space left between Khay and Horemheb. Pabes, son of Khay, later used the open space to the west to create his chapel, thereby blocking Irdjedy off from any possible future visitors. The space in between Pabes and Khay, bound by the exterior north and south walls of Ramose and Horemheb, respectively, turned into a forecourt.

The titles given to publications of many a monumental elite tomb (such as 'The Tomb of *N*') suggest that they were built to accommodate only the tomb owner—and his wife. The tomb decoration often paints a rather different picture, as it depicts the owner alongside his family and/or those otherwise related

271 Martin (2001a). For the suggestion that Pabes should be an adopted son of Khay, see Weiss (2019a), 68–70.

272 The example of the tomb of Nebnefer and Mahu (030/USC) indicates that father and son could have also started building a tomb in concert.

to him.[273] Their presence would suggest that they too were buried in the same complexes.[274] The skeletal material often found in the tombs' subterranean spaces appears to confirm the suggestion that multiple individuals were buried there. Yet it is often impossible to match the physical remains with the individuals mentioned in tomb decoration—also noting that it is often very difficult to tell which skeletal remains were associated with the tomb owner and his family, since almost without exception all shafts in the cemetery were accessed in later periods for (mass) burial, and by robbers.[275] Nevertheless, in the skeletal remains uncovered from the burial chambers of the chapels of Khay (43 individuals) and his son Pabes (15 individuals), family relations have been suggested. A more detailed morphometric study that could reveal features of blood relationship is pending, however.[276] Despite the inconclusive state of the evidence, there is scholarly consensus that family commemoration was indeed a vital part of tomb complexes.[277]

Elsewhere in the former 18th Dynasty cemetery the decreasing available space was used for the installation of above-ground burial markers. These take the form of small chapels—of which often very little remains today—or stelae set against the exterior walls of the extant larger tombs. Since generally so little survives of these structures, the archaeological reports often mention little more than their approximate dimensions and indicate their location on a plan of the excavation site.[278] The tomb shafts are usually not fully excavated, which means that we do not have access to possible information from the funerary material (e.g., shabtis) to tell us something about the identity or social background of the deceased. The chapels are certainly in need of a more thorough study, and it is indeed rather contradictory that we know so little about the most commonly attested tomb types in the cemetery. After all, there are more small chapels of later New Kingdom date than monumental 18th Dynasty tombs. Part of the problem is the state of preservation, while another part are the priorities and main interest of the excavators. It suffices here to note that there existed a large variety of chapel forms and sizes, suggesting a wide social

273 Cf. e.g., the Saqqara tomb of Thutmosis (363/Bub), chief of outline draughtsmen in the Place of Truth (*ḫr.y sš ḳdw.t m S.t-Mȝʿ.t*), late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III–IV: Zivie (2013).

274 Staring (in press, a).

275 Dorman (2003), 39; Seyfried (1995), 219–231.

276 Strouhal/Horáčková (2001), 65–66.

277 Dorman (2003), 30–41.

278 E.g., Raven/Van Walsem (2014), 30–33; in some cases, no measurements were taken and no precise location given (e.g., shaft 2003/17, located somewhere north of the forecourt's north wall).

demographic range in the group of individuals who were able to have their burials marked above ground in this part of the cemetery at this time. The spatial patterning of the shafts (once associated with a chapel or stela) allows us to make statements about the use of space, both with regards to the placement of burials as well as the (ever-changing) movement of people through the cemetery.

All around the tomb of Meryneith (032/USC), to the north, west, and south, the rims of tomb shafts are visible, sometimes with the remains of their associated chapels. 100/USC is noted above in connection with the construction phases of Horemheb's tomb (046/USC). The shaft and its appertaining chapel were presumably wedged between the north wall of Meryneith's chapel area and the south wall of the largely unexcavated tomb 120/USC. The chapel's position would have closed one of the eastern approaches towards the tomb of Horemheb—a strategic choice in view of attracting the attention of visitors. Until the end of the New Kingdom, the tomb of Horemheb featured a cult for the deified king, and graffiti scratched into the wall surfaces on the interior and exterior indicate that people indeed visited the monument.[279] Building a memorial chapel or tomb structure along one of the routes leading up to the former private tomb which turned into a memorial temple would have been in high demand.

The scanty remains of more chapels with associated tomb shafts were found further to the east, along the north walls of the tomb and fenced-off forecourt of Meryneith. The position of 101/USC is noteworthy, because at some stage, a c. 1 m wide opening was created by cutting through the mud-brick wall of the forecourt. The resulting opening was not further furnished with door jambs as was the case in the opposite south wall of the forecourt, created at an earlier stage. If the creation of the opening proves to date to the late New Kingdom, it may be related to the increasing level of difficulty the visitor to the tomb of Meryneith would have faced in attempting to reach it.

At least two stelae were set up against the exterior east side of the pylon towers of Horemheb's tomb. The 19th Dynasty stela of Amennakht (008/USC) was set against the east side of the north tower, and the stela of [Pen]dua (019/USC) and his family stood against the southern tip of the south towers' east side (Fig. 66a–b). The associated tomb shaft, which lay to the east, occupied the available space between the western slope of Meryneith's tomb pyramid and the pylon wall of Horemheb. At the time when [Pen]dua selected this spot for burial and commemoration, the narrow space between the two extant late 18th

279 Staring/Perfetti (2020), 73–80, with further references.



FIGURE 66A The late 19th to 20th Dynasty stela of Pendua (019/USC)
PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF THE RIJKSMUSEUM VAN OUDHEDEN, LEIDEN

Dynasty structures would have served as one of the few means to reach the cluster of tombs to the south. It means that people who wished to visit the tombs built for Pay and Raia (017/USC; 042/USC), Ry (038/USC), Meryneith (032/USC), and Hatiay (044/USC)—and their families, households, and descendants—as well as the numerous more modest chapels and stelae (106/USC and 102/USC were built at this time), were required to pass the stela of [Pen]dua. In so doing, curiously people also had to step over his tomb shaft, which was covered by stone slabs.

At this time, the only remaining possibility to access the above-listed cluster of tombs, was via the space between the east wall of Iniuia (009/USC) and the west wall of Pay (017/USC). All other approaches from the south and east had been closed by extensions of existing tomb superstructures and tombs built in the remaining spaces between them. It is in the area east of Iniuia, that (a) priest(s) named Penaa and/or Sementawy excavated a burial shaft.[280] The shaft

280 It is not absolutely certain whether the tomb elements mentioning Penaa (nine wooden shabtis and a shabti box) and Sementawy (three shabtis) originally belonged with the burial associated with shaft 96/1. The relationship between Penaa and Sementawy is also unclear. The title held by Penaa is unknown; Sementawy was a priest of the carrying-chair (*wʿb ḳny.t*).



FIGURE 66B Stela of Pendua (019/USC), excavation no. SAK 2003—R083
PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF THE RIJKSMUSEUM VAN OUDHEDEN, LEIDEN

was associated with a *tafl* platform supporting the two remaining slabs of limestone that formed the pavement of a small chapel. One slab was found to have a shallow rectangular recess, indicating the position of a stela. This stela, unfinished and anepigraphic, was found in the vicinity. To the west of this shaft, The area was fenced off by erecting a mud-brick wall between the northeast corner of Iniuia's tomb and the south wall of Horemheb. Another wall was built against the eastern façade of Iniuia, extending its south wall to the east, in the direction of the neighbouring tomb of Pay. The new wall appears not to have extended to the west wall of Pay—at least not in its present state; the wall may have been cut at a later state in order to create a passage between the largely closed-off area to the east and the hitherto unexcavated area to the south.

The cutting through of standing walls has been observed before, when due to the pyramid of Tia (057/USC) a new entrance needed to be made in the north wall of Ramose's (039/USC) forecourt. Something similar can be observed further south, where the western side mass of the tomb pyramid of Ry (038/USC) was cut away in order to create a narrow passage between this tomb and its western neighbour, Raia (042/USC) (Fig. 67). It opened the largely closed-off area from the south, and allowed people to access the tomb of Horemheb further north—on their way stepping over the tomb shaft of [Pen]dua, as we have just seen.

Another passage was created by cutting a doorway in the south-western wall of the courtyard of Ry's tomb (038/USC; Fig. 67). The creation of a doorway could possibly be linked to the foundation of a modest chapel (080/USC),[281] built against the north face of the wall of tomb 005/USC, in this study tentatively identified as the late 18th Dynasty tomb of Amenemone.

Along the passageway created by cutting through the pyramid of Ry stood a late 19th to 20th Dynasty chapel. It was built against the southeast corner of the tomb of Pay. This space used to be practically locked off, being surrounded by the superstructures of Pay (017/USC), Raia (042/USC), Ry (038/USC), and 005/USC (Amenemone?), all built one against the other.

Finally, the area south of Horemheb's inner courtyard saw much activity later in the New Kingdom. This is also where the earliest burials excavated thus far are located: the pit graves 048/USC and 083/USC from the reign of Amenhotep III. The area continued to be used to bury individuals belonging to the lower strata of society (at least in comparison to the country's highest-ranking officials buried in monumental temple-shaped tombs). In this area were found

281 Raven (forthcoming), chapter 4. Raven suggests that the stela of Akhpet (133/USC; excavation no. SAK 2013 R-50), found reused in a drystone wall built around the shaft of the tomb of Ry by antiquities diggers, stood in this chapel, see Raven (forthcoming), cat. 18.



FIGURE 67 In the 20th Dynasty, the mud-brick pyramid of Ry (038/USC) was cut away in order to create a passage between this tomb (bottom) and its eastern neighbour, Raia (042/USC) (top)
PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF THE RIJKSMUSEUM VAN OUDHEDEN, LEIDEN

the remains of chapels set on raised platforms (made from the material excavated from the burial shafts), and shallow burials in reed mats, laid along the south exterior wall of Horemheb's tomb.

4.13.3 *The Beginning of a New Chapter in the Life of a Tomb: Reuse for Mass Burial*

Towards the end of the 19th Dynasty and the 20th Dynasty, the general upkeep of the fabric of some of the monumental tombs of the former 18th Dynasty cemetery was no longer being taken care of. This could have had various causes. For example, the line of descendants may have died out, or they no longer had funds to maintain the tombs and their offering cults. If the tombs, with their gradually deteriorating conditions, were also increasingly difficult to access, the buildings could potentially be repurposed. This is what has been observed in the tomb of Ptahemwia (025/USC). Towards the end of the 19th Dynasty, roughly 150 years after its construction, the now-abandoned tomb of the royal butler of kings Akhenaten and Tutankhamun was used for mass burial.[282]

282 See also Staring (in press, a).

Select spaces in the superstructure were reappropriated to accommodate the burials of dozens of individuals. They are all anonymous to us, because they were not found with texts associated with them. Judging from the simple means of burial—wrapped in mats made of palm ribs and reed—they were of low social standing. The remains of 23 individuals were identified in the tomb's northwest chapel, three in the central chapel, and 56 in the southwest. The pottery associated with the burials suggests a date for the secondary burials in the late 19th and 20th Dynasties, and perhaps even continuing into the TIP (c. 1076–723 BCE).[283] It is noteworthy that about 60% of the individuals laid to rest in the chapels were children, mostly babies and juveniles.[284] The lowermost course of burials consisted exclusively of juveniles who were mummified and placed in yellow-painted wooden coffins.

283 Raven (2020), 46–49, 145–150, 268–279, 325–368.
284 Raven (2020), 325–368.

CHAPTER 5

The Teti Pyramid Cemetery and the Cliff of Ankhtawy

5.1 Setting the Scene

The New Kingdom cemetery in the northern part of the North Saqqara plateau developed in an area well-known for its Old Kingdom funerary monuments. Two Old Kingdom pyramids dominate this part of the landscape, and the popular cults of its respective deified kings, Teti and Menkauhor, continued in the New Kingdom.[1] Whether the large numbers of burials that clustered in this area were the result of the existing popular cults, thereby acting as a sort of magnets for tomb construction, or whether the kings' revived popularity was the result of the growing cemetery, is difficult to tell.[2] From a landscape phenomenology perspective, the pyramids and adjoining New Kingdom cemetery were ideally located at the entrance of the elevated desert plateau, along the route leading up to the Serapeum—the burial place of the sacred Apis bulls, the earthly manifestations of the Memphite city god Ptah.[3] The presence of multiple religiously significant places added to the sacredness of the place, which will have made it a highly sought after place for burial. This included the area southeast of the aforementioned pyramids, which from the Late Period to the Greco-Roman period was the centre of the cult for the leonine goddess Bastet/Sakhmet, better known as the Bubasteion, which may have had a New Kingdom precursor. Sakhmet was the consort of Ptah, and together with Nefertem formed the Memphite triad of gods. It is in the southern limestone cliff, known as the Cliff (*dhn.t*) of Ankhtawy, that a number of rock-cut tombs were made during the New Kingdom for high-ranking individuals. This place, with its prominent cliff

1 Morales (2006); Málek (2000).

2 See Málek (2000) for the Old Kingdom kings as local saints in the Middle Kingdom.

3 One of the names for the Serapeum in ancient Egypt was Kemet: Gauthier (1928), 199–200. The Serapeum is not considered in detail in the present study, which focuses primarily on the Saqqara private tombs. Note that a not insignificant number of the high-ranking individuals buried at Saqqara (mainly in the Unas South Cemetery), are attested through e.g. shabtis and stelae with the burials of individuals Apis bulls. For a study of these individuals from the Ramesside period, see Frood (2016). The Serapeum was excavated by Auguste Mariette in the early 1850s, published as Mariette (1857). The Musée du Louvre has resumed research in the so-called Lesser Vaults, created during the reign of Ramesses II.

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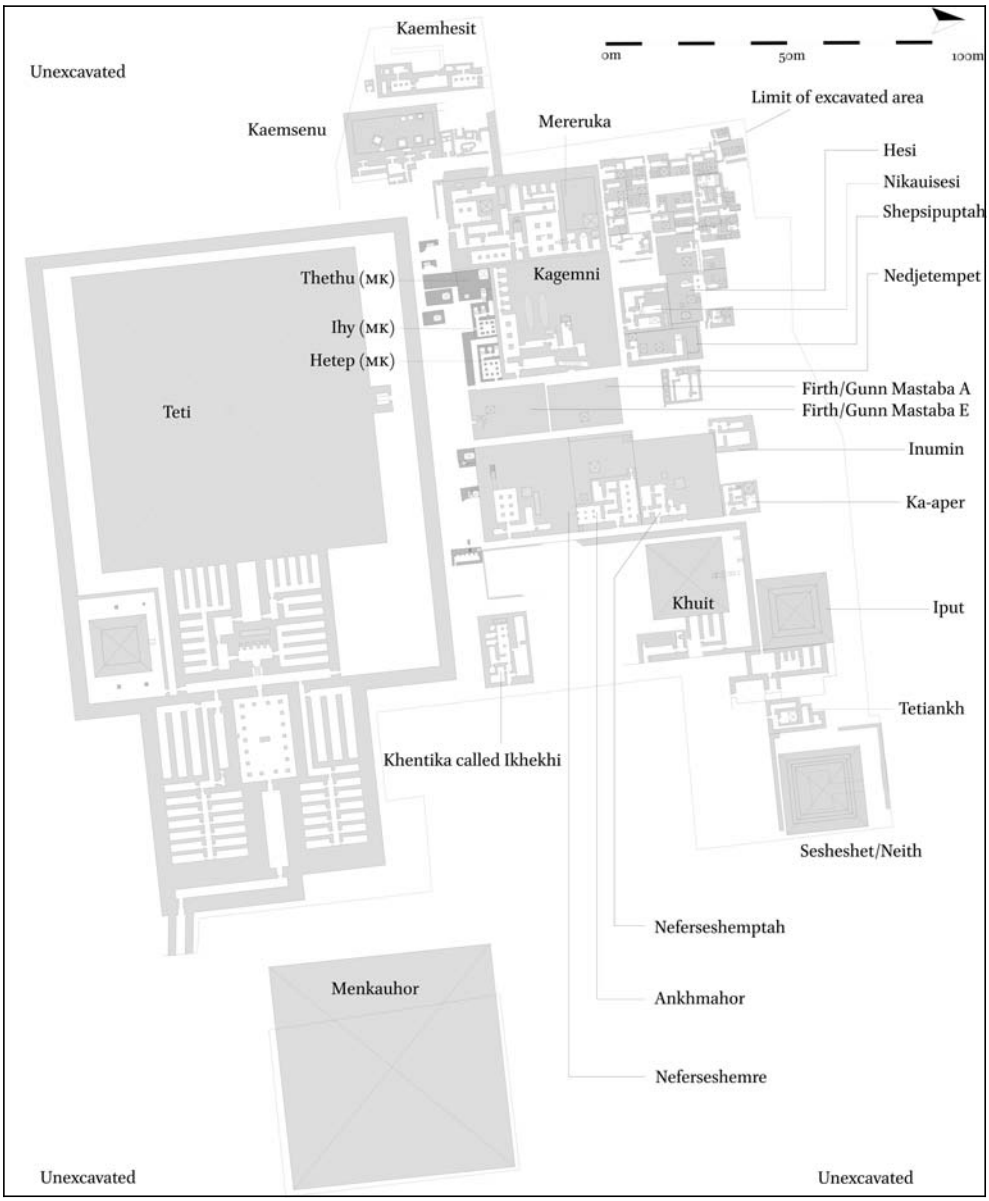


FIGURE 68 Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom monuments in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery
IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR

of bright limestone which peaked over the surrounding landscape, may have been situated along the procession route which connected Memphis and its temple of Ptah to the Serapeum.[4]

5.2 A New Kingdom Cemetery Founded on the Remains of the Old Kingdom

North of the pyramid of 6th Dynasty King Teti lay a closely-knit cemetery of mastaba tombs built for his courtiers, including the multi-room superstructures of viziers Kagemni[5] and Mereruka (Fig. 68).[6] These were first fully unearthed in 1893 by Jacques de Morgan (1857–1924) on behalf of the Egyptian Service des Antiquités.[7] The mastaba tombs were laid down on a sort of grid forming various streets, including the so-called *Rue de Tombeaux*,[8] first excavated by Victor Loret on behalf of the Service des Antiquités (Fig. 69).[9] Burials continued to be introduced north and east of Teti's pyramid, well into the Greco-Roman period. This long-lived cemetery grew not only laterally, spreading over an increasingly larger area, but also vertically. As a result of the continuous accumulation of sand and rubble in between the tomb structures, by the time of the early New Kingdom, roughly 800 years later, the streets between the mastaba tombs had completely filled in, and largely covered the structures to their roofs. Little if anything would have remained visible of the celebrated Old Kingdom mastabas. Ancient visitors to the site would have seen not much more than the pyramids of kings Teti and Menkauhor—both no longer in pristine condition—as well as the upper parts of the eroded queens' pyramids.[10]

4 See e.g., Marković (2018); (2017); Jurman (2010), for the Apis cult and burial in relation to the wider sacred landscape of Memphis in the Late Period.

5 Harpur/Scremin (2006); Von Bissing (1905–1911).

6 Kanawati et al. (2011); Duell (1938).

7 The northeast corner of the mastaba of Kagemni had already been located by the Prussian expedition led by Lepsius half a century before, in 1843: LD, *Text*, I, 145–146 (LS 10: '*Grosses Psametichgrab mit Brunnen*'). The same expedition had also seen the tomb of Mereruka, as indicated by the production of squeezes (*Abklatschen*) of select reliefs: Pieke (2013).

8 Capart (1907).

9 Loret (1899).

10 This situation is not reflected in the reconstructions offered by Sullivan (2020). She situates the New Kingdom chapels on the same elevation as the Old Kingdom mastabas, not taking into account the thick deposit of sand and rubble that had accumulated since the Old Kingdom. This reconstruction creates the false impression that the landscape had not



FIGURE 69 A view down the *Rue de tombeaux*, facing south
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR, 2019. REPRODUCED WITH KIND PERMISSION BY MOHAMMAD M. YOUSSEF/MINISTRY OF TOURISM AND ANTIQUITIES, SAQQARA

The area covered by (pre-)modern archaeological excavations since the mid-19th century is roughly rectangular in shape and measures approximately 100 m north to south, and 230 m east to west. The area further to the north remains largely unexcavated, although early to mid-19th century diggers thoroughly worked this area over in search of collectable objects. A surface survey carried out by a Japanese-Egyptian mission to North Saqqara in 2016–2017 yielded finds pertaining to New Kingdom burials from the mid-18th Dynasty reign of Thutmosis III until the Ramesside period—the latter period yielding the largest quantity of remains.[11] The spatial distribution of the surface finds suggests that the cemetery grew laterally in a northward direction, with the core of the cemetery being closest to the pyramid of Teti.

changed, whereas in reality, it had changes considerably; the New Kingdom chapels were built in a landscape that was very different from that seen and experienced in the Old Kingdom.

11 Kawai (2021a); (2021b), 331; (2020).

5.3 Methodological Problems with Virtually Recreating a Largely Lost Cemetery

The main problem with assessing the growth of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery is that a comparatively small amount of material remains have been preserved *in situ*. This problem is closely tied to the early exploration of the site. A large part of the cemetery was excavated in the (early) 19th century. The excavators generally made no records of their finds. The decontextualised objects and tomb elements subsequently entered the private collections of (initially) wealthy Europeans, and with the later sales of their collections, the elements of single tombs became dispersed over many public and private collections around the word. Subsequent early modern and later excavators shifted their focus to the much better preserved Old Kingdom cemetery that existed below that of the New Kingdom. It meant that the later tombs, built on a thick deposit of sand and rubble, were removed in their entirety to fully uncover the underlying mastaba field. The early excavators recorded and documented the later tombs and simpler burials in a rather haphazard way. The sheer number of archaeological teams involved in the excavation of this relatively small area in the last 150 years presents another complicating factor.[12] The concentration of so many different expeditions in this small area over so many years has led to a considerable fragmentation of data, both published and (importantly) unpublished. The quality and completeness of documentation also differs considerably from one publication to the other. Bearing these problems in mind, the first step towards analysing the growth of the cemetery is to produce the first complete map of the New Kingdom cemetery.[13] This involves mainly overlaying and matching all available maps and plans pertaining to the study area.[14] Not all documentation proves to be equally precise. For example, the distance between certain features

12 Duell (1938) offers a succinct overview of archaeological work in this area of the necropolis until the mid-1930s.

13 Gessler-Löhr (2007a) laid the groundwork for a reconstruction of the New Kingdom necropolis north/northeast of the pyramid of Teti, focusing on the tombs dated to the pre-Amarna period.

14 Abd el-Raziq/Krekeler (1987), fig. 1; De Morgan (1897); El-Khouli/Kanawati (1988), pl. 1; Firth/Gunn (1926), pl. 51; Giddy (1992), pl. 5; Giddy (1992), pls 1–4, Hawass (2000), fig. 8; (2010), fig. 1, 2; (2011), figs 4, 6; James (1953), pl. 4; Kanawati/Abd el-Raziq (2001), 35; Kanawati et al. (2006), pl. 2; Kanawati/Hassan (1996), pl. 1, Kanawati et al. (1984), pl. 1; Lauer/Leclant (1972), pl. 35; LD, *Text*, I, fig. on pp. 145, 146; Loret (1899), pl. 1; McFarlane (2003), pl. 1; Ockinga (2012), fig. 1; (2011), fig. 2; (2004), pl. 51; Quibell (1909), fig. 4; Quibell/Hayter (1927), pls 1–2; Sowada et al. (1999), pl. 2; Università di Pisa (2003); Youssef (2017), pl. 12.

(e.g., tomb structures) differs from one published map to the other. The actual locations of numerous structures can no longer be confirmed on site, because a large part of the former New Kingdom necropolis has long been removed. Moreover, the research project underlying the present work did not allow for a survey of the area, which ideally would geo-reference all structures still *in situ*. To overcome this problem, this study uses Google Earth satellite images and the information published in *The North Saqqara Archaeological Site: Handbook for the Environmental Risk Analysis* (2003), to rectify the available maps and plans. For all reasons just mentioned, it should be stressed that the reconstruction map of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery presented in this study claims no absolute accuracy. It serves the purpose of digitally recreating the lost New Kingdom cemetery in order to assess its structure and development.

5.4 Notes on the Extent of the Cemetery

The New Kingdom cemetery extended beyond the roughly rectangular area more or less systematically excavated north and east of the pyramid of Teti. It likely continues further to the north and west. A number of chance finds further afield corroborate this hypothesis. In 1843, Lepsius's expedition recorded the location of a seemingly isolated tomb superstructure (LS 8), c. 300 m northwest of the spot where they excavated near the northeast corner of the mastaba of Kagemni.[15] The tomb belonged to a 19th Dynasty head of guardians (*ḥr.y sꜣw.ty*), named Meryre (221/TPC) (see below, Fig. 84). The area of the cemetery where the tomb of Meryre lies, according to Lepsius, has been subjected to the SGSP geophysical survey.[16] The survey map highlights the subsurface structures of an extensive Old Kingdom necropolis. Possible tombs of the New Kingdom cannot be identified with certainty. The 'typical' Memphite temple-shaped tomb cannot be recognised in the structures detected below the surface. Simpler burials (i.e. those without a structure to mark their location above ground) are with certainty spread over a much larger area of the North Saqqara plateau. Early New Kingdom burials and material remains pointing to burials of Ramesside date have also been excavated further north of the pyramid of Teti, covering

15 LD, *Text*, I, 144. Lepsius notes that this tomb had been excavated by Solomon Fernandez, and that only a few blocks had remained in spring 1843. Lepsius copied two of the blocks found *in situ* in the tomb. The blocks were not taken back to Berlin, and may still lie at the site.

16 Mathieson/Dittmer (2007).

the area of the Early Dynastic cemetery.[17] Numerous individuals were buried in pit graves cut into the interior spaces of Old Kingdom mastaba tombs, such as that of Khentika, called Ikheki, east of the pyramid of Teti.[18] Such burials stretched over a large area, all the way to the Serapeum, located c. 1 km west of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery. Located roughly halfway to that landmark, immediately north of the enclosure wall of the Djoser pyramid complex, the Old Kingdom mastaba of Rashepses (LS 16) proved to contain a number of simple burials of New Kingdom date.[19] Further afield, closer to the Serapeum, a number of shaft tombs were recorded in excavation more than 80 years ago today,[20] and these may have formed part of a larger cemetery with similar burials clustered in that area. In conclusion, it is safe to say that the area of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery under study in this chapter forms just a small part of a much more extensive burial field. Therefore, the conclusions drawn from the material excavated in this spatially restricted section of the plateau, accessible through largely summary publications, may not be entirely representative for the cemetery as a whole.

5.5 A Cemetery of Pit-Burials

The earliest available New Kingdom evidence for burials in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery are pit graves (Fig. 70).[21] These are attested from the very beginning of the 18th Dynasty, and as such represent a continuation of burial practices from the preceding Second Intermediate Period (c. 1759–1630 BCE).[22] Individuals buried in shallow pits (e.g., laid in wooden coffins or wrapped in reed mats) cover practically the entire surface later occupied by New Kingdom tomb superstructures.[23] The pits were dug into the thick deposit of sand and rub-

17 Kawai (2021a); (2021b), 331; (2020); Ayers (2020); Bourriau (1991).

18 James (1953).

19 Al-Tayeb (2015); Höflmayer et al. (2013); Quibell (1909), 23; LD, *Text*, I, 165–170.

20 Macramallah (1940), 71–76.

21 Parker (2017); Ockinga (2012), fig. 1; Ockinga (2011), figs 1–2; (2004), 124, pl. 52; Sowada et al. (1999); El-Khouli/Kanawati (1988), 42–48, pls 1, 41–49; Kanawati et al. (1984), 59–80, pls 1, 39–47; Quibell/Hayter (1927), 6–10, pl. 1; Firth/Gunn (1926); 66–83, pls 42–46.

22 Sowada et al. (1999), in the area northeast of the mastaba of Nedjetempet. For 'burial 21', cut into the exterior west wall of the mastaba of Tjetji, a date range of late Second Intermediate Period to early 18th Dynasty has been proposed: Kanawati et al. (1984), 65, pl. 41. The practice of interring the deceased in shallow pits has been observed in this area as early as the late Old Kingdom.

23 See, for example, the telling photograph of Quibell's excavation in progress: Quibell/Hayter (1927), pl. 6.1. It illustrates the incredible density of individuals once interred in shallow pits in this area of the necropolis (mainly of the Late Period and later).

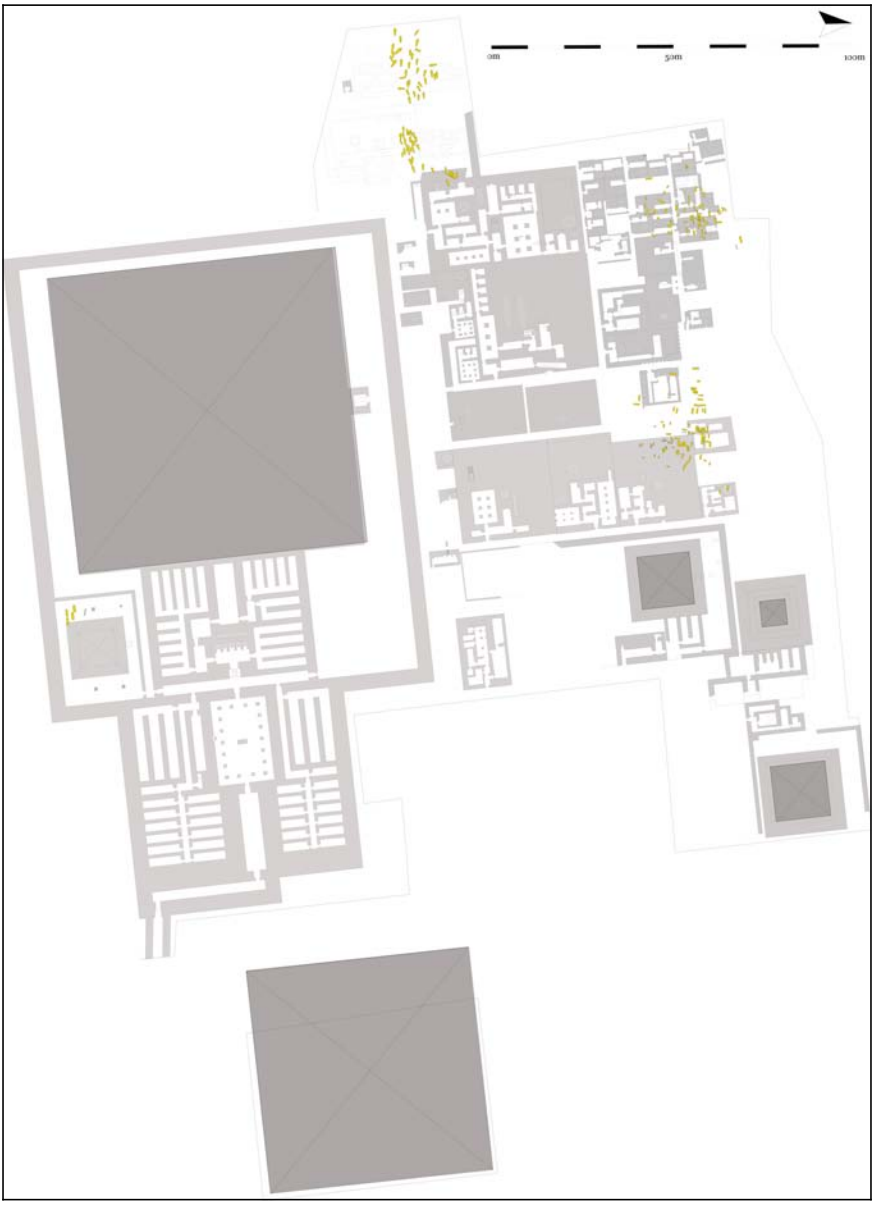


FIGURE 70 Spatial distribution of New Kingdom pit-burials in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, projected on the earlier Old Kingdom cemetery
IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR

ble covering the earlier mastaba tombs, and the deceased are usually found at a level flush with the roofs of these earlier structures. The three clusters of pit graves visible in figure 70 do not necessarily represent the historic reality, because not nearly all archaeological expeditions that have worked in this area published data pertaining to the post-Old Kingdom strata. The spatial distribution of pit graves suggests that the New Kingdom surface covering the large mastabas such as Mereruka, Kagemni, etc., was not used for interring individuals in shallow pits. This may not have been the case, however. It is perhaps more likely that the 'gaps' in the map are the result of gaps in the published record.

From an economic and organisational point of view, pit graves offer the low-budget end of the spectrum of burial customs. The graves are easily dug and do not necessarily require the involvement of specialists.[24]

The individuals interred in the pit graves north of the pyramid of Teti were variously laid in wooden coffins—either rectangular or anthropoid—or wrapped in palm-rib and/or reed mats. The number of objects associated with the burials is generally rather low and the graves are typically dated on account of the ceramic evidence or by objects bearing a king's name, such as scarab amulets. The majority of burials are single burials, dug to bury the body of one individual. There are also cases of multiple burials, with coffins containing the bodies of up to six individuals.[25] The multiple burials are perhaps suggestive of some form of above-ground markers, because if the individuals were not interred together at the same time, the pits needed to be re-excavated at a later time, perhaps years after the first or previous burials had taken place. Relocating the precise burial spot would have been easiest if it were marked above the ground. In the contemporary non-elite cemeteries at Akhetaten (Tell el-Amarna), indications have been found for burials marked with a cairn of limestone boulders, and scattered pieces of mud brick may be all that is left of possible built superstructures.[26] Similar customs may have existed at Saqqara

24 Compare to the early 20th century account by Winifred Blackman (2000), 115, of burial customs in rural Egypt. The pits cut along the low desert were not usually prepared beforehand, but only dug at the moment the funerary procession arrived at the grave site.

25 E.g., Parker (2017): wooden coffin containing three individuals. In the 1984 excavation season, the Macquarie University archaeological expedition found seven cases of multiple burials in the area north of the mastaba of Mereruka. In some cases, multiple individuals were laid in a single wooden coffin. One grave contained six individuals; four graves had two individuals; and two graves included three individuals.

26 South Tombs Cemetery: Stevens (2018), 106–109, fig. 6. For the mud-brick platforms marking pit burials in the Unas South Cemetery, see Section 4.5.1. Also note that a number of the late 19th to 20th Dynasty infant burials in the western chapels of the late 18th Dynasty tomb of Ptahemwia (025/USC) were lined and covered with loose mud bricks, or cov-

also. Frequent visits to the cemetery, in order to tend to the graves and present offerings, for example, would also have safeguarded that the locations of the burials were remembered.

The earliest securely dated pit burials of the New Kingdom are of the mid-18th Dynasty reign of Thutmosis III.[27] The sample of burials excavated so far indicates that the majority of such burials date to the period before the late 18th Dynasty.[28] Burials of the late 18th Dynasty until the 20th Dynasty are fewer in number.[29] The picture appears to be slightly different further afield, as far as 500 m north of the pyramid of Teti. The surface finds made in this area are suggestive of greater numbers of burials of the Ramesside period in comparison to those of the 18th Dynasty.[30] These observations, albeit limited in scope, suggest that the core of the New Kingdom cemetery lay in the area immediately north/northeast of the pyramid of Teti. Over time, this cemetery grew laterally to the north, west, and southeast, while at the same time spaces in between the earlier graves were filled with later burials. Interestingly, there are very few cases of burials that were accidentally cut when new pits were dug. It suggests that some form of above-ground grave markers existed, because if the precise locations of the burials were not marked, one would expect to see more disturbed burials. On the other hand, there are also examples of pit burials later built-over by more monumental superstructures.[31]

5.6 Evidence for Above-Ground Markers of Pit-Burials

5.6.1 *Grave Markers of Non-durable Material*

The material remains associated with one pit-burial excavated in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery suggests that such graves were (sometimes) equipped with simple above-ground markers. Burial number 9, excavated during the 1988 archae-

ered by rubble and chunks of limestone: personal observation; Raven (2020), 20, figs. I.10, VIII.11. For the mud-brick structures, see also parallels in the Theban necropolis: Kampp (1996), I, 107, fig. 81.

27 E.g., Parker (2017).

28 See n. 21 for the references.

29 It should be noted that the 'simple' burials have never been comprehensively studied collectively, and that many of the burials excavated by early archaeologists such as Quibell still await proper study and publication.

30 Kawai (2021a); (2021b), 331; (2020).

31 See the example of a gabled coffin under the floor of the tomb of Ipuia (212/TPC): Quibell/Hayter (1927), 9, no. 2746. See also the stratigraphic observations in relation to the tomb of Amenemone (213/TPC) by Karin Sowada in Ockinga (2004), 122–125.

ological fieldwork season by Macquarie University, was found c. 3 m above, and 7 m northwest of the Old Kingdom mud-brick tomb of Tjetetu, which corresponds to a location c. 30 m north of the northwest corner of Mereruka's mastaba.[32] This location is consistent with the westernmost extent of the rectangular strip excavated by archaeologists since the mid-19th century. The burial is described as containing a well-preserved skeleton, in supine position, with the head to the southeast, laying with the head and shoulders elevated on a small mound of sand and rubble. No remains of a coffin or matting were recorded. However, the remains of the individual did contain pieces of woven wrapping material still attached to various parts of the body. Most strikingly, the excavators also found a wooden stick positioned upright behind the head of the deceased. In its preserved condition, the stick projected to a height of 27 cm above the skull, which suggests that it may have served as a grave marker. At the base of the stick was found the broken base of a conical pot, measuring 18 cm in height, and containing traces of organic material. It is likely that grave markers of non-durable materials such as wood did not generally remain on the surface for long, unless the graves were regularly attended and kept free of the shifting sand. One could also imagine that animals such as dogs and jackals were fond of such grave markers. The chances of survival of such markers in the archaeological record are therefore rather slim. Burials marked by sticks might be the low-cost version of burials marked by stelae.

5.6.2 *Burials Marked by Stelae*

The above-ground markers of pit burials discussed thus far—including the mud-brick platforms in the Unas South Cemetery dated to the time of Amenhotep III (see Section 4.5.1)—would have required little if any specialised workmanship in their production. More expertise of skilled artists would have been required in the production of headstones decorated in paint or relief, with or without inscriptions. In the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, the Macquarie University archaeological expedition found at least one example of a stela that served as a headstone to mark a pit burial (303/TPC).[33] It was excavated in the vicinity of the tomb of Amenemone (213/TPC), the overseer of craftsmen and chief of goldsmiths of the king (*im.y-r ḥmw.t n.t nb tꜣ.wy; ḥr.y nbw.w n.w nb tꜣ.wy*), and was marked by a round-topped stela crowned by a pyramidion, measuring 54.6 cm in height.[34] The ensemble was also associated with "two or three pots",

32 El-Khouli/Kanawati (1988), 44, pl. 48. The find spot has not been marked on the published map, and neither has a date been proposed for this burial.

33 Ockinga (2004), 110–111, pls 38a, 80a. The grave's precise location is not indicated.

34 The object is published as no. TNE 95: F109, found during the 1995 season of fieldwork.

although it is not clear where these were placed. The stela's pyramidion bears an image of Anubis recumbent on a shrine, and the apotropaic *wedjat* eye. The surface of the stela below the pyramidion contains two scenes arranged in two registers. The upper register depicts a certain Penamun, shown offering to the seated god Osiris,[35] and the scene in the lower register depicts three females and two young boys standing with one hand raised in adoration. The wigs, garments, and proportions of the bodies of all the individuals depicted in the stela point to a date in the post-Amarna period. The stela was associated with a pit burial containing just one individual, who—we may assume—was Penamun, the individual most prominently featured on the stela. The other individuals were not identified by text labels, so we can only guess what their relationships to Penamun may have been, although most likely members of his family (e.g., wife, sister, mother, children). Since the stela marked the burial of only one individual, we may ask where the others depicted on the stela were eventually buried. One possibility would be that they were interred in pit graves dug in the direct vicinity of Penamun's burial marked by a stela. If such were the case, the one burial marker may have served as the focal point for the offering cult of a complete family.[36]

A second stela (316/TPC) may have stood in a similar context close by.[37] It was recovered from the fill of the shaft of Amenemone's tomb. The round-topped stela measures 56 cm in height and contains scenes divided in two registers. In the top register, three males and a female are depicted standing in adoration before the god Osiris, who is seated. The first male individual holds a censer over the offering table. In the lower register, a female, seated on a high-backed chair, receives offerings from another female, while a third, a girl, and four boys stand behind her. All individuals are provided with text labels containing their names. The main characters, the male censing to Osiris and the seated female receiving offerings, are named Mahuy and Bay, respectively. No titles are included. The find spot of the stela and the style and quality of its relief decoration might suggest that title-less owners of this stela, and of burial 303/TPC, had been (professionally) affiliated in life with Amenemone (213/TPC), or any of the other officials buried in this cemetery who held similar offices.

Unfortunately, the precise archaeological context has not been documented. For stelae crowned by a pyramid(ion), see Tawfik (2015).

35 The inscription associated with the man reads: 'made for the one greatly favoured of Osiris, Pa(en)Amun'.

36 Compare Polz (2007), 231–245; (1995), for observations on early 18th Dynasty tomb chapels and surrounding pit burials in the Theban necropolis.

37 Ockinga (2004), 111–112, pls 38b, 80b: TNE 96: 121.

5.7 The Earliest Evidence for Tomb Chapels: Reign of Amenhotep III

The earliest evidence for built superstructures marking a burial in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery dates to the reign of Amenhotep III (Fig. 71; Table 13).[38] These tomb chapels are all made of mud bricks, and display some variation in their architectural lay-out. The chapels for which their owners can be identified, were made for the Guardian of the house of His Majesty (*sḫw.ty n.y pr ḥm=f*), Amenma (214/TPC),[39] the Guardian of *ʾItn-ṯḥn*ʾ (*sḫw.ty n.y ʾItn-ṯḥn*), Nebansu (223/TPC),[40] the Guardian of the treasury of Memphis (*ḥr.y sḫw.ty pr-ḥḏ n.y Mn-nfr*) and Miller of incense of Amun-Re, of All the Gods of White Walls (i.e. Memphis), of the Ennead, and of the Palace (*nḏ snṯr n.y ʾImn-Rᶜ n.y nṯr.w nb.w ʾInb.w-ḥḏ n.y psḏ.t n.y pr nsw*), Mahu (218/TPC),[41] and a man named Neferher (224/TPC), for whom no titles are recorded.[42] The son of Neferher, Hatiay, bears the title of guardian (*sḫw.ty*).

Three of the four chapel owners dated to the reign of Amenhotep III, all bearing the title of guardian (*sḫw.ty*), were professionally affiliated with the king's palace at Memphis, which, given the title held by Nebansu (223/TPC), may have been named 'Dazzling Aten' (*ʾItn-ṯḥn*).[43] This king's Theban palace at Malkata bore the same name.[44] The clustering of tombs built for middle man-

38 Gessler-Löhr (2007a). The lost chapel of Tjay (237/TPC), overseer of horses of the king (*im.y-r ssm.t n.yt nb tḫ.wy*), was probably situated between Loret shaft no. 9 and the west wall of the pyramid of Iput, i.e. one of the shafts numbered 8–11: Gessler-Löhr (2007a), 73–74. PM III/553 erroneously assigs the statue of Tjay (Cairo JE 33255) to tomb Loret no. 4, which actually belongs to a homonymous official (235/TPC).

39 LD, *Text*, I, 154, 156. According to Gessler-Löhr (2007a), 71 and n. 44, the 'house' in the title must refer to the Memphite estate of the reigning king, either Thutmosis IV or Amenhotep III. Pasquali (2011), 7–8 (A.14), suggests it refers to the palace of Thutmosis I, known from a range of sources, including the restoration stela of Tutankhamun (Karnak; now Cairo CG 34183), situating the king in 'in his palace that is in the *pr* of Thutmosis I (Aakheperkare)'.

40 Loret (1899) does not signal the remains of a tomb superstructure, only a tomb shaft (no. 6).

41 The identification of tomb Loret no. 6 as that of Mahu follows the suggestion by Gessler-Löhr (2007a), 76–81.

42 Youssef (2017), 43–59, pls 44–51.

43 *ʾItn-ṯḥn* was also an epithet of Amenhotep III: Johnson (1990), 38; Bickel (2002), 68.

44 Gessler-Löhr (2007a), 73, also notes that the name is reminiscent of the Theban palace, yet suggests that in this case, it refers either to the military company stationed in the north, or to the royal barque. She argues that if *ʾItn-ṯḥn* in the title of Nebansu referred to the palace, one would have expected the man's tomb to be located in Thebes rather than Memphis. Alternatively, according to Gessler-Löhr, it may suggest that Nebansu originated from Memphis and spent at least part of his career in Thebes.

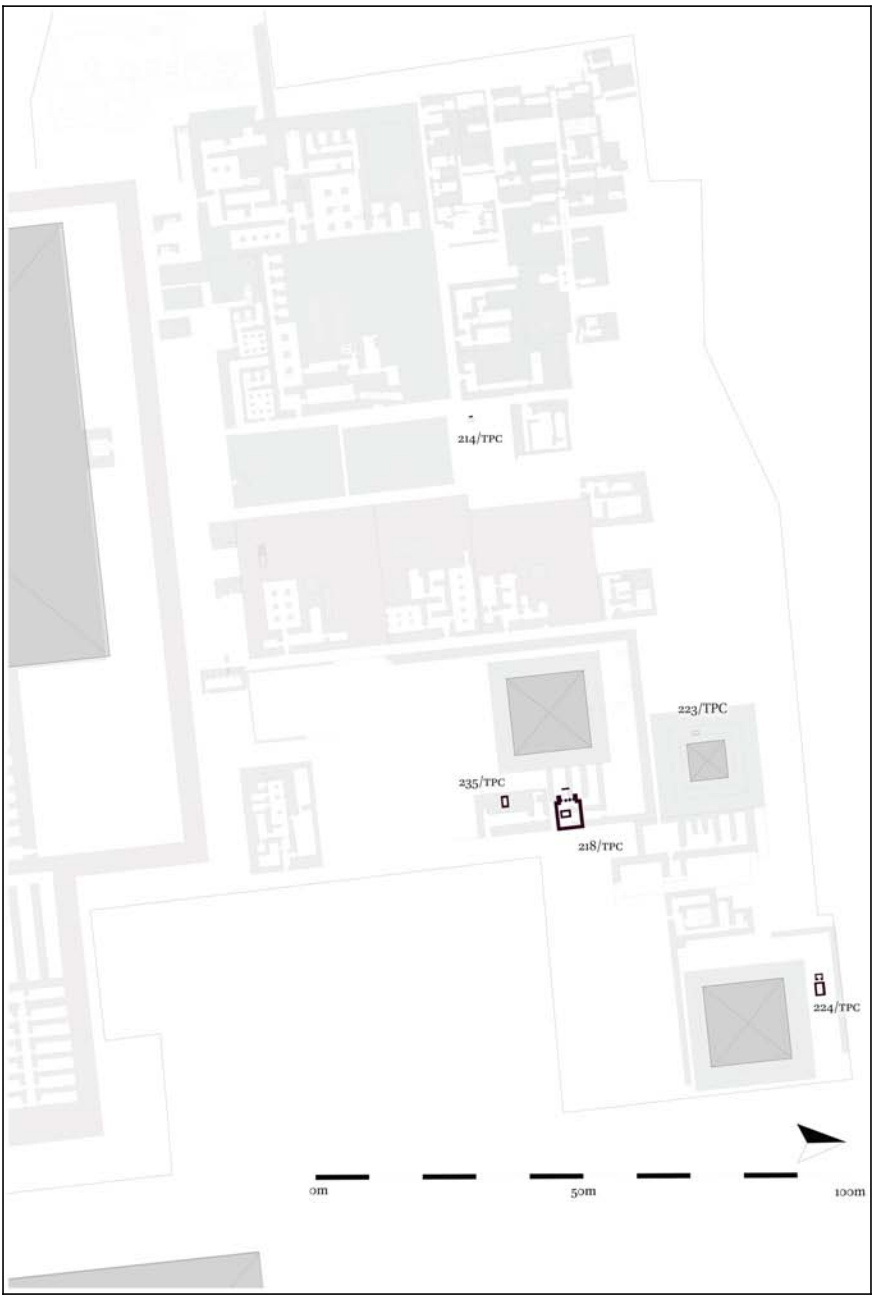


FIGURE 71 The Teti Pyramid Cemetery (north) in the late 18th Dynasty reign of Amenhotep III
IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR

TABLE 13 List of tomb owners in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, mid-late 18th Dynasty

Tomb no.	Date	Name	Titles
214/TPC	Thutmosis IV–Amenhotep III	Amenma	Guardian of the House of His Majesty
218/TPC		Mahu	Chief Guardian of the Treasury of Memphis, etc.
223/TPC	Amenhotep III, second half	Nebansu	Guardian of the 'Splendour of the Aten'
224/TPC	Amenhotep III	Neferher	?
235/TPC	Amenhotep III	Tjay	?

agement palace officials in this part of the North Saqqara plateau may perhaps suggest that the king's palace stood nearby. The Memphite palace may have had an associated settlement where palace craftsmen worked and lived, as observed in Thebes.[45] This may explain why, in the late 18th Dynasty, so many individuals involved in 'the arts' (craftsmen, goldsmiths, sculptors, etc.) built their tombs in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery. This hypothesis is explored further in Chapter 6.

Not all tomb chapels built in the reign of Amenhotep III are accessible for research today, which hampers any study of their form and architectural layout. The chapels of Amenma (124/TPC) and Mahu (218/TPC) were removed by their excavators, Lepsius and Loret, respectively. Their documentation, however summary, is still informative.

Lepsius recorded the stela of Amenma (now Berlin ÄM 7320)[46] at a level c. 1.6 m (*etwa 5 fuss*)[47] higher than the Old Kingdom stela of a man named Gemankh, situated northeast of what Lepsius initially designated as "*Grosses Psammetichgrab mit Brunnen*" (LS 10),[48] later identified as the mastaba of Teti's

45 The settlement associated with the Malkata palace at Thebes, in the media popularly referred to as the 'Lost Golden City', has recently been re-excavated in 2020–2021, see: Hawass (2021a, b).

46 Limestone, 83 × 50 × 15 cm. LD., *Text*, I, 146, 154, 156; Gessler-Löhr (2007a), 71–75, no. 4.

47 The unit of measurements in the *Denkmäler* are given in pre-1872 Prussian feet, which is problematic, because no definite Prussian standard is known. Following Cardarelli (1997), the Prussian foot measures 31.3857 cm.

48 LD, *Text*, I, 145–161.

vizier, Kagemni. The stela was found standing in "*einer aus Nilziegeln verbauten Kammer*", in other words, a chapel made of mud bricks. The shape of the stela, round-topped (h. 83 cm), suggests that the chapel had a vaulted ceiling. The stela would have stood against the chapel's west wall. Similarly shaped chapels have indeed been uncovered in the same general area of the necropolis, dating to the late 18th Dynasty.[49] Lepsius also noted a wooden, anthropoid coffin containing the mummified bodies of two individuals, one placed on top of the other, found in loose sand in front of Amenma's stela.[50] Underneath the head of the lower mummy a bronze mirror[51] and a calcite dish, shaped as a pomegranate, were placed.[52] Also loose in the sand and possibly associated with the coffin were a wooden container which included various scarabs bearing the names of Thutmosis III and Amenhotep III,[53] and a glass vessel.[54] If indeed the coffin and objects are to be associated with the chapel of Amenma, its position is remarkable. It is more common for chapels to have a burial shaft situated to its east. The shaft, usually a couple of metres deep, provided access to the subterranean burial chamber. No such shaft was noted by Lepsius, neither in the sketch map nor in the text report.

The tomb of Mahu was excavated by Victor Loret in 1898–1899, working on behalf of the Egyptian Service des Antiquités. He described this tomb as "*la plus élégante de toutes*", yet dedicated few words to this find in his report.[55] The tomb plan published by Loret, albeit not sufficiently detailed, suggests that the chapel area was divided in two, forming an inner chapel and a somewhat wider antechapel, fronted by two columns. The columns may have supported a lintel. A burial shaft is indicated east of the chapel, and the area

49 Youssef (2017); Hawass (2003).

50 Labelled *f* in the sketch of plan 1, LD, *Text*, 145 = Erbkam, *Skizzenbuch* I 102 (11/12 March 1843).

51 Berlin, Egyptian Museum ÄM 39.

52 LD, *Text*, I, 155 fig. 2 and 1, respectively (Berlin ÄM 1267).

53 LD, *Text*, I, 155 figs. 5, 7, 8 (Berlin ÄM 1935, 5097, 7991). The wooden container has no inv. no., which suggests it was left behind in Saqqara. It is noted that a headrest was found loose in the sand, also: L*D Text*, I, 155 figs. 11, 12 (Berlin ÄM 4704). Its provenance is indicated with a question mark, so it remains unknown whether it should be associated with the coffin and container.

54 LD *Text*, I, 155 fig. 3; Nolte (1971), 171 (with fig. 4), dates the vessel to Amenhotep III–Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten, and suggests it was produced in the palace area of Amenhotep III at Malkata or by the same manufacturers as those active at Amarna.

55 Loret (1899). The tomb and its individual stone-made elements are treated by Gessler-Löhr (2007a), 76–81.

is walled-off, forming a proper open forecourt, entered from the east. In the tomb, Loret found several limestone elements, which were transferred to the Cairo Egyptian Museum: a stela (Cairo JE 33256), an offering table (Cairo JE 33257), a doorjamb (Cairo JE 33259), and a relief-decorated panel (Cairo JE 33260). The stela is naos-shaped and surmounted by a torus moulding and cavetto corniche, and further topped by a lunette. The measurements of the stela are 112×73 cm, which may correspond to the height and width of the inner cult chapel.[56] The offering table likely lay in front of the stela to the east, and the doorjamb—of which there would have been two specimens—furnished the chapel doorway. These were placed perpendicular to the revetment blocks set against the chapel north and south walls. The relief-decorated block, depicting in the upper register the tomb owner and his wife as they enter the tomb while being libated, must have decorated the chapel north wall. Its pendant from the opposite south wall is missing. This single revetment block is preserved to its full height, and measures 121×45 cm. The scenes in the upper and lower register are not fully preserved on the left side, suggesting the north wall contained two limestone revetment blocks positioned side by side.

The chapel of Mahu offers the earliest material evidence for a Memphite tomb structure with mud-brick walls bearing a relief-decorated limestone revetment—so characteristic of the later 18th Dynasty and early 19th Dynasty tombs at Saqqara.[57] The chapel of Neferher (224/TPC), excavated in the mid-1990s by the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA) expedition, had the exact same disposition of stone-made elements.[58] Yet curiously, the chapel appears not to have had walls made of mud bricks.[59] The relief-decorated limestone slabs formed the chapel's north, west, and south walls.

The Teti Pyramid Cemetery may have seen more chapels built for Amenhotep III's treasury officials.[60] The Scribe of the Treasury (*sš pr-ḥḏ*), Nebneteru

56 Unless the stela was positioned atop a base, which is not unlikely. If it were placed on a raised platform, the roof would have been somewhat higher also.

57 Merymery [431] was a contemporary bearer of the title guardian of the treasury of Memphis (*sꜣw.ty pr.w-ḥḏ n.y Mn-nfr*) in the reign of Amenhotep III. He likely had a tomb chapel comparable to, and sited not far from, that of Mahu. Merymery is well-known for two relief-decorated limestone panels now held in the Leiden Museum of Antiquities (AP 6-a, 6-b). These must have decorated the south and north walls of his mud-brick chapel, which was somewhat larger than Mahu's, as the panels measure 160/161×90 cm.

58 Youssef (2017), 43–59, pls 44–51.

59 The set-up is reminiscent of certain late Old Kingdom chapels found in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery. Compare, e.g., the 6th Dynasty chapel of Mesi (*temp.* Pepi I): El-Khouli/Kanawati (1988), pl. 20.

60 There are even more candidates in addition to the ones discussed in this paragraph. One

[437], had a stela (of quartzite) comparable in shape to that of Mahu: naos-shaped, surmounted by a torus moulding and cavetto corniche, and topped by a lunette (Fig. 72).[61] The iconography is different, however. Three half-statues representing Nebneteru, his wife Merytnub (on his right), and his mother, Tiry (left), are positioned standing on a plinth just outside the naos, which represents the façade of the tomb chapel. As such, the three individuals are seen leaving the tomb during the day in order to receive offerings. Interestingly, the stela of Nebneteru has one direct parallel, namely the quartzite stela made for the Chief royal sculptor (*ḥr.y sˁnḫ.w*), Bak, who was the son of the Chief royal sculptor, Men. Bak spent a significant part of his working career in Akhetaten, where there was galore for sculptors.[62] His stela, now held in the Berlin Egyptian Museum, is of unknown provenance. Information regarding the genealogical and professional backgrounds of the two sculptors suggests that they may have had a tomb in the Memphite necropolis.[63] First, the mother of Bak, Ry, came from Heliopolis. Second, his father, Men, was involved in the making of the colossal seated statues of Amenhotep III, destined for the king's Theban temple of Millions of Years. These so-called 'Memnon colossi' are made of quartzite quarried at Gebel Ahmar near present-day Heliopolis. As will become clear in the next section, the Teti Pyramid Cemetery was the place of choice for burials of those involved in 'the arts'.

Nebneteru, Men, and Bak, probably worked under the supervision of Amenhotep Huy (141/USC), the chief steward in Memphis and overseer of works on the Memphite temple of Millions of Years of Amenhotep III.[64] Amenhotep Huy was also in charge of work in the stone quarries, as suggested by his title Overseer of the desert areas in the entire land (*ỉm.y-r ḫȝs.wt m tȝ r ḏr=f*). The possible relationships between the individuals buried in the two cemeteries of the North Saqqara plateau are touched upon further in the next chapter.

of them would have been the Overseer of the treasury Sapair [467], known from a now-lost epigraphic document which derived from his now-lost tomb at Saqqara. See: Staring (2021), 39–40; Málek (1989).

61 Leiden AM 8-b, ex-coll. G. d'Anastasi, 1828. Measurements: 102×63.5 cm. Staring (2021a), 28; Giovetti/Picchi (2015), cat. v.32.

62 Berlin ÄM 31009. See e.g., Krauss (1986).

63 Staring (2021a), 28.

64 Staring (2021a), 27–28.



FIGURE 72 The round-topped stela of Nebneteru [437], late 18th Dynasty, *temp.* Amenhotep III, Leiden AM 8-b
PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF THE RIJKSMUSEUM VAN OUDHEDEN, LEIDEN

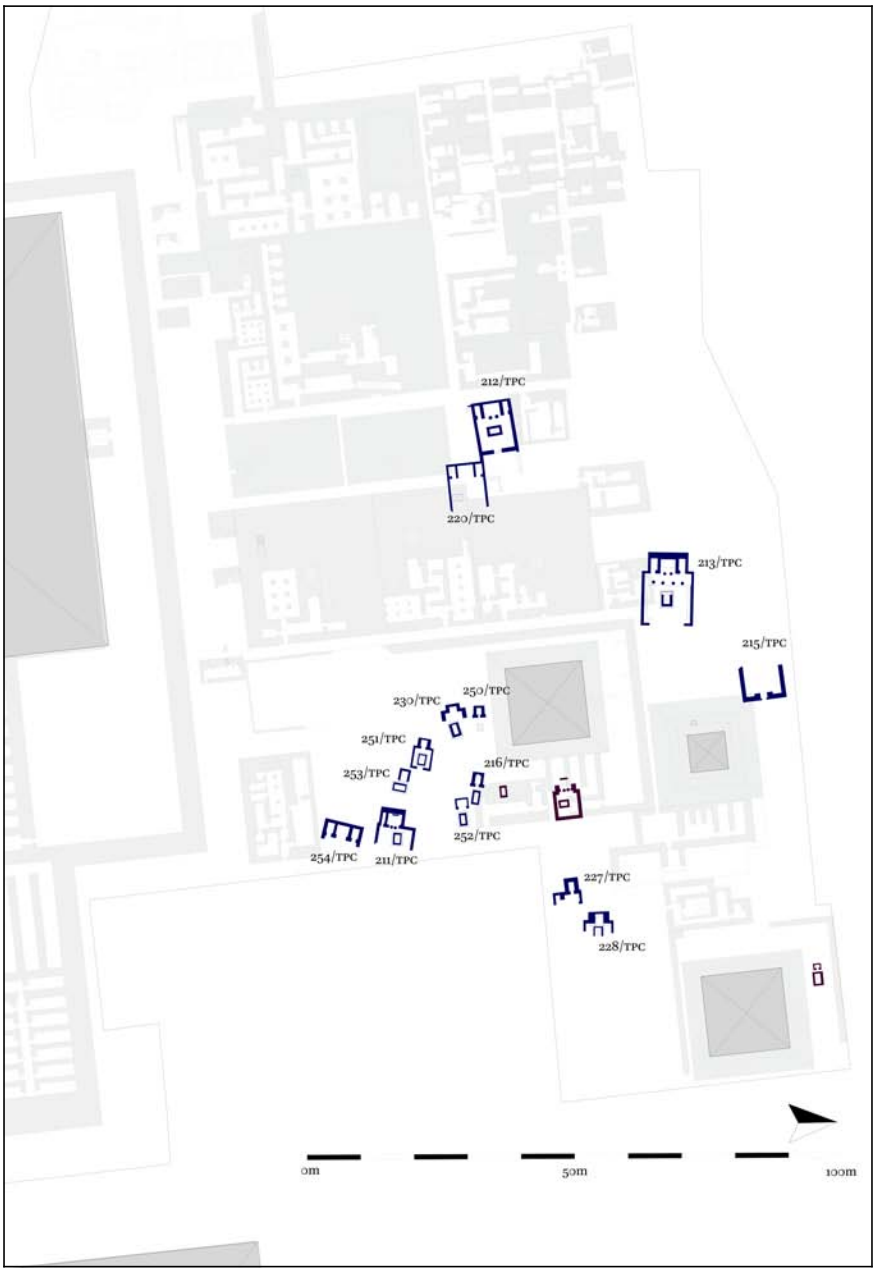


FIGURE 73 The Teti Pyramid Cemetery (north) in the late 18th Dynasty, Amarna and immediate post-Amarna period, *temp.* Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten–Tutankhamun
IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR

TABLE 14 List of tomb owners in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, late 18th Dynasty, Amarna and post-Amarna period

Tomb no.	Date	Name	Titles
211/TPC	Tutankhamun	Ipy	Overseer of Honey Production of the Temple of Amun
212/TPC	Tutankhamun	Ipuia	Overseer of Craftsmen, Chief of Goldsmiths of the King
213/TPC	Tutankhamun	Amenemone	Overseer of Craftsmen of the King, Chief of Goldsmiths of the King
215/TPC	Tutankhamun	Penamun	Royal scribe, Overseer of craftsmen
216/TPC	Tutankhamun	Pakharu	Chief of Goldworkers
220/TPC	Tutankhamun	Merya (Meryhor)	Merchant
227/TPC	Tutankhamun–Horemheb (?)	Hatiay	Maker / Chief of Makers of Lapis Lazuli
228/TPC	Tutankhamun	Hatiay	Chief of Craftsmen of Ptah
230/TPC	Akhenaten, late–Tutankhamun, early	Huy	Head of Merchants of the Temple of the Aten, etc.
250/TPC	Tutankhamun (?)	*NN*	?
251/TPC	Tutankhamun (?)	*NN*	?
252/TPC	Tutankhamun (?)	*NN*	?
253/TPC	Tutankhamun (?)	*NN*	?
254/TPC	Tutankhamun (?)	*NN*	?

5.8 Late 18th Dynasty: Amarna and Post-Amarna Period

During and immediately after the Amarna period, the Teti Pyramid Cemetery became increasingly crowded with individuals engaged in 'the arts' (Fig. 73; Table 14). They include, among others, overseers (*ỉm.y-r*) of craftsmen (*ḥmw.w*) and chiefs (*ḥr.y*) of gold workers (*nby.w*). The officials were affiliated with workshops serving the crown (*nb tꜣ.wy*) and the local temples of the Aten (*pr ỉtn, ḥw.t pꜣ ỉtn*) and Ptah (*pr Ptḥ*).[65]

65 In reality, the crown and the temple were two sides of the same coin, which made that, in effect, all artists in some way or another operated under the charge of the king.

A number of the earliest datable tomb chapels in this area of the necropolis were excavated in the 1990s by Egypt's SCA under the direction of Saqqara's respective Chief Inspectors Holeil Ghaly and Zahi Hawass.[66] These excavations were resumed in 2020.[67] The New Kingdom finds in this area are the subject of the PhD thesis by Mohammad M. Youssef, which is as yet unpublished.[68] This material promises to shed much new light on the architectural development of tombs at Saqqara, and the continuously changing use of space in the cemetery.

The cluster of anonymous, modest chapels made of mud bricks (250–254/TPC), located directly south of the tomb of Mahu (218/TPC), is tentatively dated to the reign of Tutankhamun.[69] One of the tombs in that cluster, 230/TPC, dates very early in the reign of that king, and may have been started in the late Amarna period. It was built for Huy, head of merchants of the temple of the Aten (*ḥr.y šw.tyw n.w t; ḥw.t p; ỉtn*). Auguste Mariette first recorded the stela of Huy in April 1860.[70] In the 1990s, the SCA expedition re-discovered the mud-brick chapel from which the stela had been taken 130 years before. The structure also included two inscribed door jambs and two relief-decorated slabs of limestone.[71] The latter decorated the chapel's north and south walls. As for the date, the orthography of the Aten's name, inscribed on the right-hand jamb of the stela, points to year 9 of Akhenaten, or later.[72]

Two more chapels in this closely-knit section of the cemetery date to the reign of Tutankhamun. Ipy (211/TPC) was an overseer of honey production of the temple of Amun (*ḥr.y bỉ.tyw n.y pr ỉmn*), and Pakharu (216/TPC) a chief of gold workers (*ḥr.y nby.w*). The latter chapel was found replete with its cult

66 See e.g. Hawass (2003), 154–155.

67 Hawass et al. (2021); press report: 'Egypt to announce huge archaeological discovery in Luxor this March: Zahi Hawass', in: Daily News Egypt, 28.02.2021 https://dailynewsegypt.com/2021/02/28/egypt-to-announce-huge-archaeological-discovery-in-luxor-this-march-zahi-hawas/, last accessed on 17.12.2021. The press report includes the photograph of the stela of Khaptah (349/TPC), chief of guardians of the king's chariots (*ḥr.y s;w.ty wrr.yt n.y nb t;.wy*). On stylistic grounds, the stela can be dated to the post-Amarna period, *temp*. Tutankhamun.

68 Youssef (2017). I am grateful to Mohammad Youssef for sharing his thesis with me, and for allowing me to cite from it. Four stelae discussed in his thesis are now published, see: Youssef (2021); (2020).

69 It is possible that, upon closer study of the material, some of these chapels may prove to be slightly earlier in date.

70 Cairo, Egyptian Museum Cairo JE 10174 = CG 34182.

71 Pasquali (2017), 269; Youssef (2017), 83–105, pls 56–64; Ockinga/Binder (2013), 506–509; Lacau (1909–1916), 222–224, pl. 69; Mariette (1872), 18, pl. 56b.

72 Cf. Raven/Van Walsem (2014), 50.

stela.[73] The stela not only mentions Pakharu and his wife, the Lady of the House (*nb.t pr*), Amenemopet, but also a man named Pakana, and his wife Maia. In the lower register of the stela, the mummy of Pakana, standing upright, is the recipient of offerings and rituals performed by an anonymous individual. It is unclear what the relationship between Pakana and Pakharu might have been. The chapel of Pakharu had been accessible in the time of Lepsius's expedition, in 1843, because in his *Denkmäler* he makes note of Pakharu's stela in the antiquities dealership Youssef Massara in Cairo.[74] Since the interior space of the chapel offers room for only one stela, it is possible that the specimen seen by Lepsius was in fact part a doorjamb or revetment block, not a stela.

The catalogue at the end of this study lists a number of contemporary 'lost' tombs that might be sited in this area of the necropolis. These include, for example, Ptahmay (309/TPC), head of makers of gold foil of the temple of Aten (*ḥr.y ỉr.w nbw pȝḳ n.y pr ʾItn*),[75] and Khaemwaset (334/TPC), chief of wood workers/carpenters of the king (*ḥr.y mḏḥ.w nsw*).[76] It has long been thought that their tombs were located in a now-lost New Kingdom cemetery at Giza, further to the north.[77] The suggestion was made at a time when practically nothing was known about the structure of the Saqqara New Kingdom necropolis. Taking into account what we now know about the diachronic development of the cemetery, and the social-demographic make-up of its deceased inhabitants, it is much more likely that these individuals made their chapels in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, sited amongst their peers.

All these modest sized chapels are located in the area south and southeast of the pyramid of 6th Dynasty queen Khuit, still partly visible in the New Kingdom. The larger tombs built in the reign of Tutankhamun are located to the north of the pyramids of Iput and Khuit. These include the monuments built for Ipuia (212/TPC) and Amenemone (213/TPC), who both held office as overseer of craftsmen (of the king) (*ỉm.y-r ḥmw.w n.y nb tȝ.wy*) and chief of goldsmiths of the king (*ḥr.y nbw.w n.y nb tȝ.wy*). The latter official is also attested in the tomb of Maya (028/USC),[78] who, as overseer of works and overseer of the treasury, acted as his superior in office. There might possibly be more cases of professional affiliation between an official buried in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery and his superior in rank buried in the Unas South Cemetery. Userhat Hatiay [493]

73 Youssef (2017), pls 110–113.

74 LD, *Text*, I, 17.

75 Zivie (1975).

76 Zivie-Coche (1976).

77 For a detailed discussion of the leads and arguments, see Staring (2021a), 37–43.

78 LD III, 241b; Ockinga (2004), 19–20; Berlandini-Grenier (1976), 312.

represents one such example. He held office as chief sculptor of the king (*ḥr.y tȝy-mḏȝ.t n.y nb tȝ.wy*), and in that capacity worked on a number of high-profile construction projects throughout Egypt. The sites of his documented activities include the capital-under-construction, Akhetaten (Tell el-Amarna), and the Valley of the Kings in Thebes. He may also have been responsible for making the relief-decoration in the tomb of Maya,[79] who was his superior for whom he worked at the various sites across the kingdom.[80] The brother of Userhat Hatiay, named Sa (350/TPC), who held the same title, chief sculptor of the king, had a tomb chapel in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery. In 1862, Auguste Mariette recorded Sa's stela along with three fragments of a door jamb.[81] Mariette also recorded the find of a wooden socle of a statue, inscribed for a man named Userhat, who bore the title 'one with access to the Lords of Thinis/Abydos' (*ʿḳ(.w) n nb.w Tȝ-wr*).[82] The combination of the title and name strongly suggest that this man is to be identified as Userhat-Hatiay, who may have had a tomb in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, likely close to that of his brother, Sa.

Two more chapels built in the reign of Tutankhamun are situated at a short distance from the closely-knit cluster of chapels, east of the tomb of Mahu (218/TPC). Both tombs were excavated by the SCA expedition in the 1990s. The titles held by their owners link them to the individuals buried further to the southwest. Tomb 227/TPC was built for Hatiay, chief of makers of lapis lazuli (*ḥr.y ỉr.w ḫsbḏ*), and 228/TPC belongs to the Chief of Craftsmen of Ptah (*ḥr.y ḥmw.w n.y Ptḥ*), Hatiay. The two tombs are situated immediately north of the area hitherto unexcavated. It suggests that more tombs built for contemporary officials who were professionally affiliated with the arts can be expected in the area along the later perimeter walls of the Anubieion.

The three 'late 18th Dynasty' tombs (Table 14) located north of Amenemone (213/TPC) may in fact date to the reign of Tutankhamun. These tombs, excavated by the Macquarie University expedition, were thoroughly dismantled in the (ancient) past. Not much more than the foundations and lowest courses of the walls' mud bricks were preserved, and it is unknown who their owners were. The size and lay-out of tombs 243/TPC and 244/TPC are comparable to 213/TPC (Amenemone), which hints at them being roughly contemporary.

79 He is depicted and named in the tomb of Maya: LD III, pl. 242b (scene now lost).

80 For an overview, also with references to previous publications on the topic, see Staring (forthcoming).

81 Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 21772 and JE 18927. See Pasquali (2017), 571–572; Gaballa (1979).

82 Compare the epithet to those attested for him on the stela and door frame now held in Leiden, National Museum of Antiquities AP 12 and AP 14: Willems (1998).



FIGURE 74 The Teti Pyramid Cemetery (north) in the late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Tutankhamun–Horemheb
IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR

TABLE 15 List of tomb owners in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Tutankhamun–Horemheb

Tomb no.	Date	Name	Titles
210/TPC	Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. (Tutamkhamun–)Horemheb	Ahmose	Scribe of the Army of the King
219/TPC	Late 18th/early 19th Dynasty	Mernakht	?
229/TPC	(Tutankhamun–) Horemheb	Huy	Scribe of the Army of the King, etc.
242/TPC	Late 18th Dynasty	*NN*	?
243/TPC	Late 18th Dynasty	*NN*	?
244/TPC	Late 18th Dynasty	*NN*	?

The late 18th Dynasty after the reign of Tutankhamun is not widely represented in the archaeological record (Fig. 74; Table 15). Three tombs can be (partly?) dated to the reign of Horemheb.

The tomb of Ahmose (210/TPC), a scribe of the king's army (*sš mšʿ n.y nb tȝ.wy*) is situated immediately west of the closely-knit cemetery of modest chapels dated to the (post-)Amarna period. Its architecture differs significantly from the tombs built until that point in time. It is built on an elevated platform, which is accessed by an ascending ramp.[83] The western extent of the rectangular courtyard is built on a thick deposit of sand and rubble which filled the 'street' between the west perimeter wall of the complex of Khuit's pyramid, and the east wall of the mastaba of Neferseshemre.[84] The tomb was first recorded by Victor Loret, 1898–1899 (tomb Loret no. 1), and was further excavated and documented by the SCA expedition led by Zahi Hawass.

The tomb of Mernakht (219/TPC) was recorded by Quibell (tomb S 2720), who excavated the area immediately west of Loret's former concession area in 1912–1914. The tomb lies directly west of Ahmose's. Its entrance in the east was apparently not seen by Quibell—it was at least not drawn on the map. Part of the eastern façade may have almost touched on the west wall of Ahmose. The chapel still contained stone revetment bearing relief decoration. Quibell

83 Youssef (2017), 269–275, pls 150–154; Hawass (2000), fig. 8; Loret (1899), 11. Various relief-decorated blocks were found *in situ* by the SCA expedition. The ascending ramp was first noted in the tomb of Ipay, the royal butler and steward of Tutankhamun, who built his tomb, measuring c. c. 50 m in length, at Dahshur North (see Section 3.8.3).

84 For the mastaba, see: Kanawati et al. (1998).

noted that these included the "feet of figures dressed in XVIIIth and XIXth dynasty style". Moreover, a doorpost (*in situ*?) and another "big block" (found loose) contained an inscription which according to the excavator mentioned the name of the tomb owner, Mernakht, not associated with any titles. Quibell only noted that four loose blocks were found here, including "a pleasant picture of a goat about to browse on a bush". The relief has not been illustrated with a photograph or drawing, and it is not known where the blocks, of "no great importance", are at present. Another interesting observation is that the blocks apparently included modern notes in Arabic, which points to the fact that this structure, and possibly numerous others in the same general area of the cemetery, had been unearthed before Quibell, as he himself suggests. The possibility of earlier diggers involved in the excavation of this tomb leads Quibell to doubt whether the limestone statue of a crocodile (representing the god Sobek; 1.12 m in length) found there originally belonged to this structure. It bore a hieroglyphic inscription mentioning the Chief of Bowmen (*ḥr.y-pḏ.t*), Amenemwia.

The tomb of Huy (229/TPC), like Ahmose, scribe of the king's army (*sš mšʿ n.y nb tȝ.wy*), was partly built on the deposit covering the Old Kingdom mastabas of Nedjetempet and Ptahshepses, north of the tomb of Ipuia (212/TPC). Like its neighbour, the tomb of Huy is no longer extant. It was removed in order to access the Old Kingdom levels below.[85] Another complicating factor in reviewing the structure, is that parts of it were recorded by various expedition in the past. The tomb has not been published in its entirety. Lepsius was the first to make record of (part of) the tomb (LS 12), and published a relief block found at the site.[86] Quibell further excavated the tomb in 1912–1914 (tomb S 2735), and published an incomplete plan, suggesting he saw only part of the tomb.[87] He also found additional relief-decorated blocks. In 1986, the Egyptian expedition led by Mahmud Abd el-Raziq recorded part of what was probably the western extent of the tomb, including the second courtyard and tripartite chapel.[88] The

85 Photographs of the excavation in progress, taken by Mahmud Abd el-Raziq, now held at the Saqqara inspectorate, and were incorporated in the thesis of Mohammad M. Youssef (2017), pls 100–109. Additional photographs of the excavation led by Ali el-Khouli and Ali Hassan were taken by Elizabeth Thompson in 1994, now held at the Australian Centre for Egyptology, Macquarie University, Sydney (shown to me by Boyo Ockinga).

86 LD, *Text*, I, 161. The block is now held in the Berlin Egyptian Museum, ÄM 2087. See the study by Wenig (1974).

87 Quibell/Hayter (1927), 20–21, pl. 2.

88 Abd el-Raziq/Krekeler (1986), fig. 1. The chapel area is visible in the unpublished photographs of Abd el-Raziq. The New Kingdom tomb shaft cut through the superstructure of Hesi, labelled on the plan of Abd el-Raziq and Krekeler as 'Huy-a?', cannot be part of Huy's tomb. It lies too far west, and thus goes with another, yet anonymous tomb (267/TPC).

eastern part of the tomb was excavated in 1994–1995 by the Egyptian expedition led by Ali el-Khouli and Ali Hassan. The Old Kingdom mastaba of Nedjetempet, lying partly under the forecourt of Huy, was later published by Naguib Kanawati.[89] The area east and north of the tomb were subsequently excavated by the Australian expedition of Macquarie University. Thus, more blocks deriving from Huy's tomb were found in 1994–1995, published in preliminary form by Boyo Ockinga.[90]

The plan of Huy's tomb in figure 74 attempts to include all scattered information about the tomb.[91] The architectural lay-out of the tomb displays similarities to Ahmose (210/TPC), who was also an army scribe in the late 18th Dynasty. Most notably, a ramp with a low balustrade gives access to the entrance doorway of the courtyard.

5.9 Ramesside Period

The development of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery after the 18th Dynasty is reviewed in one section as the number of archaeologically attested tombs dated to the 19th and 20th Dynasties is comparatively low. At this time, the spaces available between the extant late 18th Dynasty chapels are further filled by constructing new tombs and digging new pit burials. At the same time, the cemetery appears to have grown laterally to the north, west and south. It was noted in Section 5.4 that the 19th Dynasty tomb of Meryre (221/TPC) was recorded by Lepsius c. 300 m northwest of the mastaba tomb of Kagemni. It is unlikely that it stood there in isolation. A number of the now-lost Ramesside tombs listed in the catalogue may have stood in this northern section of the cemetery. A glimpse of the Ramesside cemetery can be caught from the Teti pyramid temple area, indicating that the whole area between the pyramids of Teti and Menkauhor had been used for building tombs by that time.

5.9.1 *Cluster North of the Pyramid of Teti*

The former 18th Dynasty cemetery north of the pyramid of Teti continued to be used for constructing tombs in the Ramesside period (Figs 75–76; Table 16). The later additions are all situated towards the edges of the area excavated to date, suggesting that the cemetery expanded laterally.

89 Kanawati/Hassan (1996).

90 Ockinga (2012), 374–377, figs 1–3; (2004), 110, pls 37b, 81g.

91 Note that no tomb shaft is indicated; it has not been mentioned by any of its excavators.

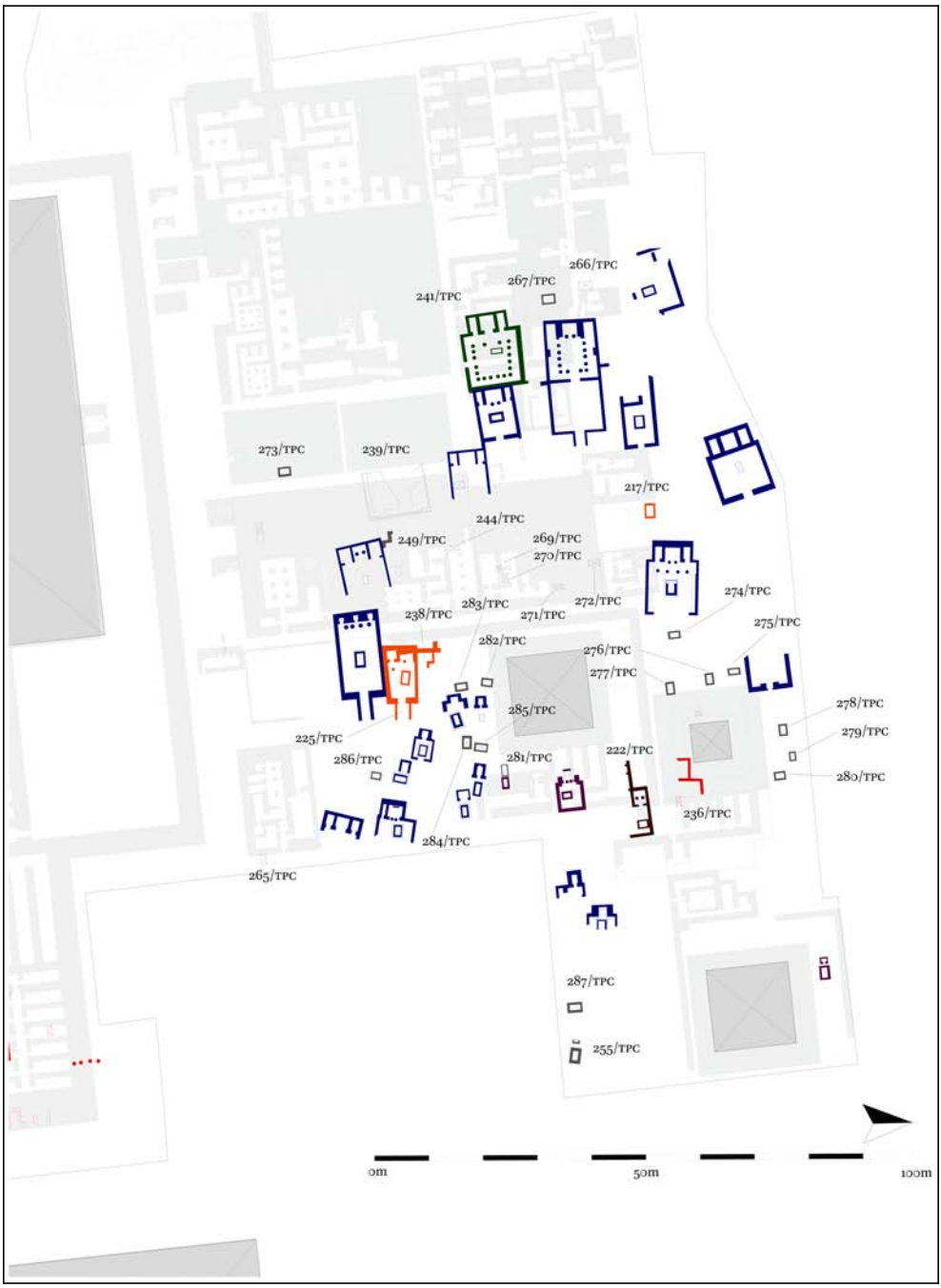


FIGURE 75 The Teti Pyramid Cemetery (north) at the end of the New Kingdom
IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR



FIGURE 76 A view of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery (north)
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR, 2019, REPRODUCED WITH KIND PERMISSION BY MOHAMMAD M. YOUSSEF/MINISTRY OF TOURISM AND ANTIQUITIES, SAQQARA

TABLE 16 List of tomb owners in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, north, Ramesside period

Tomb no.	Date	Name	Titles
217/TPC	Early 19th Dynasty	Ptahmay	*Wab* Priest of the *Heret* of the Lord of Truth, etc.
222/TPC	19th Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II, late	Mose	Scribe of the Treasury of Ptah, etc.
225/TPC	19th Dynasty, early	Neferrenpet	?
236/TPC	19th Dynasty, first half	Tjay	Scribe of the Store-room
238/TPC	19th Dynasty, early	Djehutyemheb	Royal Scribe, etc.
239/TPC	New Kingdom	*NN*	?
241/TPC	New Kingdom	*NN*	?
249/TPC	New Kingdom	*NN*	?
265/TPC	New Kingdom	*NN*	?
266/TPC	New Kingdom	*NN*	?
267/TPC	New Kingdom	*NN*	?

TABLE 16 List of tomb owners in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery (*cont.*)

Tomb no.	Date	Name	Titles
269/TPC	New Kingdom	*NN*	?
270/TPC	New Kingdom	*NN*	?
271/TPC	New Kingdom	*NN*	?
272/TPC	New Kingdom	*NN*	?
273/TPC	New Kingdom	*NN*	?
274/TPC	New Kingdom	*NN*	?
275/TPC	New Kingdom	*NN*	?
276/TPC	New Kingdom	*NN*	?
277/TPC	New Kingdom	*NN*	?
278/TPC	New Kingdom	*NN*	?
279/TPC	New Kingdom	*NN*	?
280/TPC	New Kingdom	*NN*	?
281/TPC	New Kingdom	*NN*	?
282/TPC	New Kingdom	*NN*	?
283/TPC	New Kingdom	*NN*	?
284/TPC	New Kingdom	*NN*	?
285/TPC	New Kingdom	*NN*	?
286/TPC	New Kingdom	*NN*	?
287/TPC	New Kingdom	*NN*	?

Amongst Egyptologists, the tomb of Mose (222/TPC), scribe of the treasury of Ptah (*sš pr–ḥḏ n.y Ptḥ*), is best known because of its lengthy legal text, carved on one of its tomb walls.[92] The structure was first recorded in 1898–1899 by Loret (tomb no. 5). The tomb plan he published is rather puzzling, and perhaps suggests that extant mud-brick walls of multiple tombs were mixed up and integrated into the plan of Mose. It is also clear that Loret did not draw the complete structure, because the tomb elements now held in the Cairo Egyptian Museum and elsewhere do not fit in the spaces indicated. Thus, it is likely that the southern half of the tomb structure is missing from the drawing.[93] This is

92 Gaballa (1977a).

93 Multiple reconstructions of the tomb have been proposed: Gaballa (1977a), pl. 1; Málek (1981), fig. 2; Pieke (2016), fig. 7. None of these plans are realistic, however. Most importantly, the authors make the tomb too large, and as a result the reconstructions do not fit in the actual space available to the south, towards the extant late 18th Dynasty tomb of Mahu (218/TPC).

perhaps the result of earlier digging activity. Note for example, that in 1862, Sir Charles Nicholson (1808–1903) acquired seven *djed* pillar fragments from the tomb, which he subsequently took with him to Sydney, Australia.[94] The tomb was relocated in the 1990s by the SCA expedition led by Hawass, and eleven additional relief-decorated blocks were found.[95] Mose may have been a relative of Tatia (056/USC), a chief of goldsmiths of Ptah and priest of the front of Ptah.[96]

Directly north of the tomb of Mose stood the tomb of Tjay (236/TPC), scribe of the store-room (*sš n.y ꜥ.t ḥnḳ.t*), also recorded by Loret (tomb no. 4). The plan of the tomb published by Loret is incomplete. The structure did contain a stela, which was taken to the Cairo Egyptian Museum.[97] The object can be dated to the 19th Dynasty.

On the southern extent of the cemetery, two tombs were built against the exterior north wall of the late 18th Dynasty structure of Ahmose (210/TPC). The tomb of Neferrenpet (225/TPC) represents a smaller version of the former. It was also built on a raised platform and is accessed by a ramp with balustrade. Probably not long after, the tomb of Djehutyemheb (238/TPC) was built against the north wall of Neferrenpet. Djehutyemheb was a royal scribe (*sš nsw*).

Further to the north are the remains of three anonymous structures that were incompletely excavated. 249/TPC was built against the north exterior wall of Mernakht (219/TPC). In 1912–1914, Quibell recorded the remains of a mud-brick structure, which appear to include the south half of a chapel and antechapel.[98] This structure should probably be associated with the rectangular tomb shaft no. 71 recorded by Loret in 1998–1999.[99]

239/TPC was also recorded by Quibell in 1912–1914. He saw nothing more than what must be interpreted as the mud floor of a courtyard, with scanty

94 Sydney, Chau Chak Wing Museum, The University of Sydney (Nicholson Collection) NMR 1131–1133; 1134.1, 4; 1135, 1137 (formerly the Nicholson Museum of the University of Sydney). Sowada (2006), 1–13; Nicholson (1891), 93–112, pls 1–4. Nicholson visited Egypt again in 1862. At that visit, he bought antiquities from Hanna Massara, a dragoman for the British Consulate who ran an antiquities dealership in Cairo. Hanna Massara was a relative of Youssef Massara, perhaps his brother; see Málek (1986).

95 Hawass (2003), 154–155. The results of the excavation are yet to be published; perhaps the new finds allow for a more accurate reconstruction of the tomb's superstructure. Note that more elements entered public and private collections in the time between the excavations of Loret and Hawass: see catalogue entries.

96 Oeters (2017); (2012).

97 Assem (2012b); Gessler-Löhr (2007a), 74, pl. 9.

98 Quibell/Hayter (1927), pl. 2.

99 Loret (1899), pl. 1.

remains of the mud-brick walls. It stood in the area between 219/TPC and 249/TPC, and Merya (220/TPC). The presence of 249/TPC indicates that the missing part of 239/TPC lay to the west, which is where the chapels are to be expected. This is in the area later, in the early 1920s, excavated by Cecil Mallaby Firth (1878–1931) who, like Quibell, worked on behalf of the Egyptian antiquities service.[100] There, he found the badly preserved remains of the Old Kingdom 'Mastaba A'. No remains of New Kingdom date that could possibly linked to 239/TPC were recorded in this area.[101]

The anonymous tomb 241/TPC is situated directly west of Ipuia (212/TPC) and Amenma (214/TPC), largely built over the area covered by the Old Kingdom tomb of Ptahshepses. The mud brick walls lined with limestone blocks on their interior were first noted by Lepsius, in 1843, who describes it as a "*Stein Grabkammer*".[102] The tomb was numbered LS 11, but not further excavated. Lepsius observed that the tomb stood at a slightly higher elevation than the stela of Amenma, which may suggest that 241/TPC stood on a raised platform, as observed with the tombs of Huy (229/TPC), Ahmose (210/TPC), and Neferrenpet (225/TPC). Quibell later recorded additional walls of the tomb as well as pillars bases.[103] One of the shafts recorded by Abd el-Raziq in 1986 can probably be associated with 241/TPC.[104] Perhaps most interestingly about this tomb is the fact that it cannot have been accessed from the east. In the reconstruction in figure 75, the entrance has been tentatively situated in the south wall.[105] The position selected for the tomb may be indicative of the fact that the cemetery in this area had already become rather crowded. Similar deviating orientations of tomb entrances have also been observed in the Unas South Cemetery during the 20th Dynasty (see Section 4.13).

The open space at the centre of the cemetery is noteworthy. One wonders whether the apparent absence of tombs reflects the actual situation in the New Kingdom, or whether this is the result of variations in the preservation

100 Firth/Gunn (1926), II, pl. 51.

101 The tomb shaft no. 109 in Firth/Gunn (1926), II, pl. 51, is situated below what is the centre of the New Kingdom floor. However, the publication makes no mention of any possible link between the two features, and the shaft's shape (square) is not indicative of a New Kingdom date (such shafts are usually rectangular).

102 LD, *Text*, I, 145, 161.

103 Quibell/Hayter (1927), II, pl. 2.

104 Shaft SPP-a: Abd el-Raziq/Krekeler (1986), fig. 1. Note that the excavators also recorded a mud brick stamped with the *prenomen* of King Seti I along with early 19th Dynasty pottery (Id., 219, pl. 31b) in one of the nearby shafts (PB-b).

105 Following Kitchen (1979), fig. on p. 283.

of tombs throughout the cemetery. The tomb shafts across the centre of the open space, excavated by Loret (268/TPC–272/TPC) may be suggestive of the latter scenario. Nothing of their above-ground structures had been preserved *in situ*. The same goes for shaft 217/TPC, excavated in 2008 by the Macquarie University expedition, which Boyo Ockinga tentatively links to loose tomb fragments found in the vicinity, and a statue group now held in the Berlin Egyptian Museum (ÄM 2297), made for the early 19th Dynasty *Wab* Priest of the *Heret* of the Lord of Truth (i.e. Ptah) (*wʿb ḥr.t n.yt nb mȝʿ.t*), Ptahmay (217/TPC). The tomb's superstructure had been completely dismantled, possibly in antiquity. Some stone elements of tombs located in this area were found reused in the Serapeum, c. 1km to the west. This happened, for example, with the relief-decorated block from the tomb of Amenemone (213/TPC) bearing the representation of King Menkauhor (Louvre B48; see Fig. 7).[106] The thoroughness of the despoliation of the tomb in this area, where in some cases even the upper 3m of blocks that formed the walls of the tomb shafts were removed, has been connected to the redevelopment of the Serapeum and its stone-paved processional way in the 4th century BCE (reigns of kings Nectanebo I and II).[107] The later amplification of the Serapeum sacred landscape in the Ptolemaic period, with its monumental infrastructure, may have contributed further to the dismantling of extant tomb structures, all quarried for their stone building material.

5.9.2 *Cluster between the Pyramids of Teti and Menkauhor*

The remains of New Kingdom tombs east of the pyramid of Teti were found in conjunction with the excavation of the king's temple, which occupies much of the space towards the neighbouring (and earlier) pyramid of Menkauhor to the east (Fig. 77–79; Table 17). The earliest documented explorations of the pyramid, by John Perring (1813–1869) in 1839[108] and Lepsius's expedition in 1843, were rather superficial and did not engage much with the area east of the pyramid. The first archaeological exploration of this area can be credited to Gaston Maspero (1846–1916), in his capacity of Director General of the Egyptian Antiquities Service. Maspero previously worked at the site of the pyramid of Unas, where he found the king's burial chamber with its walls covered in Pyramid Texts. He subsequently instructed the Italian Alexandre Barsanti (1858–1917) to clear the area east of the pyramid of Unas, where he uncovered the asso-

106 PM III/2, 820; Ockinga (2004), 73–74.
107 Ockinga (2011), 137–138.
108 Perring (1842), pl. 7.



FIGURE 77 A view of the pyramid and temple of Teti, facing south
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR, 2017

ciated temple. Maspero suspected the pyramid temple of Teti should still be hidden under the sand also. Thus, he ordered Barsanti to excavate this area and locate the pyramid temple.[109] The excavations also yielded New Kingdom material, including the large, naos-shaped stela of Meryptah (late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III), found in the area of the cult chapel, pointing to the deified king's cult at the time of the late 18th Dynasty reign of Amenhotep III.[110]

In April 1905, Quibell arrived at Saqqara as chief inspector of antiquities and continued Barsanti's work in this area.[111] He started his exploration of the site near the edge of the plateau, east of the pyramid, so as to make sure that no archaeological remains of importance would later be covered by the detritus of the planned large-scale excavation of the pyramid temple. His excavations recorded the remains of various superstructures, shafts, and simpler burials of New Kingdom date, all located immediately east of the pyramid of Teti, on a deposit covering the satellite pyramid (which Quibell refers to as the "Nefer-

109 For a concise summary of archaeological work on the site, see: Lauer/Leclant (1972), 1–7.
110 Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 34188: Barsanti (1914); Lacau (1909–1916), pl. 71.
111 Quibell (1908); (1907).



FIGURE 78 The Teti Pyramid Cemetery (south) in the Ramesside period
IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR



FIGURE 79 The Teti Pyramid Cemetery at the end of the New Kingdom
IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR

TABLE 17 List of tomb owners in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, between the pyramids of Teti and Menkauhor, Ramesside period

Tomb no.	Date	Name	Titles
208	Early 19th Dynasty, *temp.* Seti I–Ramesses II	Akhpet	Overseer of embalmers, etc.
232	20th Dynasty	Hekamaatrene-heh	Royal butler of the king
234	Ramesside	Qenherkhepshef	(Royal) butler
245	Ramesside	*NN*	?
246	Ramesside	*NN*	?
247	Ramesside	*NN*	?
248	Ramesside	*NN*	?
256	Ramesside	*NN*	?
257	Ramesside	*NN*	?
258	Ramesside	*NN*	?
259	Ramesside	*NN*	?
260	Ramesside	*NN*	?
261	Ramesside	*NN*	?
262	Ramesside	*NN*	?
263	Ramesside	*NN*	?
264	New Kingdom	*NN*	?
504	Ramesside	*NN*	?
505	Ramesside	*NN*	?
506	Ramesside	*NN*	?
507	Ramesside (Ramesses II?)	Paser	?
508	Ramesside	*NN*	?
509	Ramesside	*NN*	?

kare pyramid") and inner temple area. One of the chapels was built for a royal butler (*wbꜣ*), named Qenherkhepshef (234/TPC), identified by the lower fragment of a stela.[112] The information about the tomb's superstructure is given as follows:

> In front of it were the bases of several pillars in two rows and before these, on the same level, a large stone-lined shaft, the mouth of which had only

112 Quibell (1908), 4.

> been covered by slabs. These all clearly belonged together. Five metres south was another wall, running 7 m to the west; only one block of the face remained (south face) but this bore in low relief the feet of two figures wearing sandals with turned up toes: the wall reappeared further west, above the west wall of the pyramid yard and there turned south. Here again were fragmentary sculptures and before these walls was a pavement, above which a considerable number of pieces of inscription were found. One of these bore a cornice with two short columns of inscription *Rᶜ-ms-s(w)-wsr-ḫpš* and *ṯ3y-ḫw ḥr wnm.y n.y nsw sš nsw*.[113]

The latter tomb is numbered in this study as 226/TPC. Quibell makes note of "a considerable number of pieces of inscription". It is not known where these blocks are currently located.

Excavation of the area east of Teti's pyramid was later continued by Quibell's successor at Saqqara, Firth, whose work in this part of the cemetery (1924–1927) is still largely unpublished. The papers of Batiscombe Gunn (1883–1950) held in the Griffith Institute of the University of Oxford make record of finds dated to the New Kingdom, including stone-built tomb superstructures. The name of the tomb owner Hekamaatreneheh (232/TPC), a royal butler (*wbȝ nsw n.y nb tȝ.wy*), points to a date in the 20th Dynasty (the official was named after King Ramesses IV).[114] The structure was disassembled after excavation, and its precise location is not known at present. It probably stood in the south-east corner of Teti's pyramid temple, directly west of the 19th Dynasty tomb of Akhpet (208/TPC), overseer of embalmers of the king (*ỉm.y-r wt.w n.w nb tȝ.wy*), also now lost. The tomb's rectangular burial shaft was found situated at the south end of the north-south oriented entrance hall of Teti's pyramid temple, just beyond the entrance doorway connecting the temple with its causeway. The red granite anthropoid sarcophagus of Akhpet, inscribed with scenes and texts, was found *in situ* inside the burial chamber at a depth of 5–6 m, and was left there by the excavators.[115] Above ground, the excavators recorded the scanty remains of the tomb's superstructure—consisting of limestone paving slabs,

113 Quibell (1908), 4.

114 Málek (1985). The tomb of another 20th Dynasty Royal Butler, Hori (231/TPC) stood in the same general area of the necropolis, also excavated and later disassembled by Firth: Málek (1988).

115 Leclant (1966), 15: *"granit rose"*. A good photograph of the burial shaft, that has the appearance of a 'chimney' of loosely stacked limestone blocks, is published in Lauer (1966), pl. 4.

wall blocks bearing relief decoration, and a column base.[116] The pavement slabs of Akhpet's tomb were situated c. 1.90 m above the Old Kingdom pavement.[117] This observation gives us important information about the way in which the plateau was accessed at this time. The information regarding the stratigraphy indicates that the causeway at its western end was obscured from view by a thick deposit of sand and rubble in the New Kingdom. This structure raises the question in how far the Old Kingdom infrastructure to access the plateau was still in use in the New Kingdom. This point is explored further in Chapter 6.

The pyramid temple of Teti became the focus of renewed archaeological interest in the 1960s by a French expedition led by Jean-Philippe Lauer and Jean Leclant (1920–2011). The results of their work were published in a monograph which focused exclusively on the architectural remains dated to the Old Kingdom.[118] The introduction to this publication makes note of a future second volume, which will focus on the remains of periods post-dating the Old Kingdom.[119] This would include the New Kingdom tomb of Akhpet (208/TPC), thus far only mentioned in various brief preliminary notes.[120]

The northeast corner of the pyramid temple was excavated in the 1980s by an archaeological expedition of the EES led by David Jeffreys and Lisa Giddy. Their work concentrated on the post-New Kingdom Anubieion temple and associated settlement.[121] Its massive, mud-brick perimeter wall was built partly over the New Kingdom cemetery, which in turn was built on a deposit covering the remains of the Old Kingdom temple. The EES expedition excavated the scanty remains of nine New Kingdom tombs (256/TPC—264/TPC), all much denuded of their stone elements.[122] All tombs in this area were dated to the Ramesside period, and were found to be made of stone taken from the Teti pyramid complex.[123]

116 Lauer/Leclant (1972), pl. 4.
117 Lauer (1966), 32.
118 Lauer/Leclant (1972).
119 Lauer/Leclant (1972), v. This second volume has not been published yet.
120 Lauer (1976), 178–179, with n. 180, pl. 153; (1966), 32–34, pl. 4; Leclant (1968), 105, pls. 18–19; (1967), 189, pls. 26–28; (1966), 15, pl. 3. See also: PM III/2, 558–559; Giddy (1992), 4, pls. 2, 4; Málek (1985), 43–60, fig. 10.
121 Jeffreys/Smith (1988).
122 Giddy (1992).
123 Giddy (1992), 4.

5.10 Rock-Cut Tombs in the Cliff of Ankhtawy

5.10.1 *Notes on the State of Excavation and Publication, and Dating*

The southern cliff has been used for making rock-cut tombs since the Old Kingdom (Fig. 80).[124] At the time, these tombs were sited along a section of the causeway connecting the valley temple of Userkaf (2435–2429 BCE), first king of the 5th Dynasty, to his pyramid, located on the plateau, within the northeast corner of the pyramid complex of Netjerikhet Djoser. The 2018 discovery of the well-preserved and elaborately decorated rock-cut tomb of Wahty, a Royal w*ab* priest (*wʿb nzw.t*), dated to the 5th Dynasty reign of Neferirkare (2415–2405 BCE),[125] globally made headlines in the news.[126]

Most tombs situated in the southern cliff of the Bubasteion, excavated by the Mission Archéologique Française du Bubasteion (MAFB) since 1986, still await full publication. The plans and precise locations of a few excavated rock-cut tombs are not published at all. Thus, the location of 356/Bub (Meryre/Sennefer), 357/Bub (Merysakhmet), 358/Bub (Nehesy), 361/Bub (Resh), and 364/Bub (*NN*) are only approximately indicated in dashed lines. The tomb of Ptahmose (354/Bub) is partly cut by the tomb of Netjerwymes (359/Bub); however, its precise location is not indicated on any published map, and is therefore missing on the map used in this study.[127] The state of publication makes it difficult to assess the tombs' precise dating.

The SCA opened excavations in the southern cliff in 2018, working westwards from the cliffside excavated by the MAFB. A stela found reused in a secondary, dry-stone wall in front of one of the rock-cut tombs can be dated, on stylistic grounds, to the early reign of Amenhotep III, or earlier.[128] This stela may have belonged to one of the rock-cut tombs located in this cliff side, although it cannot be excluded that it derived from atop the plateau, from the nearby Teti Pyramid Cemetery.

The earliest New Kingdom tombs cut in the southern cliff of the Bubasteion, excavated until now, date to the reign of Amenhotep III, or perhaps slightly earlier (Fig. 81; Table 18).[129] The tomb of Nehesy (358/Bub) is an outlier with its

124 Waziri/Youssef (2019).

125 Waziri/Youssef (2019) 84–86, tomb no. 7 = SWB18/VII. At the moment of writing, the tomb of Wahty represents the westernmost structure excavated in the southern cliff.

126 It also led to the 2020 Netflix documentary 'Secrets of the Saqqara Tomb', featuring the archaeological expedition's 2019 season of work.

127 A glimpse of the tomb of Ptahmose can be caught from a breakthrough in one of the walls of the tomb of Netjerwymes, showing that the former was cut at a lower level of the cliff.

128 Waziri/Youssef (2018). On stylistic grounds, the stela could perhaps be dated to the reign of Amenhotep II: Beatrix Gessler-Löhr, personal communication.

129 Zivie (2012).

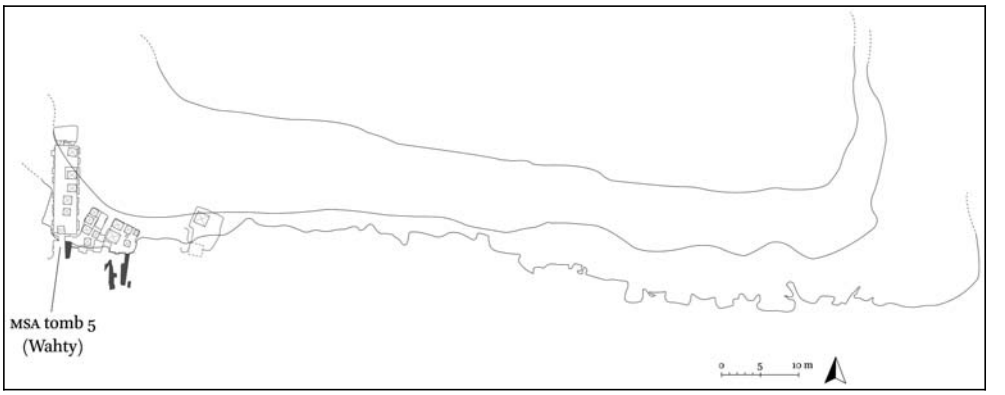


FIGURE 80 The Cliff of Ankhtawy in the Old Kingdom
IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR

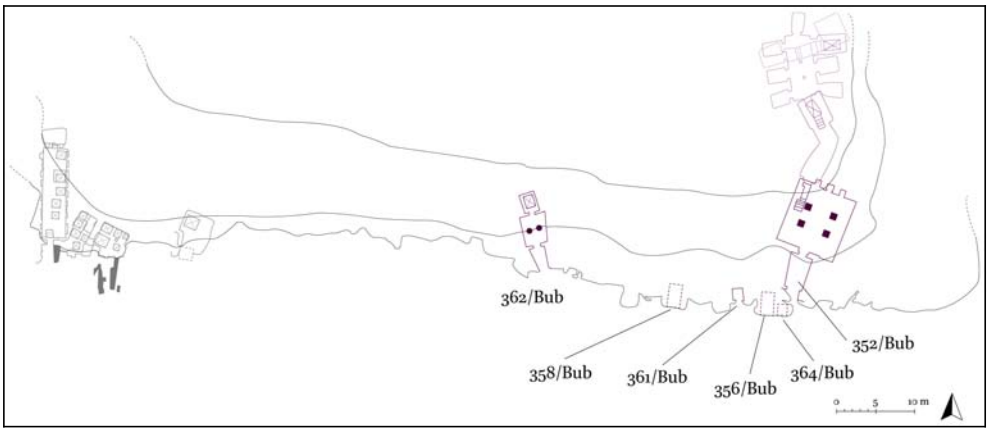


FIGURE 81 The Cliff of Ankhtawy in the late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III
IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR

suggested date in the mid-18th Dynasty reign of Hatshepsut–Thutmosis III,[130] which is roughly 70–100 years older than the earliest, archaeologically attested tomb chapels on the North Saqqara plateau. Alain-Pierre Zivie argues that Nehesy is, "in all likelihood", the homonymous official who led the Punt-expedition of Hatshepsut, as described and illustrated on the walls of the queen's temple at Deir el-Bahri, on the west bank of the Nile at Thebes.[131] Neither

130 Zivie (2007), 140.

131 Zivie (1984), 247. The official named Nehesy in the Hatshepsut temple reliefs (dated to regnal year 9) bears the title *ỉm.y-r ḫtm*, overseer of the seal.

TABLE 18 List of tomb owners in the Cliff of Ankhtawy (Bubasteion), mid-late 18th Dynasty

Tomb no.	Date	Name	Titles
352/Bub	Amenhotep III–Amenhotep IV/ Akhenaten	Aper-El	Vizier, etc.
354/Bub	Amenhotep III	Ptahmose	Scribe of the Cadaster
356/Bub	Amenhotep III	Meryre/ Sennefer	Steward of His Majesty, etc.
358/Bub	Hatshepsut–Thutmosis III (?), or later 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III	Nehesy	Chancellor, etc.
361/Bub	Thutmosis IV–Amenhotep III	Resh	Chamberlain; Child of the Nursery, etc.
362/Bub	Amenhotep III–Amenhotep IV/ Akhenaten	Seth/Setesh	Royal Butler, etc.

the extant texts and decoration inside the tomb, as far as accessible in publication, nor the titles held by Nehesy support such an identification, however.[132] A date in, or close to, the reign of Amenhotep III would be more in line with the general development of the cemetery in the cliff side. Indeed, the majority of tombs in this area (seven out of twelve tombs of which the owner is known to us) date to this king's reign. The careers of three tomb owners started in the reign of Amenhotep III and continued in that of his son, Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten. They are the Vizier, Aper-El (352/Bub), whose son, Huy, general of the army (*ỉm.y-r mšʿ wr n.y ḥm=f*) shared in the tomb of his father; the Chief Outline Draughtsman in the Place of Truth, Thutmosis (363/Bub); and the Royal Butler, Seth/Setesh (362/Bub). Given the date, the latter official, Seth, would have been the predecessor in office to Ptahemwia (025/USC), who, in the early years of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten, started building his temple-shaped freestanding tomb structure in the Unas South Cemetery.

The decoration on the interior walls of the rock-cut tombs constituted either relief-decorated blocks positioned against the unworked rock, carved directly from the living rock, or decoration and texts were painted on a layer of mud plaster. Interestingly, the practice of positioning relief-decorated blocks against

132 Note that the tomb, excavated in 1993, has not yet been published.

the interior walls of rock-cut tombs begins at around the same time when the relief-decorated revetment blocks start to appear in the freestanding tomb chapels located on top of the North Saqqara plateau. In the cliff side, this practice is perhaps best observed in the tomb of Meryre (356/Bub), also known as Sennefer. The reign of Amenhotep III thus clearly marked a change in burial customs for the elite. Before this king's reign, stelae (albeit low in quantity) represent the single stone-made elements associated with tombs. It is uncertain whether other means of decoration existed in the mid-18th Dynasty tombs—if indeed there were built superstructures so early in the New Kingdom at Saqqara. One possibility would be that the hypothesised chapels had painted decoration on a layer of mud plaster. This type of decoration is known from a select number of freestanding Saqqara tomb chapels of the Amarna and post-Amarna period.[133]

5.10.2 *A Cemetery of Amenhotep III's Senior Palace Officials*

The rock-cut tombs in the southern cliff of the Bubasteion were made for senior palace officials and high-ranking state administrators. They were the superiors in rank to the individuals who built freestanding tomb chapels on the plateau north of the pyramid of Teti. The spatial distribution of tombs, with a cluster of 'middle management' administrators on the plateau and the top administrators in the cliff side, suggests that the latter location was held in higher esteem than the former. In terms of landscape phenomenology (e.g., visibility, accessibility), and from the perspective of the living who accessed the plateau on their way from Memphis, the (partly) rock-cut tombs occupied the most prominent burial spots available in this area. The east-end of the southern cliff presented the most prominent location. This is where the earliest tombs are found, all dated to the reign of Amenhotep III. The highest ranking official to have made a tomb in the *dhn.t* of Ankhtawy was Aper-El, and he selected the spot furthest to the east, likely closest to the existing route(s) ascending the plateau. The bright limestone cliffs must have stood out as a landmark in the wider landscape, visible from afar. Moreover, the steep cliffs lay at the foot of what was referred to in the Ptolemaic period as the Peak of Ankhtawy (*Thny n.y ʿnḫ-tȝ.wy*), which was the site of a temple of Bastet.[134] That the area may have had an association with Bastet/Sakhmet as early as the late 18th Dynasty is perhaps suggested by the name of one of the tomb owners in the immedi-

133 For an overview (by now incomplete, due to newly excavated examples), see Martin (2001b).

134 Martin (2009), 49–50; Text 5a, line 11: P. Malcolm = P. BM EA 10384 (Ptolemaic period); Jeffreys/Smith (1988), fig. 1.

ate post-Amarna period, Merysakhmet (357/Bub).[135] By the time he built his rock-cut tomb, the centre of gravity had shifted to the Unas South Cemetery, where his peers built their freestanding funerary temples. The association of this area with Bastet/Sakhmet can also be deduced from one of the sacerdotal titles held by Meryre/Sennefer (356/Bub), who was an overseer of priests of Sakhmet (*ỉm.y-r ḥm.w-nṯr n.y Sḫm.t*).[136]

Two owners of tombs in the southern cliff of the Bubasteion were engaged with the upbringing of the king's children. Meryre, also known as Sennefer (356/Bub), held the title of overseer of the royal nurses (*ỉm.y-r mnᶜ.t*), var. 'of the king' (*n.t nṯr nfr*). He was the foster father or tutor of prince Sa-atum, a brother of Amenhotep III or Amenhotep IV.[137] The fragment of a stela from the tomb of Meryre, now held in Vienna (ÄS 5814), depicts him alongside his wife, seated on a chair, as he holds the prince, seated on his lap.

In the immediate post-Amarna period, the Royal Nurse (*mnᶜ.t nsw.t*), Maia (355/Bub), had a tomb built in the southern cliff. She is the only female who is known, with certainty, to have had a tomb built exclusively for her own use. Maia was the nurse of Tutankhamun.

The tomb of the Royal Nurse, Senetruiu [496], from which the false door stela Cairo JE 20221 derives, may possibly be located in the cliff side also. If so, her case presents a second example of a tomb built exclusively for a female. The stela is dated to the time just before the reign of Amenhotep III.[138] It depicts Senetruiu breast-feeding a prince named Amenemope, who sits on her lap. According to Betsy Bryan, the prince was most likely a son of Amenhotep II.[139] This individual is also known from a stela (C) set up at Amenhotep II's temple facing the sphinx at Giza.[140] Bryan suggests that the stela should antedate the time when Senetruiu breast-fed the prince, which results in a date of the stela (and tomb) in the reign of Thutmosis IV.[141]

135 Note that the tomb is as yet unpublished, which means that the list of titles given in the catalogue may not be complete.

136 On the other hand, note that Amenhotep Huy (141/USC), Amenhotep III's chief steward in Memphis, also held the title of overseer of the priests of the temple of Sakhmet (*ỉm.y-r ḥm.w-nṯr m ḥw.t Sḫm.t*). This study suggests that his tomb was located not in the *dhn.t* of Ankhtawy, but in the Unas South Cemetery.

137 Zivie (2007), 141.

138 The stela was found by Auguste Mariette in November 1862: Pasquali (2017), 573. Unfortunately, we do not know where at Saqqara it was unearthed.

139 Bryan (1991), 65–66, pl. 2 (figs 6a–b). Alternatively, Amenemopet could have been a son of Thutmosis IV.

140 Hassan (1953), 187–192, fig. 41.

141 Bryan (1991), 65–66.

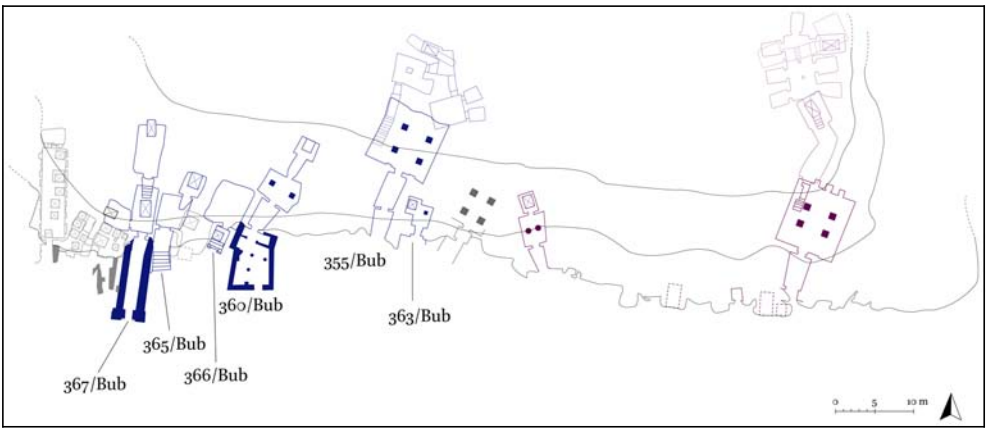


FIGURE 82 The Cliff of Ankhtawy in the late 18th Dynasty, immediate post-Amarna period, *temp.* Tutankhamun
IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR

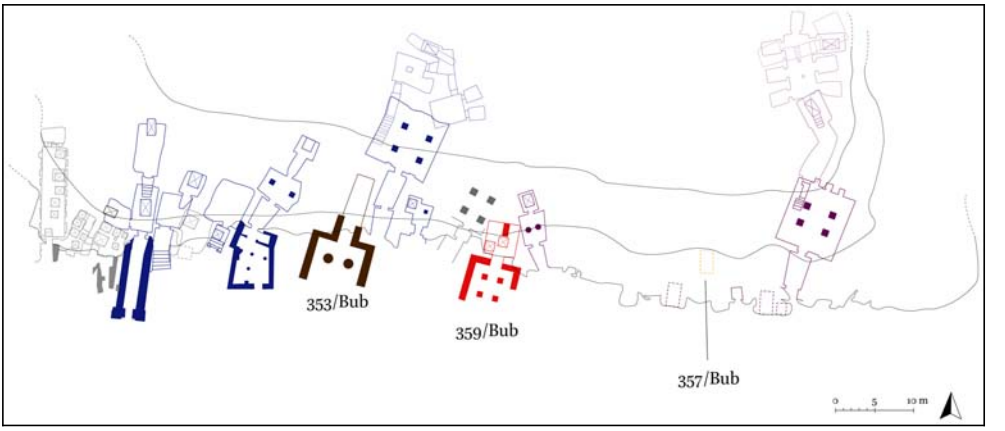


FIGURE 83 The Cliff of Ankhtawy in the Ramesside period
IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR

5.10.3 *The Cliff of Ankhtawy in the (Post-)Amarna Period*

Based on the currently available data, the reign of Amenhotep III marked a peak in the appropriation of the *dhn.t* of Ankhtawy for making rock-cut tombs (Fig. 5.82). These tombs occupy the eastern half of the southern cliff. The cliff side further to the west, up to the Old Kingdom tomb of Wahty, was used for making tombs in the late 18th and 19th Dynasties (Table 5.7; Table 19). Eight tombs can be dated to this extended period of time, which is low compared to the seven tombs dated to the immediate pre-Amarna period, built in a smaller number of years. It may perhaps suggest that the *dhn.t* of Ankhtawy lost its

TABLE 19 List of tomb owners in the Cliff of Ankhtawy (Bubasteion), late 18th Dynasty, post-Amarna, and 19th Dynasty

Tomb no.	Date	Name	Titles
353/Bub	Late 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Merenptah	Penrennutet	(First) Royal Butler
355/Bub	Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Tutankhamun	Maia	Royal Nurse, etc.
357/Bub	Late 18th/early 19th Dynasty	Merysakhmet	Overseer of the Double Granary of the King, etc.
359/Bub	19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II, 2nd/3rd decade	Netjerwymes/ Parakhnawa	Chief Steward of Memphis, Royal Messenger
360/Bub	Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten (2nd half), and immediate post-Amarna	Raia/Hatiay	Scribe of the Treasury of the Temple of the Aten in Akhetaten (and) Memphis
363/Bub	Amenhotep III–Amenhotep IV/ Akhenaten	Thutmosis	Chief Outline Draughtsman in the Place of Truth, etc.
365/Bub	18th Dynasty	*NN*	?
366/Bub	18th Dynasty	*NN*	?
367	18th Dynasty	*NN*	?

attraction amongst the high-ranking officials residing in Memphis, who, from the Amarna/immediate post-Amarna period onwards, built their tombs in the Unas South Cemetery.

Construction and decoration of three tombs was started in the late reign of Amenhotep III and continued in the reign of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten (Table 18). Huy, the general of the king's army (*ỉm.y-r mšʿ wr n.y ḥm=f*), shared the tomb of his father, the Vizier Aper-El (352/Bub).[142]

Construction and decoration of the tomb of the treasury scribe of the Memphite temple of the Aten, Raia/Hatiay (360/Bub), was started in the second half of Akhenaten's reign and continued in the immediate post-Amarna period.

142 Zivie (2014b).

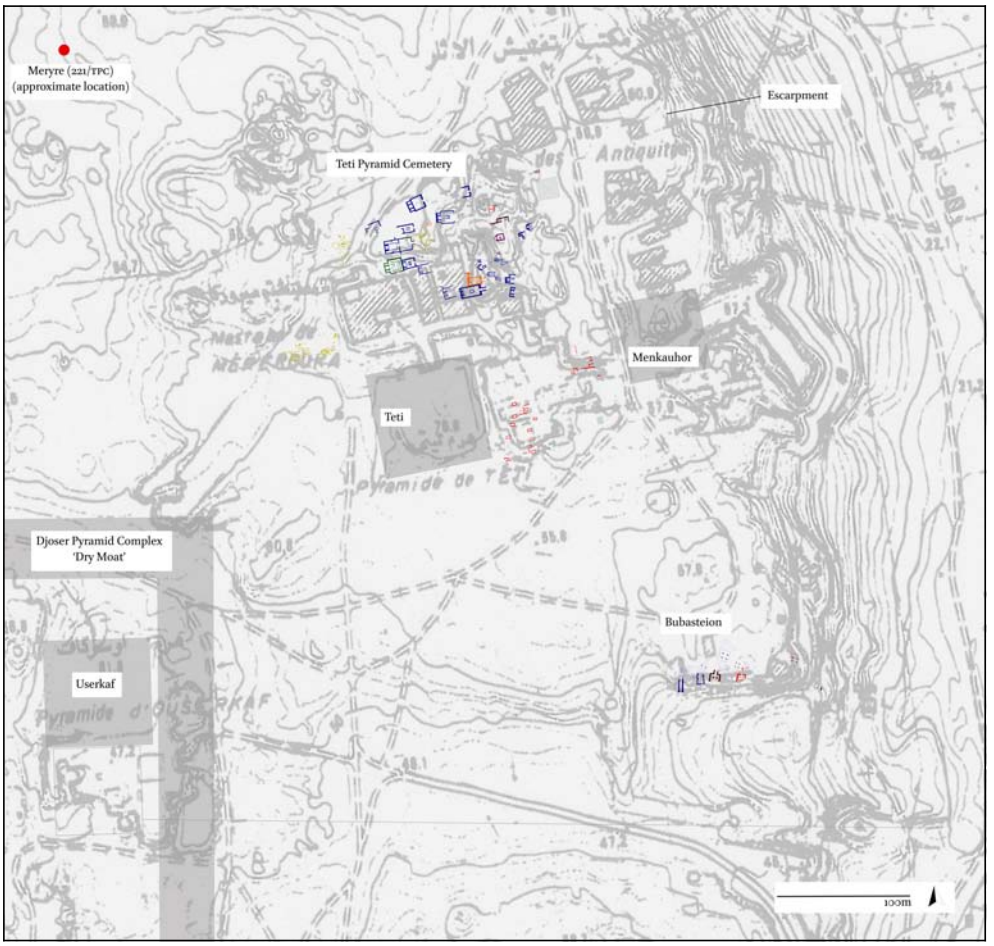


FIGURE 84 The North Saqqara plateau north: Teti Pyramid Cemetery and Cliff of Ankhtawy in the New Kingdom
IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR, PROJECTED ON THE MAP PRODUCED BY THE MINISTÈRE DE L'HABITAT ET DE LA RECONSTRUCTION (MHR) SHEET H 22, LE CAIRE

The single tomb firmly dated to the reign of Tutankhamun, was made for Maia (355/Bub), who had acted as his nurse (see previous section). The tomb of Merysakhmet (357/Bub), overseer of the double granary of the king (*ỉm.y-r šnw.ty n.y nb tꜣ.wy*), probably dates to the end of the 18th Dynasty or perhaps the early 19th Dynasty. One tomb scene was clearly inspired by a scene from the tomb of Maya (028/USC),[143] which indicates that the tomb cannot predate

143 Staring (2014), esp. figs 6–7.

the reign of Horemheb. The tomb of the Chief Steward of Memphis (*ỉm.y-r pr wr n.y Mn-nfr*) and Royal Messenger to all Foreign Lands (*wpw.ty nsw r ḫ3s.t nb.t*), Netjerwymes (359/Bub), also known as Parakhnawa, also includes relief-decoration inspired by scenes from the tomb of Maya (Fig. 83).[144] This official is more easily dated, because he is known from the peace treaty Ramesses II signed with the Hittites in year 21 ('Karnak peace-treaty').[145] Thus, the tomb was probably built in the second or third decade of Ramesses II's reign.

The last New Kingdom tomb built in the southern cliff was made for Penrennutet, a first royal butler (*wb3 nsw tp.y*) of Merenptah, dated to the late 19th Dynasty.

144 Staring (2014), 494; Zivie (2003), 120–121.
145 Zivie (2005).

CHAPTER 6

The Dead and the Living in the Memphite Cultural Landscape

6.1 The Place of the Tomb in the Memphite Cultural Landscape

Chapters 4 and 5 explored the development of the two main clusters of New Kingdom tombs on the North Saqqara plateau (Fig. 85). In this chapter, the two clusters will be taken out of isolation and studied in their broader environmental setting.[1]

Memphis was shaped to a great extent by the presence of its prime local deities. Egypt's foremost temple complex of Ptah dominated the cityscape, and the elevated desert necropolis—commonly referred to as West of Memphis or Ankhtawy—was considered the ancient, sacred abode of the Memphite deities, primarily Sokar.[2] Ptah and Sokar played important parts in the religious life and afterlife of the local residents. Since the Old Kingdom (c. 2543–2120 BCE), the chief deity of Memphis, Ptah, was connected to the chthonic deity Sokar,[3] a god of death, and the syncretic connection Ptah-Sokar-Osiris has been well attested since the Middle Kingdom.[4] Ptah-Sokar-Osiris gained further significance during the reign of Amenhotep III, a rise to prominence which coincided with grand construction works initiated by the king in the temple of Ptah at Memphis, and with construction works at the site of the temple(s) and burials of the Apis bulls, located in the Wadi of Abusir, c. 1200 m south of its mouth. This complex is today better known by the name given in the Ptolemaic period, namely Serapeum: the tombs made for the successive sacred Apis bulls,

1 The recent work by Sullivan (2020) also aimed at recontextualising built spaces at Saqqara within the larger ancient landscape. The temporal scope adopted in her study is much broader, ranging from the 1st Dynasty until the Late Period. This broad scope results in a much less detailed study, however. For example, her treatment of the New Kingdom activity at Saqqara includes only a fraction of the tombs that were built during that period. As such, the present study does not overlap, but rather complements Sullivan's study.

2 See also Staring (2019), 209–210.

3 Statue Florence 1790 of the 18th Dynasty (*temp*. Amenhotep III) High Priest of Ptah, Ptahmose [413], mentions a *ḥw.t Ptḥ-Skr*, 'temple of Ptah-Sokar'. In the statue inscription, Ptahmose addresses "… all future High Priests in the temple of Ptah-Sokar".

4 Te Velde (1982), col. 1179.

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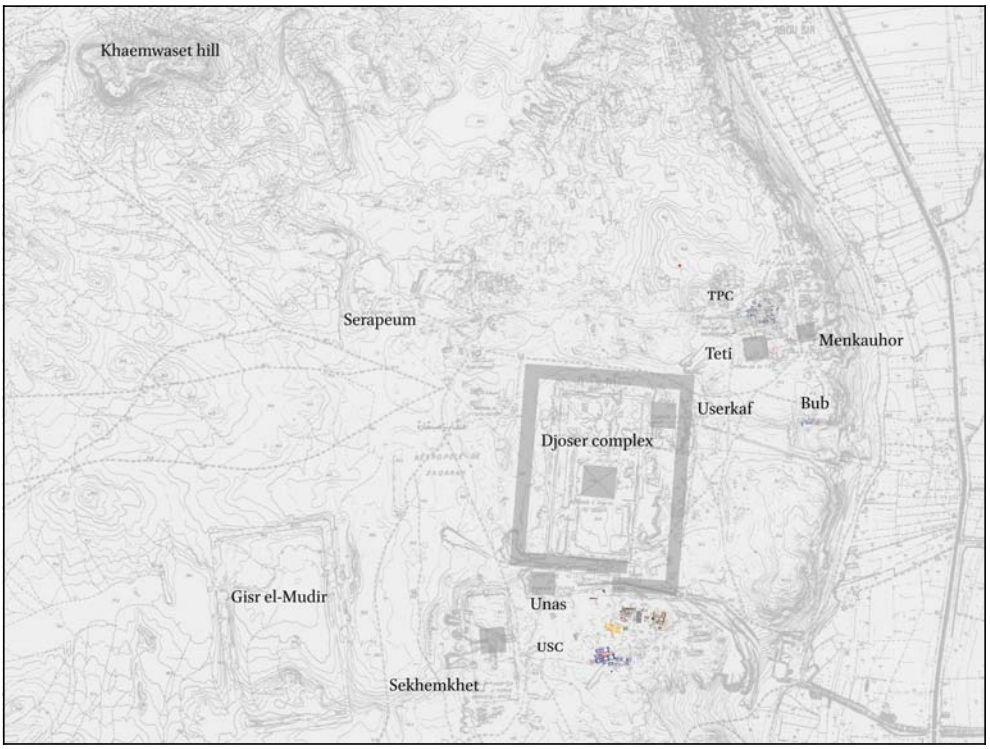


FIGURE 85 The North Saqqara plateau with the main clusters of New Kingdom tombs (TPC, Bub, USC) IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR, PROJECTED ON THE MAP PRODUCED BY THE MINISTÈRE DE L'HABITAT ET DE LA RECONSTRUCTION (MHR) SHEET H 22, LE CAIRE

the living earthly manifestations of the god Ptah.[5] In the 18th Dynasty, the latter consisted of individual underground Apis tombs each marked by a chapel above the ground. In the second half of the reign of Ramesses II, the individual tombs made way for a large communal underground vault accommodating the

5 First explored by Auguste Mariette on behalf of the Musée du Louvre, 1850–1854: Mariette (1857). For an overview, see e.g., Vercoutter (1984); Malinine et al. (1968). The Louvre has just returned to the Serapeum to further investigate the so-called *'petits souterrains'*, the underground burial complex constructed during the reign of Ramesses II: Guichard et al. (2021). For work conducted on behalf of the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation in the 1980s, see: Ibrahim Aly Sayed (1991). For blocks taken, in antiquity, from New Kingdom tombs and reused in the Serapeum, see: Ibrahim Aly (2000). Every deceased Apis bull was assimilated with the god-king of the underworld, Osiris, becoming Apis-Osiris and Osiris-Apis respectively. This practice followed the ancient Egyptian tradition that every justified being was identified with Osiris after death. See e.g., Marković (2016), 58, with further references to relevant literature.

individual burials.[6] The collection of buildings that made up the Serapeum was of the foremost sites of religious significance at Saqqara. It was even considered the entrance to the netherworld and, by extension, every tomb shaft or cavern accessed from the elevated desert plateau at Saqqara could be designated as *r-sṯȝ.w*, 'mouth of subterranean passages'.[7] Rosetau is also where the so-called *štȝy.t* shrine and *ḥnw* bark sanctuary of Sokar were located, supposedly in the desert between Saqqara and Giza.[8] It is very likely that other sites associated with the cults of Ptah, Apis, Sokar, and other Memphite deities, still lie undiscovered under the desert sands of Saqqara. All these sacred sites were visited at set times during annual festivals,[9] or—as in the case of the Serapeum—at irregular intervals, connected to the funerals of the successive Apis bulls.[10] Their funerals were major social events, in particular for Memphis's elite,[11] and the carefully laid out necropolis infrastructure facilitated easy access for all who participated. The impact of the event on the landscape can still be recognised in the local toponymy today. For example, the name Mit Rahineh, the town built on the site of the ruin fields of northern ancient Memphis, derives from the ancient Egyptian words *mi.t* (way, road) and *rhni* (sacred ram). The place names *Ṭariq Al-ʿIjl*, 'road of the bull', and *Mijar Al-ʿIjl*, 'tug-way of the bull', are mentioned in a Medieval Arabic 'manual of treasure hunters'; according to Okasha el-Daly, these names suggest possible knowledge of the ancient

6 For the Serapeum in the Ramesside period, see e.g., Thijs (2018). The first two Apis bulls that died in the reign of Ramesses II were buried in what would prove to be the last isolated tomb (chamber G). These burials are dated to the king's 16th and 30th regnal years. The first dateable burial in the lesser vaults took place in year 55 of Ramesses II (chamber I, Apis X).

7 Schneider (1977), I, 277.

8 Abd el-Aal (2009), 5 and pl. 3b, suggests that this is the place where some New Kingdom chapels were dedicated in the New Kingdom, at modern-day Kafr el-Gebel or Nazlet el-Batran, to the south of the Giza plateau. See also Abdel-Aal/Bács (forthcoming); Bács (2019); (2008); Pasquali (2008). Edwards (1986), 36, considers the Shetayet shrine at Rosetau as the Lower Egyptian counterpart of the Abydene tomb of Osiris.

9 The hieroglyphic inscriptions carved on the façades of Old Kingdom tombs at Saqqara (and elsewhere) commonly mention a whole list of festivals. See, for example, the text carved on the lintel over the entrance doorway to the tomb of Hetepherakhty (Leiden, F 1904/3.1-b), which includes the day of the opening of the year, the Thoth festival, the *Wag* festival, the Sokar festival, the Great festival, the Flame festival, and the procession of Min. For notes on the Apis processional ways in relation to the Apis funeral at the Serapeum, and the Sokar festival, largely during the New Kingdom, see Sullivan (2020), 'Ritual Movement'.

10 Thijs (2018), with further references.

11 Frood (2016).

Egyptian sacred way that was used in relation to the Memphite cults and/or funerals of the sacred Apis bull.[12] During the Sokar festival (see Section 6.2), high officials had the honour of 'following Sokar', and even expressed the wish to bear the god's *mefekh* sledge along with the 'perfect god' (i.e. the king) to the necropolis (*ỉmḥ.t*) on the desert plateau (*wʿr.t*).[13] Tomb owners reckoned with the (future) living visitors to the plateau, for example by strategically positioning their publicly accessible cult chapels in 'streets' crossing the cemetery, hoping to catch their attention. More generally, a tomb presented an ideal place for the self-representation of its owner,[14] and it enabled the individual to make their name endure among the living.[15] The tomb owners availed themselves of several visual[16] and textual[17] strategies to attract prospective visitors.[18] In texts inscribed on tomb walls and stelae, wishes are expressed for one's "soul to become divine among the living" and that one may "mingle with the virtuous spirits and walk with Osiris in Rosetau on the day of the feast of Sokar".[19] Other tomb inscriptions express the wish for the gods to grant the deceased's *ba*'s or statues to continue following Sokar after they had passed away. Thus, an inscription carved in the pyramid panel of the tomb of Maya (028/USC) expresses the wish: "may my *ba* leave the Sacred Land (i.e. necropolis) in order to follow my lord at [his] festival".[20] Such texts indicate that the deceased tomb owners were not simply expected to passively wait for visitors, they also continued to actively participate in social life (e.g., religious festivities). The connection between the prime Memphite deities and the tombs for the elite is also made explicit in a text inscribed in the tomb of Huynefer (045/USC), from the 19th Dynasty reign of Ramesses II, which reads:

> Be pleased with the food and provisions of Ptah in the tomb of the necropolis of the revered one before Sokar.[21]

12 El-Daly (2005), 39. The manuscript (MS Arabe 2764, folio 16b) situates the *Ṭariq Al-ʿIjl* nearby Deir Abu Hermes, i.e. the monastery of Apa Jeremias, which is where the Unas South Cemetery is located.

13 Gaballa/Kitchen (1969), 68.

14 A tomb's "communicative character": Assmann (1987).

15 A tomb's "memory function": Assmann (2005), 41–56 ('*Gedächtniskultur*').

16 Den Doncker (2012), 23.

17 For example Appeals to the Living, see e.g., Salvador (2014).

18 Staring (2018), 88–90.

19 pAnastasi IV, 4,5.

20 Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 55: Martin (2012), [70b], 40, 69, pls. 37, 93.2.

21 Gohary (2010), 161 (inscribed on the funerary stela).

A lengthier text which firmly grounds the tomb in its landscape setting (real and imagined), is found in the tomb of Pay (017/USC), from the late 18th Dynasty reign of Tutankhamun. The deceased tomb owner is situated

> in the presence of the Lord of Truth, Ptah the Great, Who is south of his wall, and of all the gods of the Great Hall (*ḥw.t wr.t*), the Osiris, the royal scribe, Pay. May he (i.e. Ptah) grant that you may rest in the Land of the Righteous (*t; n.y mȝ<.tyw*, i.e. the necropolis) together with those who are in his following, that your *ba* may prosper in the following of his lord, Osiris, Lord of Rosetau, that your provisions (*ḏfȝ.w*) may daily be in your hand from the offering table of the Lords of Perpetuity (*nb.w nḥḥ*), that you may see the sun disk at its rising and that you may behold Re at its setting, that you may walk about as you please in every transformation that you may wish, that one may say "Welcome!" to you, that you may not be set apart from the possessors of offerings, that you may follow Sokar when the Henu bark is being dragged, [...] Horus that he may throw (?) all your enemies to the ground, that you may pass perpetuity in happiness and in the favour of the god who is in you, that you may receive provision in the Field [of Rushes][22]

The text contains a number of points of interest. The Memphite city god, Ptah, is addressed at the start of the formula. It mentions Osiris, here referred to as the Lord of Rosetau (the Serapeum was also regarded as his burial place), in whose following the souls (*ba*) of the deceased will forever remain. The topic of the diversion of offerings from temple to tomb hints at the link between cities of the living (where the temples stood) and the dead. The text then references the rising and setting sun, upon whose daily course the main axis of every tomb was (ideally) built. The perpetual participation of the dead in the annual festival staged for the god Sokar is referenced in the dragging of his bark. The god's festival itinerary included the crossing of the necropolis on the desert plateau (see also further below).

A fair number of inscriptions on the walls of New Kingdom elite tombs at Saqqara express the tomb owner's wish to 'rest in Ankhtawy'. This is true for the tomb of the Ptahmose, the early 19th Dynasty mayor of Memphis (027/USC). An inscription in his tomb reads:[23]

22 Inscribed on the stela now in Florence, Museo Egizio 1606 (2601), see: Raven (2005), 28 [20], pls 32–33. The relief was probably set in the inner courtyard, south wall, east end.

23 Staring (2014), 469 (text I.13).

> Welcome to the West (i.e. necropolis), may you unite with your house/temple of eternity (*ḥw.t=k n.t nḥḥ*), your tomb of everlastingness (*ỉs.t=k n.t ḏ.t*), may you be buried in it after an old age, you being in royal favour to rest in Ankhtawy (*ỉw=k m ḫs.wt nsw.t r ḥtp m ꜥnḫ-tꜣ.wy*).

Having a tomb in Ankhtawy (which, given the actual location of the tomb, here means the Unas South Cemetery) is apparently linked to royal favour. The favour may relate to the location (an area reserved for the privileged few?), or it may relate to the ability to build a monumental tomb, which was dependent on access to material and human resources (made available as royal favour?). The two possible interpretations of this passage are not mutually exclusive. The detailed analysis of this cemetery's development in Chapter 4 indicated that with the lateral expension of the burial field, the first tombs to be built beyond the previously existing 'boundaries' were those of the high elite. One of the things that differentiates them from the lower-ranking tomb owners are their (long lists of) honorific titles. These titles emphasise and boast a close relationship with the king.

In the following, the spatial patterning of tombs in relation to the Sokar festival and possible routes to religiously significant sites in the Memphite cultural landscape are explored further.

6.2 The Sokar Festival at Memphis

The Memphite deities did not dwell exclusively in their sanctuaries built for the purpose of their veneration; rather, they would leave regularly in processions staged at multiple annual festivals in order to visit locations in the surrounding area. Although we are rather ill-informed about the Sokar festival and its particulars, it must have been one of the highlights on the Memphite temple calendar. We are fortunately much better informed about the Theban Sokar festival, which was modelled after the old Memphite tradition. At Thebes, the festival took place between days 21 and 30 of the fourth month of the Akhet season, which corresponds to the end of the annual Nile flooding. These dates also correspond to the Khoiak festival, celebrated in honour of Osiris, Egypt's prime netherworld deity.[24] Khoiak was performed to promote the successful rebirth of Osiris. At the god's prime centre of worship, Abydos, Osiris was led in procession from his temple, via a sacred route, to his desert tomb at *pḳr* (Peqer,

24 Eaton (2006); Gaballa/Kitchen (1969).

modern-day Umm el-Qaab).[25] There, his mummified image produced in the previous year was buried. On the way to Peqer, various royal memorial temples and other local shrines were visited by the god and his entourage.[26] Non-royal individuals set up stelae and statues in chapels along this sacred route so as to remain present at the processions forever.[27] Like Khoiak, the Sokar festival had a funerary role, agricultural significance, and connections with kingship. Memphis was considered the place where kingship 'resided',[28] and Sokar's Memphite rituals and festivals were very likely influenced by the rites, mythology, and festival usages of Osiris.[29] These facts make the festivals at Thebes and Abydos excellent material for comparison to the Memphite tradition. Much of the Sokar festival took place behind closed temple doors—except for day 26. That day marked the zenith of public celebrations. From Theban sources, we know that the day was considered a 'public holiday'.[30] This suggests that the visit of the god's bark to the necropolis was a sort of public event, which may have attracted scores of people to watch the god make his way to and through the cemetery.[31] What exactly happened on day 26? From early times onwards, the festival on that day included what is referred to as *pḫr ḥ3 ỉnb.w*, the 'circumam-

25 Pouls Wegner (2020); Budka (2019a); Effland/Effland (2010); Effland et al. 2010; Eaton (2007).

26 The temple of Seti I at Abydos contained a chapel dedicated to Sokar (*ḥw.t Skr*), and we know of various priests of the Ramesside period connected to the *ḥw.t Skr* in the Theban temple of Millions of Years of Amenhotep III: Gaballa/Kitchen (1969), 29. The Saqqara tomb of Ptahmose, mayor and chief steward in Memphis, records an offering formula expressing the wish to 'partake in the offerings in the *ḥw.t Skry*': Staring (2014), 471, text I.17 [2].

27 Richards (2005), 125–172; O'Connor (1985).

28 Redford (1986), 298.

29 Gaballa/Kitchen (1969), 23.

30 For textual references to inactivity on day 26, see Jauhiainen (2009), 166–167; Helck (1964), 157 (no. 10), 160, as documented in hieratic ostraca from Deir el-Medina, dated to the Ramesside period. The references pertain to the highly specialised community of royal workmen at Deir el-Medina, c. 600 km south of Memphis. The question whether the work-free days could be extrapolated to the rest of Egypt and Egyptian society remains open to debate. One could argue, however, that if the community of workmen at distant Deir el-Medina were allotted a day off during the Sokar festival, a similar situation would have certainly existed at the centre of Sokar's veneration, at Memphis. For a discussion of the ancient Egyptian concept of 'public holidays' (and the dissimilarities to the common national festivals of today), see also: Kemp (2018), 262–270 (references to the Opet festival and the Beautiful Festival of the Valley); Spalinger (1998), 245, 250–251 (references to the Opet festival and the Sed festival).

31 In stela Paris, Musée du Louvre C 226 the day is referred to as: *ḥrw n(.y) pḫr ỉnb.w r m3 ḥb ʿ3 m ỉnb(.w)-ḥḍ*, 'day of going around the walls to see the great festival in Memphis': Pierret (1878), 34.

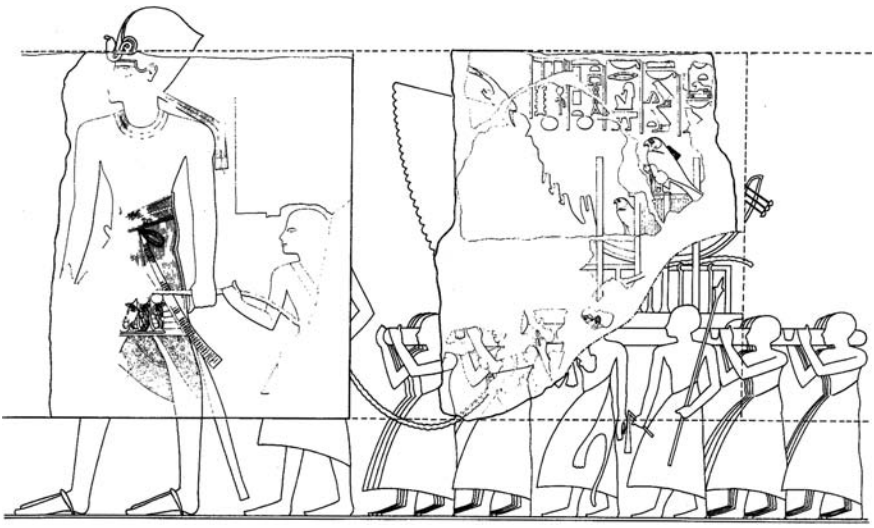


FIGURE 86 Representation of the Sokar procession as depicted on relief-decorated blocks from the chapel of Ptah-Sokar at Memphis, dated to the time of Amenhotep III and reused in another temple structure dated to the time of Ramesses II DRAWINGS BY WILL SCHENCK, RECONSTRUCTION BY W. RAYMOND JOHNSON, REPRODUCED WITH KIND PERMISSION

bulation of the walls'. This is when the god's image was placed in his so-called *Henu* bark and dragged (*st3*) on a *mfḫ* sledge or shouldered by priests (Fig. 86). Prominent officials had the honour of 'following Sokar' on the occasion, and they even expressed the wish to bear Sokar's sledge along with the king around the temple walls and up to the necropolis.[32] For example, an inscription on the back-pillar of a statue of Ray (043/USC), great steward of the king (*ỉm.y-r pr wr n.y nsw.t*), found in the temple of Ptah at Memphis,[33] reads:

> may you follow Sokar and unite with the Lord of the *Henu* bark. May you lay your hands upon the draw-ropes (…) when [he] encircles the walls of Ptah.

This privilege was not the prerogative of living officials. The deceased, too, wished to participate, in perpetuity. This is what we gather from certain offering formulae carved in tomb walls, statues, and stelae. A text inscribed on the doorjamb of Pay (017/USC), for example, expresses the wish to "make the circuit

32 For example, in the Theban tomb of Neferhotep (TT 50), god's father of Amun: Hari (1985), pl. 35.

33 Petrie (1909), pl. 19, right.

around the walls" as he dwells in "the sacred land (i.e. the necropolis) together with those who are in the following of the Lord of Perpetuity, Osiris, the Ruler of the Silent Land/Realm of the Dead (*ḥḳ; ỉgr.t*)".[34]

The stela from one of the owners of a tomb in the Unas South Cemetery, Ptahmose (167/USC), an overseer of the royal household in the late 18th Dynasty (*temp*. Tutankhamun–Horemheb), presents a rare source for the spatial arrangements of the Sokar festival as celebrated on day 26 at Memphis. The stela text will be used as a point of departure to further discuss the Memphite cultural landscape in the New Kingdom.

6.3 From Object to Landscape: The Sokar Festival and the Stela of Ptahmose (MMA 67.3)

The tomb stela of the senior palace official named Ptahmose (167/USC) is now held in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA), New York, (inv. no. 67.3; Fig. 87). The lengthy hieroglyphic text carved in sunk relief offers a rare and (comparatively) detailed insight into how the sacred landscape at Memphis was conceptualised and used during the annual Sokar festival. The stela will be used as a point of departure for discussing various aspects of the Memphite cultural geography, even though the tomb of Ptahmose is today lost.

6.3.1 *A Few Notes on the Modern History of the Stela*

The most recent episodes in the stela's biography are rather eventful. The stela was first published in 1905 by Ahmad Kamal (1849–1923).[35] His brief communication included a copy of the hieroglyphic text, which he copied from a photograph given to him by a certain M. Fournier, a French mechanic in the Egyptian navy, who had the stela in his possession. Kamal was told that the stela was found at Thebes before 1873, and that the present whereabouts were unknown. A few years later, in 1912, the stela resurfaced in North America, in a private collection in the region of New England.[36] It was taken from Egypt to the US by the Lieutenant-Commander Henry Honychurch Gorringe (1879–1881),[37] in Egyptology best-known as the naval officer who was granted a contract to remove the obelisk of Thutmosis III from Alexandria (originally from Heliopolis),[38] and

34 Florence, Museo Egizio inv. no. 1605 = 2600: Raven (2005), 31 [27], pls 36, 38.

35 Kamal (1905).

36 Mercer (1914), 176–178.

37 Bierbrier (2019), 186.

38 The obelisk was given to the US by the Khedive Ismail (1830–1895), ruler of Egypt 1863–1879.



FIGURE 87
Stela of Ptahmose, Metropolitan Museum of Art 67.3 PHOTOGRAPH © THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, HARRIS BRISBANE FUND, 1967. PUBLIC DOMAIN

ship it to New York, where it was erected in Central Park in 1881 opposite the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[39] The obelisk is now popularly known as 'Cleopatra's Needle'. Gorringe spent two years in Egypt (1879–1881), and during that time he amassed a respectable collection of antiquities, which he also shipped to New York. He kept his private collection inaccessible at his residential home where, as time passed, the presence of Egyptian objects gradually disappeared from public memory. Gorringe bequeathed the collection to his daughter, and it subsequently changed hands more than once until the MMA purchased Ptahmose's stela from the heirs of Gorringe's daughter in 1967.[40]

It is not known exactly how Gorringe came into possession of the stela, and neither is there any information about how Fournier acquired it before him. The Theban provenance mentioned to Kamal can be ruled out, however. 'Ptahmose of Memphis' (*Ptḥ-ms(.w) n.y Mn-nfr*), as the stela owner is sometimes named, was a Memphite citizen,[41] and the scattered tomb elements and texts carved on them all point unambiguously to a funerary monument in the Memphite necropolis at Saqqara, more specifically in the Unas South Cemetery.[42] Interestingly, Judge Elbert E. Farman (1831–1911), the US consul general in Egypt who secured with Khedive Ismail the Alexandria obelisk of Thutmosis III in 1877, also possessed Egyptian antiquities, including a stela fragment of Pay (017/USC), overseer of the royal household.[43] Pay was a predecessor in the office also held by Ptahmose. Pay's stela derived from Saqqara with certainty, because his tomb was excavated in the Unas South Cemetery in 1994.[44] Given the observed clustering of tombs according to the titles held by their owners, it is likely that the monuments of Pay and Ptahmose stood in close proximity. It is not unthinkable that the stelae of Pay and Ptahmose came from the same source on the antiquities market.

39 Gorringe (1885).

40 Fischer (1967), 62, fig. on p. 63.

41 For the designation *n(y) Mn-nfr* as a signifier of geographical origin, see Auenmüller (2013), 365. Ptahmose's father was named Iuny, 'the Heliopolite', likewise a local, Memphite name. Iuny was a *sꜣb* ('official') and scribe of the army of the Lord of the Two Lands.

42 See catalogue entries for 167/USC. For a lengthier discussion of the tomb's location, see Staring (2014–2015), 58 n. 53. Note that the fragment held in the Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Egizio 251, informs us that Ptahmose renewed the tomb of his mother, Ruy, 'for the future' (*smꜣwy miʿḥʿ.t n(.t) mw.t=f ⟨n⟩ m-ḫt rnp.wt*), perhaps hinting at a family sepulchre.

43 Stela fragment (left-hand part of the lunette) New York, MMA 04.2.527, donated to the MMA by Darius Ogden Mills in 1904. See Raven (2005), 42–45 [70], pls 72–73. Additional fragments of the stela were found during excavation of the tomb.

44 Precisely where the stela was positioned within the tomb's superstructure cannot be established with certainty.

6.3.2 *Iconography and Texts*

The rectangular stela of Ptahmose is carved from limestone and measures 142.2 cm in height. It sits on a low base and is framed by a torus moulding and cavetto cornice. The stela's protruding lintel and jambs framing a central recessed panel bear decoration and text. The scene in the upper part depicts the tomb owner standing with his hands raised in adoration before Osiris, 'great god, ruler of eternity', enthroned before an offering table. Ptahmose wears a layered wig, elaborate and near ankle-length garment, the two-row *shebyu* collar,[45] also known as the Gold of Honour,[46] and sandals.

The contents of the offering formulae inscribed on the lintel and raised jambs are not uncommon, yet give a good indication of what tomb owners wished for after death.

Left-hand side text:

ḥtp dỉ nsw Ptḥ-Skr-Wsỉr ḥr(.y)-ỉb šty.t dỉ=f ꜥḳ pr(ỉ) m r-stꜣ.w ḥtp m ꜣbḏw ỉr(ỉ).t ḫpr.w nb mr(ỉ)=k wnm t ḫnp mw tꜣw drp.tw ḥr ḥw.t=ỉ rꜥ nb n Wsỉr sš nsw ỉm.y-r ỉp.t-nsw pr-ḫnr.w Ptḥ-ms(ỉ.w) mꜣꜥ-ḫrw ỉr(ỉ).n sꜣb sš mšꜥ ỉwn.y mꜣꜥ-ḫrw

An offering which the king gives to Ptah-Sokar-Osiris who is in the Shetyt, that he may cause to enter and leave in Rosetau and to rest in Abydos, to change into anything you wish, to eat bread and take in water and air, and being offered to in my (tomb) chapel every day, for the Osiris, the Royal Scribe and Overseer of the Royal Household, Ptahmose, true of voice, created by the *sꜣb* ('official') and Scribe of the Army Iuny, true of voice.

Right-hand side text:

ḥtp dỉ nsw Wsỉr ḥḳꜣ ḏ.t dỉ=f pr(ỉ) bꜣ(=ỉ) m ḫr.t-nṯr mꜣ(=ỉ) ỉtn tp-dwꜣ.yt m ḫr.t-ḥrw n.t rꜥ nb šsp(=ỉ) snw pr(ỉ.w) m-bꜣḥ-ḥr wḏḥ.w n(y) nb mꜣꜥ.t ssn.t ṯꜥw m ꜥntyw snṯr m ỉb n(y) ḫ.t-nṯr n Wsỉr sš nsw ỉm.y-r

An offering which the king gives to Osiris, ruler of eternity, that he may cause my *ba* to leave the necropolis, that I see the sun disk at dawn every day, that I receive offerings that are presented before the offering table of

45 Usually worn over a plain *wesekh* collar, which is here absent in relief, but which might have originally been indicated in paint.

46 Binder (2008).

ỉp.t-nsw pr-ḫnr.w Ptḥ-ms(ỉ.w) n(y) Mn-nfr	the Lord of Truth (i.e. Ptah), to breath air out of myrrh and incense from the god's offerings, for the Osiris, the Royal Scribe and Overseer of the Royal Household, Ptahmose of Memphis.

The main text covers the lower two thirds of the stela's recessed panel and is divided over 17 lines:

1	*ḥtp dỉ nsw Ptḥ-Skr-Wsỉr ḥr(.y)-ỉb štȝ.yt bȝ ꜥnḫ nb r-stȝ.w ḫꜥꜥ sšm(.w)=k*	An offering that the king gives to Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, who is in (the) Shetyt (shrine), the living ram, Lord of Rosetau. When your cult image appears
2	*m Ḥw.t-kȝ-Ptḥ ỉnb-ḥḏ.t nb.t ḏfȝ.w ḥꜥꜥ.tw m ḫnw šps(.y)*	in Hut-ka-Ptah (and) Ineb-Hedet,[47] lady of provision,[48] there is jubilation in the noble Henu bark.
3	*nn nṯr ꜥḳ ḥr ỉm.y=k ḫpr.w=k ṯnỉ(.w) m ḥr ȝḫ.w psḏ.t ḥr ꜥpr.w*	No god has access to your inner (place?). Your appearance is distinctive in the face of the blessed souls (of the deceased), (and) the Ennead is preparing
4	*sḫr.w=k ḳȝ(ỉ) ꜥb.wy nb ȝtf.w sḫm-ỉb ḫꜥ(ỉ) m sḫm.ty wr bȝ.w=f*	your plans (saying): "High of horns, lord of the Atef(-crown). One powerful of heart who appears in the double crown, whose power is great

47 The juxtaposition of the two toponyms can be understood as conjunction or coordination (Hutkaptah and Inebuhedj), or as possession as expressed by a direct genitive (Hutkaptah of Inebuhedj, in which case the latter is a reference to the nome or town, and the first a reference to the temple).

48 The designation Lady of Provision is here used in apposition of Inebhedet. Interestingly the toponym usually takes a male form, as either Inebhedj or Inebuhedj, 'White Wall(s)'. In the Middle Kingdom, the so-called votive zone at Abydos was also known as the *wꜥr.t nb.t ḏfȝ.w*, 'district of Nebet-Djefau'. See, e.g., stela Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 20153: Simpson (1974), 11. The stela owner narrates how he made his offering chapel at the staircase of the great god (i.e. Osiris) *ḥr wꜥr.t nb.t ḥtp.t ḥr wꜥr.t nb.t ḏfȝ.w*, 'in the district of Nebet-Hetepet, in the district of Nebet-Djefau'. Pouls Wegner (2020), 80, observes that these place names invoke anthropomorphised female entities associated with the provision of food offerings (namely Hetepet and Djefau). She argues that "the identification of the site with these goddesses was integrally related to the function of the *mꜥḥꜥ.t* chapels as places where the dedicator would continue to receive the offerings that sustained him or her after death".

5	*m-ḥr.w tȝ.wy hmhm.t=f pḫr.w m mȝnw smn Rᶜ r mȝ(w) nfr.w=k m ḥb=k n(y) sšm*	in the sight of the Two Lands, one whose clamour circulates (echoes) in Manu." Re stops in the sight of your beauty in your festival of leading
6	*dwȝ.t wn.w=k ḥr nty m ỉgr.t ỉmn.tyw ḥr (ḏd) ỉỉ.wy ỉỉ.wy sḥḏ=k p.t*	the Duat (Netherworld) (-procession). You will open the sight of those who are in the Silent Land (i.e. necropolis), and the Westerners (incl. the deceased) will (say): "Welcome! Welcome!" When you brighten the sky,
7	*ỉdb.wy m ḥnw.w=k stwt=k ḥr ṯs(ỉ) ỉb.w ḫbs(.w)w kfȝ.y*	the Two Banks praise you. When your rays lift up the hearts of those who are covered, uncovered are
8	*=sn ḫᶜ.w=sn ḫnm=sn tȝw=k n(y) ᶜnḫ sḏm.w ḫrw=k pḫr(.w) m*	their limbs so that they may breathe your breath of life. When one hears your voice going around in
9	*ỉn.t wr.t n.w Ḥw.t-kȝ-Ptḥ ỉw=tw ḥr sṯȝ=k m ḥb=k nṯr nb ḥr rdỉ.t n=k*	the Great Wadi ('desert feature', necropolis?) of Hut-ka-Ptah (Memphis) (and) one is pulling you in your festival, every god is giving to you
10	*ỉȝw ᶜ.wy=sn m ḥṯt/htt n ḥr=k ỉw〈=sn〉 ḥᶜ{ᶜ}.w ỉb(.w)=sn*	praise, both their hands in adoration of your face, (while/and) they are rejoiced, their hearts
11	*nḏm〈.w〉 mȝ=sn ḥȝw.ty=k n Wsỉr sš nsw ỉm.y-r ỉp.t-nsw Ptḥ-ms(ỉ.w) mȝᶜ-ḫrw n(y) Mn-nfr*	are happy when they see your face; for the Osiris, Royal Scribe and Overseer of the Royal Household, Ptahmose, true of voice, of Memphis,
12	*ḏd=f ỉnk mȝᶜ(.w) m šms.w=k hrw pn n(y) sṯȝ.t=k ỉw=ỉ gr ḥȝ.t=k mỉ ḥs.yw=k*	he says: "I am a true one in your following (on) this day of pulling you, because I am in front of you (i.e. 'your processional image') like your praised ones (the ones whom you praise),
13	*dỉ.w.n šb.t sšd dỉ=k ḥtp=ỉ 〈m〉 s.t n.t nḥḥ ḥr ỉmn.tt n〈.t〉 nỉw.t=ỉ Ḥw.t-kȝ-Ptḥ*	to whom food offerings and (ritual) fillet are given. May you cause that I occupy/rest in a place of eternity (i.e. tomb) on the west of my city, Hut-ka-Ptah,
14	*pḥ.y=ỉ ỉt=ỉ ỉt.w=ỉ šm.w m ḥtp ỉw ḥᶜ.w(=ỉ) ḏd.wy m*	(and) that I reach my father and forefathers who have gone in peace, my limbs enduring in

15	*ḥs.wt nsw.t dỉ=f n=ỉ ỉ;w nfr pḥ=ỉ ỉm;ḫ nn ḏw.t nb.t (ỉ)r(.y) ḥ`.w=ỉ šms.w=f*	royal favour, that he gives to me a good old age, that I reach the state of veneration, without any evil in my limbs; al his followers
16	*nb m-s;* *wỉ ḫr sṯ;* *wỉ r ỉmn.tt w;ḏ.wy ḥs.y ỉr(ỉ).tw n=f nn*	behind me while pulling me to the west. How fortunate is the praised one for whom these things are done."
17	*ḥtp dỉ nsw m ḫ.t nb.t nfr.t w`b.t ṯ;w nḏm n(y) mḥ.yt n k; n(y) ḥs.y pr(ỉ)(.w) m ḫ.t ḥs(.w) sš nsw ỉm.y-r ỉp.t nsw Ptḥ-ms(.w) m;`-ḫrw*	An offer that the king gives of all good and pure things and the sweet breeze of the north wind to the *ka* of the praised one who came forth praised from the womb, the Royal Scribe, Overseer of the Royal Household, Ptahmose, true of voice.

6.3.3 *Attempting to Contextualise the Sokar-Festival Proceedings in the Landscape*

The stela text starts with an offering formula addressing Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, followed by references to the start of the Sokar festival at Memphis. From line 6 onwards the text makes reference to the god's cult image visiting the necropolis, variously described as Manu and the Great Wadi of Hutkaptah. The text concludes with Ptahmose expressing the wish to continue to participate in the festival forever, which requires the living to pull him (his image) to the west, much the same way he pulled the god's image during his lifetime. The course of event described in the stela text in combination with the places mentioned and the most likely location of the tomb of Ptahmose are graphically illustrated in figure 88. The festival celebrated for the god Sokar starts in the city, Memphis, where the cult image makes the circumambulation of the walls of the temple of Ptah (Hutkaptah). The cult image then makes a journey through the wider Memphite landscape, the precise itinerary of which escapes us presently. In my reconstruction, the cult image leaves the temple of Ptah[49] in procession in a straight line,[50] which may or may not have been possible at the

49 The location of the temple of Ptah is based on the temple's West Gate, built in the early 19th Dynasty, reigns of Seti I and Ramesses II, likely under the supervision of another man named Ptahmose (027/USC): see Staring (2015a), with further references to the archaeological evidence for the West Gate, excavated by the Survey of Memphis expedition. See also Staring (2019), with fig. 13.2.

50 Procession routes in e.g., Thebes (e.g., Rummel 2018; Ulmann 2007), Abydos (e.g., Cahail 2022; Pouls-Wegner 2020), and Deir el-Bersha (Willems 2020), for which we are well informed through written sources and archaeological remains, indeed show a predilection for crossing the landscape in straight lines.

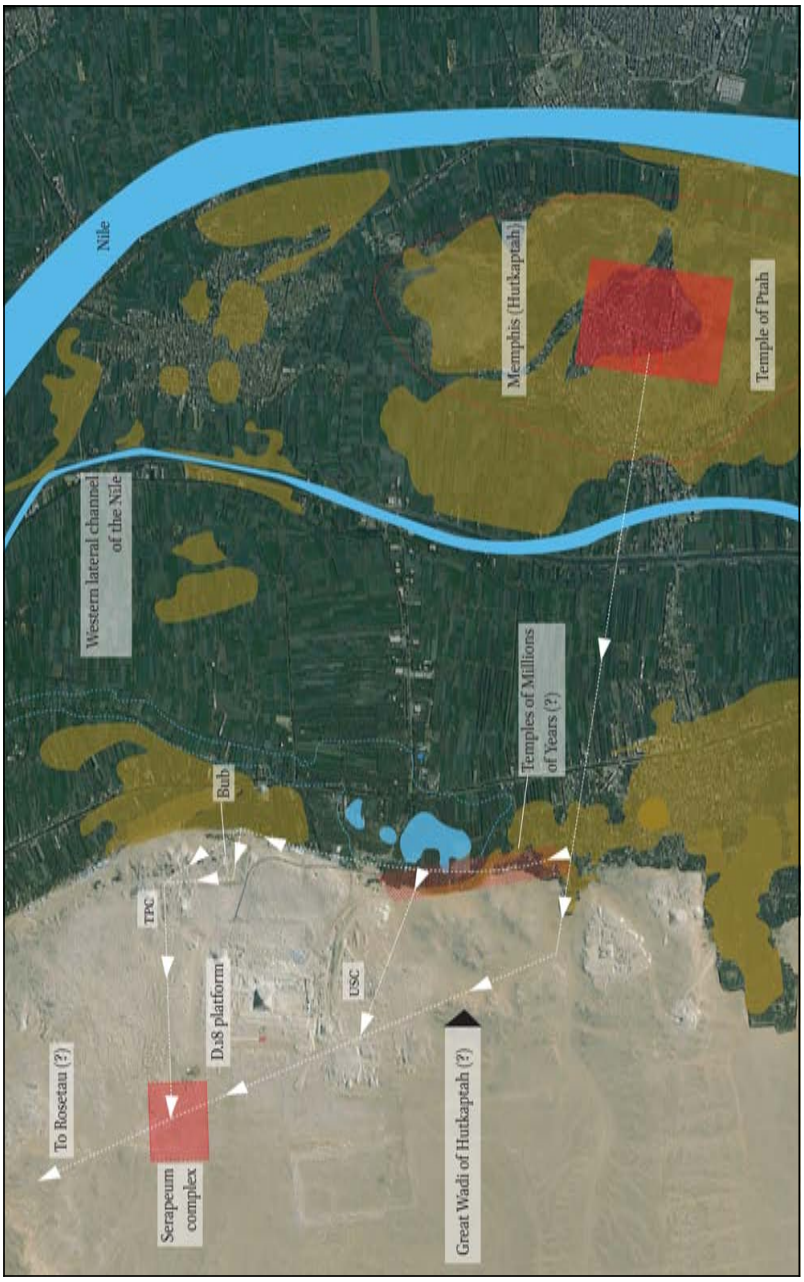


FIGURE 88 The events and places mentioned in the stela of Ptahmose, MMA 67.3
SATELLITE IMAGES BY GOOGLE EARTH (FEBRUARY 2007), ADAPTED BY THE AUTHOR

time, for example due to the presence of the largely dried-up western channel of the Nile, and/or the presence of (seasonal) lakes close to the desert escarpment. The procession party departs the temple of Ptah for the city of the dead on the west of Memphis, where the god's voice (or rather the voices of those attending the god's procession) circulates (echoes) in Manu.

Since the 18th Dynasty, Manu was regarded as the place where the sun set, the Western Mountain.[51] References to Manu are found in multiple religious compositions, for example in BD 15B,[52] essentially a collection of sun hymns. Fittingly, it is also mentioned in sun hymns carved in pyramidions, the capstones of tomb-pyramids,[53] such as that from the late 18th Dynasty tomb of Amenemone (213/TPC), the overseer of craftsmen:

> O Re, you have arisen renewed, ⟨until⟩ you go to rest [in life] in your field, which is in Manu, the gods of the Netherworld praising you, the *ba*-souls of the Westerners kissing the earth for you, they saying at the approach of your majesty: "Welcome, welcome!", you having gone forth that you may rest in Manu! You have appointed me as an honoured one before Osiris.[54]

Related to Manu was the toponym Per-Manu (*pr-Mꜣnw*), a reference to the Memphite necropolis.[55] Khaemwaset, the fourth son of Ramesses II and High priest of Ptah at Memphis, held the title of Iunmutef (priest) of Per-Manu (*ỉwn-mw.t=f n.y pr-Mꜣnw*) inscribed on a statue base excavated from the ruins of the monastery of Apa Jeremias at Saqqara.[56]

Precisely opposite the entrance pylon to the temple of Ptah, which processions such as that of the Sokar festival left in a straight line, lay the prominent Wadi Meryre—perhaps the Great Wadi (*ỉn.t wr.t*),[57] mentioned in Ptahmose's

51 The counterpart of Bakhu, the Eastern Mountain. It was also the place where the moon set, see pyramid panel Berlin ÄM 1632 from the tomb of Ptahmose (027/USC): Staring (2016b), 355–361.

52 Lapp (2015), 2, 18–19; Assmann (1969), 139. See also examples cited in Ockinga (2004), 102 [c].

53 Rammant-Peeters (1983), 143–144.

54 Ockinga (2004), 101.

55 Gomaà (1973), 24–25.

56 Egyptian Museum Cairo JE 40016 = TN 17.11.24.2: Quibell (1909), 4–5. See also Maystre (1992), 315–316, no. 117. Gomaà (1973) 24–25, 81, cat. 36.

57 Note that Hathor was also associated with the necropolis valley, as can be gleaned from her epithets Lady of the Valley, She who resides in the West, Lady of the Two Lands in the Sacred Land (*nb.t ỉn.t ḥr.yt-ỉb ỉmn.tyt nb.t tꜣ.wy m tꜣ ḏsr*), inscribed on a limestone socle Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 14126 of Amenemone/Iny (late 18th/ early 19th Dynasty, probably Saqqara), dedicated to Hathor: Berlandini (1981), 10 [1], pl. 5. At Memphis, Hathor was



FIGURE 89 Approaching the Unas South Cemetery through the Wadi Gamal from the south, facing north
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR, 2019

stela text. The (remains of) the pyramid of Pepi I stood high on the southern 'bank' of the *wadi*, serving as a landmark in the landscape. The very gentle slope of the *wadi* lent the procession easy access to the southern edge of the Unas South Cemetery (Fig. 89–91).

The southern wadi 'entrance' to the New Kingdom necropolis may not only have had practical advantages. It may also have had religious connotations, possibly linked to the locality named Naref, which, according to a gloss of BD 17 was considered as the 'southern gate' of the necropolis of Memphis:[58]

also known as Lady of the Sycamore, Mistress of the Western necropolis (*nb.t nh.t ḥnw.t smỉ.t ỉmn.tyt*): Zivie (2000), fig. 5 (rock-cut tomb of Meryre/Sennefer, 356/Bub, late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III).

58 E.g., Naville (1886), 17: 24. Also *Urk*. V, 26, 8–14. For a comprehensive study of Naref, see now Díaz Iglesias-Llanos (2017). Note that Naref cannot be tied to any single, fixed place in the historical geography; instead, as Díaz Iglesias-Llanos (2017), 570, argues, it should be regarded as a toponym of the mythological and cultic topography, it being meaningful at a cultic level as a stage for the enactment of rites. Naref was used as a toponym in the Underworld, and it was associated with necropolises throughout Egypt, not just at Memphis.



FIGURE 90 The Wadi Gamal seen from the southernmost part of the Unas South Cemetery, facing south
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR, 2019



FIGURE 91 The mouth of the Wadi Gamal marked by palm groves, facing east
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR, 2019

> I set out on the road that I have come to know towards the Lake/Island (*šˁ* var. *i̯w*) of the Righteous;
>
> What does it mean?
>
> As regards Rosetau, it is the southern gate at Naref, it is the northern gate at the mound of Osiris.

A reference to Naref occurs, for example, in the tomb of Horemheb (046/USC), a contemporary of Ptahmose. The text in question, a hymn to Osiris, carved on the *south* wall of the doorway to the inner courtyard, states that the god is seated upon his throne in Naref. Jacobus van Dijk observes that whoever recited the hymn (Horemheb or anyone else) was actually facing Osiris himself,[59] thus forging a relationship between the contents of the hymn inscribed on the tomb wall, and the wider landscape in which the tomb was embedded.

The Lake of the Righteous may similarly have been linked to a feature in the Memphite landscape. It is mentioned on a relief-decorated block deriving from the tomb of a high priest of Ptah (Berlin ÄM 12410; Fig. 92), which probably dates to the early Ramesside period.[60] The block was found in a secondary context, reused as building material in a farmer's house in the village of Saqqara,[61] located at the mouth of the Wadi Merire, in this study tentatively identified as the Great Wadi of Hutkaptah. The name of the main figure depicted on the block, supposedly the tomb owner, is not preserved. Two of his sons, Pahemneter and Ptahemwia, both *wab* priests of Ptah, feature as offering bearers. The six framed columns of text carved behind the main figure are of particular interest, reading:

> (1) receive me in the Island of (2) the Righteous (*i̯w n.y mꜣˁ.tyw*), the necropolis (*ḥr.t*)[62] of Ankhtawy (3) I have come in peace (4) upon the sand (where) I have been equipped (5) with the collar. (6) I have approached

59 Van Dijk in Martin (2016), p. 59. Naref is mentioned in line 6 of the incompletely preserved text.

60 Limestone, 58×94×12 cm. The name of the tomb owner is not preserved on the block. It was acquired in 1894 for the Berlin Egyptian Museum by Karl Reinhardt (1856–1903), dragoman/translator of the Imperial German Consulate General in Cairo. The block was apparently found as part of a group, together with ÄM 12411 and ÄM 12412: Erman (1895). ÄM 12411 is better known as the *'Berlin Trauerrelief'*, from the tomb of the High Priest of Ptah, Ptahemhat Ty [408].

61 Erman (1895), 18: *"in den letzten Jahren scheint irgend ein abgebrochenes Fellachenhaus in Sakkarah eine ganze Ernte von Reliefs und Inschriften ergeben zu haben"*.

62 *Wb*. III, 143.13–19: *"Felsgrab, Nekropole"*.



FIGURE 92 Relief-decorated block of a Ramesside high priest of Ptah, Berlin ÄM 12410
PHOTOGRAPH © STAATLICHE MUSEEN ZU BERLIN—ÄGYPTISCHES MUSEUM UND PAPYRUSSAMMLUNG, INV. NO. ÄM 12410, PHOTO: SANDRA STEIß

> the Land of the Justified (*t; n.y m;ʿ-ḫrw*, i.e. necropolis), (while) I am a true beneficial one (*;ḫ m;ʿ*), (…) I live of the food-offerings of Ptah, I …

The Land of the Justified[63] as a designation for the Memphite necropolis at Saqqara is also found in the 'Berlin Trauerrelief' (ÄM 12411), two joining relief-decorated blocks from the now-lost tomb of the High Priest of Ptah at Memphis, Ptahemhat Ty [408], which was found together with block ÄM 12410. The funeral procession of the first high priest of Ptah after the Amarna period is accompanied by the following words:[64]

> To the West, to the West, the Land of the Justified, High [Priest of Ptah,] Lord of Truth (i.e. Ptah), you are indeed our father ///

In tomb iconography, the funeral procession from Memphis to the necropolis in the west is sometimes also accompanied by a scene depicting a journey by boat. Coincidentally, the third relief-decorated block found reused in the farmer's

63 Note that the relief block Florence, Museo Egizio 1606 (2601) from the contemporary tomb of Pay (017/USC), quoted in section 6.1, uses the variant Land of the Righteous (*t; n.y m;ʿ.tyw*).

64 Limestone, 51.5×131×10.5 cm. For a copy of the text, see Roeder (1924), 179–180.

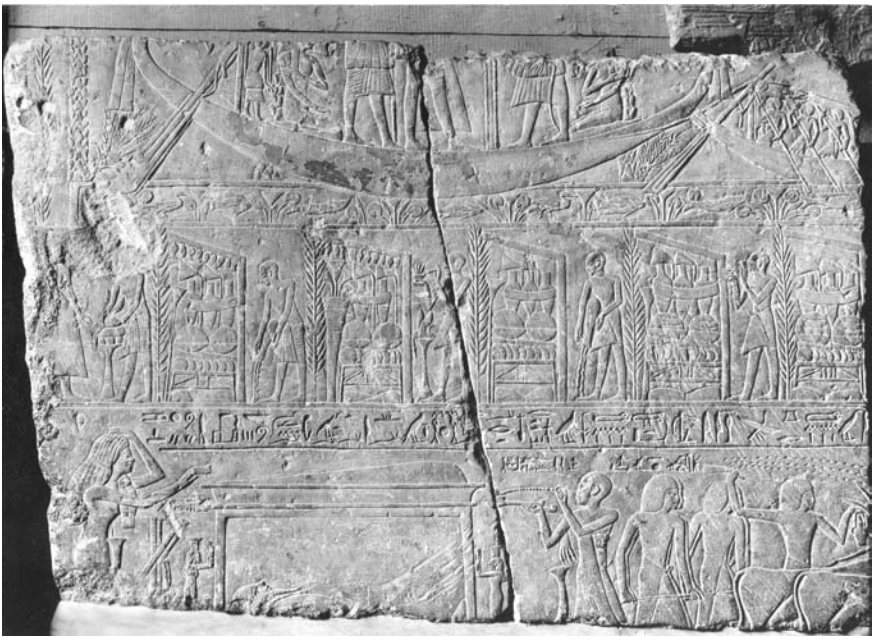


FIGURE 93 Relief-decorated block of an anonymous high-ranking Memphite official, dated to the late 18th Dynasty, Berlin ÄM 12412
SCAN OF A PHOTOGRAPH HELD IN THE GEOFFREY THORNDIKE MARTIN MEMPHITE NEW KINGDOM ARCHIVE

house from Saqqara offers an example (Fig. 93).[65] The name of the deceased is not preserved on the block, so we do not know what late 18th Dynasty tomb it derives from. The block is divided in three registers. The lower register depicts the scene of the funeral procession moving west. The single line of text above the scene reads as follows:

> May they take him to the beautiful West, to his house of eternity (*pr=f n.y nḥḥ*), that he be united with his father and (his) mother; the lords of the necropolis (*nb.w ḫr.t-nṯr*) (will) say to him: "welcome, welcome in peace!"

The scene in the middle register depicts the funerary booths that probably lined (part of) the route to or in the necropolis. In the upper register, we observe two boats navigating a stretch of water, perhaps a lake. The palm trees included in the scene may perhaps be suggestive of a location close to the eastern escarp-

65 Berlin ÄM 12412. Limestone, 69×103×12 cm.

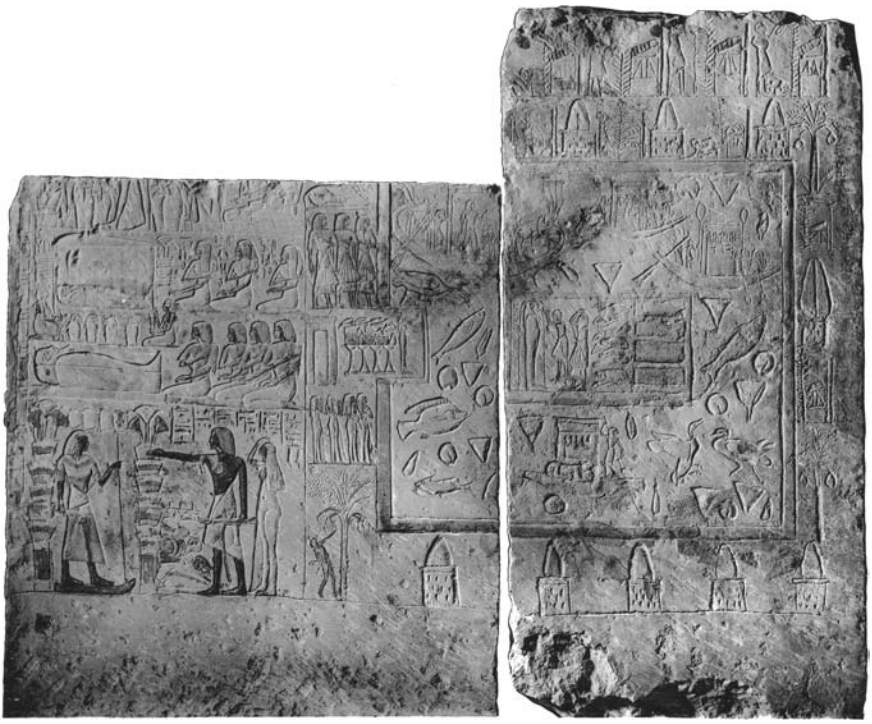


FIGURE 94 Relief-decorated blocks from the tomb of Ipuia (121/TPC)
AFTER QUIBELL, J.E., HAYTER, A.G.K. (1927), *EXCAVATIONS AT SAQQARA: TETI PYRAMID, NORTH SIDE*, CAIRO: IFAO, PL. 10, REPRODUCED WITH KIND PERMISSION

ment of the North Saqqara plateau. The large boat may have transported a statue of the tomb owner, as is visible on parallels such as a scene included in the contemporary tomb of Ipuia (212/TPC), overseer of craftsmen (*ỉm.y-r ḥmw.w*) (Fig. 94). This scene depicts the stretch of water from a different perspective, indicating we are dealing with an (artificial?) lake, which had an island in the centre, and was used to perform various rituals related to the funeral (the so-called '*Inselheiligtum im Gartenteich*').[66] Actual seasonal lakes existed at various locations along the eastern escarpment near the Unas South Cemetery, in an area today characterised by palm groves (see Section 3.1). It is therefore not too far-fetched to suggest that the stretches of water known from tomb iconography are in fact the seasonal lakes that existed near the Memphite necropolis. We may even surmise that these were locally equated with the Lake/Island of the Righteous known from religious compositions.

66 For a study of the iconographic theme, see: Gessler-Löhr (1991); Arnst (1989).

6.4 The Cemetery *En Route* to the Serapeum

In the previous section, the landscape setting of New Kingdom cemeteries was discussed in relation to texts centred on the Sokar festival and funerals. A third reason for crossing the cemetery would have been to visit the Serapeum. Three texts carved on monuments from the North Saqqara plateau suggest that the Unas South Cemetery lay *en route* to the Serapeum.[67]

The first text is inscribed on the two-sided, red granite stela erected by (Pa-)Rahotep (020/USC), vizier and high priest of Ptah in the late reign of Ramesses II, which stood in his 'temple of eternity' (see Section 4.12.6).[68] One side of the stela shows the vizier, clad in the distinctive garment of his office, standing in adoration before Ptah and Anubis. The other side shows him standing in adoration before Osiris and the living Apis.[69] The latter is depicted as a man with the head of a bull. Below the scene of (Pa-)Rahotep in adoration before Ptah and Anubis is a text carved in twelve framed lines of hieroglyphs. The first nine lines enumerate a selection of the many titles held by the vizier, including that of festival-conductor of He-who-is-south-of-his-wall (*sšm.w-ḥb n(y) rs.y ỉnb=f*).[70] This title points to his involvement in the annual festivals celebrated for the god Ptah(-Sokar), which may have included the Sokar festival. After the list of titles follows the speech of the stela owner:

> (9) Rahotep, he says: "O all lector priests, mourners (*ṯs.w*) of the living Apis (10) herald of Ptah, may you turn your faces, every (time) you come (11) (to) the temple of Apis (*r-pr n(y) Ḥp*) (and) to the temple of eternity of the overseer of the town and vizier Rahotep, to perform censing and libation (and) to say: 'For your *ka* (12) (and) for your name, vizier Rahotep'. You will say (so), daily."

67 It may not be insignificant that Medieval writers situated the *Ṭariq Al-ʿIjl*, 'road of the bull', nearby Deir Abu Hermes, the monastery of Apa Jeremias and thus also nearby the Unas South Cemetery. See section 6.1, p. 252–253.

68 Stela Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 48845 = TN 14.4.24.4, measuring 157×83×34 cm. See Moursi (1981).

69 Note that the four-sided stela of Samut (052/USC), which stood near the monument of (Pa-)Rahotep, also bears a scene (on its western side) of the Apis bull being adored. See Raven (forthcoming), chapter 3.

70 The three other known bearers of this title, buried at Saqqara, were all chief stewards of Memphis: (1) Amenhotep Huy (141/USC), 18th Dynasty, *temp.* Amenhotep III; (2) Netjerwymes/Parakhnawa (359/Bub), 19th Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II, 2nd/3rd decade; (3) Hekaneheh, 19th Dynasty (or later), statue Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 1014.

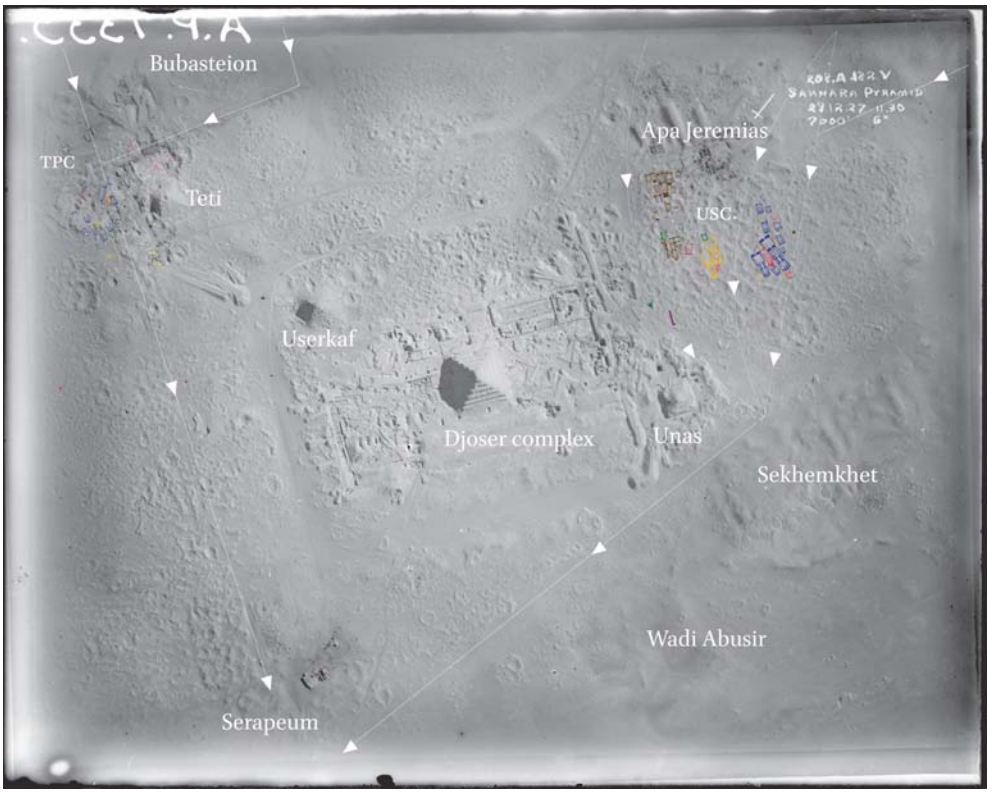


FIGURE 95 Hypothetical (processional) routes crossing the North Saqqara plateau
THE UCL INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY, AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVE FOR ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE MIDDLE EAST (PHOTO AP 1333), TAKEN BY THE ROYAL AIR FORCE, 1927, ADAPTED BY THE AUTHOR

The so-called Appeal to the Living specifically targets priests involved in the daily ritual proceedings conducted in the temple of the Apis. They came from Memphis, ascended the desert plateau, and on their way to the Serapeum crossed the existing New Kingdom cemetery (Fig. 95). By the time (Pa-)Rahotep arrived at the scene, the Unas South Cemetery was already rather crowded with funerary monuments, and perhaps already difficult to navigate (see Section 4.12). The choice of location for his 'temple of eternity', far south from the 'centre of gravity' in the northern section of the Unas South Cemetery, might be due to his wish to be close to the entry/ies to the cemetery and the existing paths and tracks leading northwest towards the Serapeum, rather than being close to the tombs built for his peers. The route taken by the priests towards the site of the Serapeum ran past the southern side of the pyramid of Unas. It may not be entirely coincidental that Khaemwaset, (Pa-)Rahotep's predecessor in the



FIGURE 96 View of the pyramid of Unas from near the south-western corner of the tomb of Horemheb (046/USC), facing north
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR, 2019

office of high priest of Ptah, placed the monumental restoration text (boasting that he embellished the king's monument which he found in ruins) on the south side of the pyramid of Unas.[71] As such, the text was prominently on display to people on their way to the Serapeum, and to the high-status officials buried in the adjoining Unas South Cemetery (Fig. 96). The route to the Serapeum continued west of the pyramid complex of Netjerikhet Djoser through the so-called 'deep sandy wadi'.[72] The latter may not be an entirely natural feature, and may have been in use as early as the Early Dynastic period, when the royal monuments built on the North Saqqara plateau were accessed from the north, through the Wadi of Abusir (see below, section 6.6).[73] The large, mud-

71 The restoration texts of Khaemwaset were embedded in the sides of various pyramids in the Memphite region. The same monuments, including the complex of Unas, were actually being used as stone quarries. Various New Kingdom tombs built in the Unas South Cemetery were found to be built with material reused from Old Kingdom structures, including the pyramid temple of Unas: Staring (in press, a). For the restoration texts, see e.g., Hagen (2013), 203–205, with references to earlier literature. For the Ramesside quarrying activities, see also Navrátolová (2016). Snape (2011), 465, argues that the prince's "manipulation" of the monumental landscape in the early Ramesside period was motivated by contemporary views of the past, and especially those views stressing the projection of aspects of kingship.

72 For this *wadi*, see Reader (2017), 7, fig. 4.

73 Kuraszkiewicz (2018), 21, figs 1, 13; (2005), 6–7. Note that north and south of the Serapeum stood a number of Late Period temple platforms: Mathieson/Dittmer (2007), 87, fig. 10–12. These may have had New Kingdom forerunners.

brick platform built on the west side of the Step Pyramid complex, built in the space between the enclosure wall and the so-called 'dry moat', may perhaps hold a connection to the 'deep sandy wadi' route. The platform, dated on ceramic evidence to the late 18th Dynasty, measures at least 40 m north-south. From this place, one would have had an excellent view on the *wadi* route, with the Serapeum and the hill-top monuments further to the north (Section 3.8.1) in full view.

The second text alluding to the living crossing the New Kingdom cemetery on their way to the Serapeum is inscribed on the red granite statue base of Khaemwaset (192/USC), high priest of Ptah and son of Ramesses II.[74] This monument may have stood at the other end of the New Kingdom 'Serapeum Way', close to the actual site of the Apis burials. The rectangular base has, on its upper surface, an oblong depression which accommodated the now-lost statue. Its find spot has not been recorded; however, on account of the text's contents it very likely derived from the temple associated with the burial site of the Apis bulls.[75] The text carved along the right-hand side of the base contains an Appeal to the Living:[76]

> The Iunmutef, *sem* priest, and king's son Khaemwaset, says: "All (people) who will come to the temple of the living Apis (*ḥw.t-nṯr Ḥp ꜥnḫ*), may they see this temple that I have made for this god (and) may they see all that which I have made that is carved/inscribed on its wall (and) may they adore the processional statue (*ḥn.ty*) of the *sem* priest and king's son Khaemwaset, …"

Another statue base of Khaemwaset, made of calcite, was found reused in the ruins of the monastery of Apa Jeremias. Its find spot may suggest that Khaemwaset erected another statue in the Unas South Cemetery, perhaps as part of a larger structure.[77] An inscription in three lines includes another two

74 The present whereabouts of the statue base and its dimensions are unknown: Gomàa (1973), 81, cat. 39, fig. 14a, pl. 3.

75 Gomàa (1973), 44–45.

76 The text along the left-hand side includes Khaemwaset saying "I am a noble (dead) foremost of the city (of the dead)" (*Ḫrꜥ(i)-m-wȝs.t ḏd=f ỉnk sꜥḥ ḫnt.y nỉw.t*).

77 Quibell (1912), 45–46; (1909), 2. The base had been used as one of four foundation stones of the main church, laid at its south-west corner. More inscribed stone elements of Khaemwaset were found reused in the monastery, including what Quibell (1909), 4–5, describes as a "dark basalt" block with inscription (now: Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 40016). The fragment measures 110 × 54 × 37 cm. Quibell identified it as yet another statue

Addresses to the Living. The second addresses "all you god's servants and lector priests who will later be in the temple of the living Apis (*ḥw.t-nṯr n.y Ḥp ʿnḫ*) in every month", which is reminiscent of the text carved on the stela of (Pa-)Rahotep. His chapel probably stood nearby that of Khaemwaset, whom he succeeded as High priest of Ptah.

6.5 Temples of Millions of Years and Their Relationship to the Necropolis

The Memphite landscape has changed markedly since the New Kingdom (Chapter 3). Today, the desert edge Unas South Cemetery has the appearance of a rather isolated place, far from the ruin fields of Memphis, the site with significant archaeological remains attesting to the presence of the living. The situation will have been rather different in the New Kingdom. In my view, a series of temples of Millions of Years stood at the western edge of the Nile floodplain, along a length of the eastern escarpment (Figs 97 and 88), much the same way as was the situation in contemporary Thebes and Abydos.[78] The main source underlying my proposed evaluation of the cultural landscape west of Memphis is the autobiographical text inscribed on the statue of Amenhotep Huy (141/USC), whom we have met before as a key official in the late 18th Dynasty reign of Amenhotep III.[79] The statue depicts Huy as a seated scribe. It may have stood in the temple of Ptah at Memphis, where it was found (perhaps in a secondary context).[80] The titles-of-office inscribed on the statue identify Huy as, inter alia, chief steward in Memphis (*ỉm.y-r pr wr m Mn-nfr*) and overseer of works in 'United-with-Ptah' (*ỉm.y-r kȝ.t m ḥnm.t Ptḥ*). Excerpts from the autobiographical text relevant to the Memphite cultural landscape are given below in translation:

base; Gomàa (1973), 81, cat. 36 ("black granite") on closer inspection, identifies it as the lid of a sarcophagus, and suggests it came from the tomb of Khaemwaset. As such, his tomb would be located in the cemetery where many other high priests of Ptah built their tombs and memorial chapels.

78 See Staring (2019), 213–218; (2014–2015), 80–83.

79 Murnane (1998), 213–214.

80 Statue Oxford, Ashmolean Museum inv. no. 1913.163, found by Petrie (1913), 33–36, pls 78 [bottom, right], 79–80; see also *Urk.* IV, 1793–1801. The fragment of another scribe's statue of Amenhotep Huy, probably from Memphis (Cairo JE 27862 = CG 1169), also contains a reference to the circumambulation of the walls performed as part of the annual Sokar festival: El-Sayed (1982).



FIGURE 97 Natural depression to the southeast of the Unas South Cemetery, facing east
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR, 2019

> [This statue was] given as a favour [from the king] (and placed) in the temple of Neb-Maat-Re "United-with-Ptah" (*ḥw.t Nb-mꜣʿ.t-Rʿ-ḥnm.t-Ptḥ*) which His Majesty, life, prosperity, health, made anew for his father [Ptah-Who-is-South-of-His-Wall in] ⌜the cultivated land⌝ [on] the West of Memphis (*Ḥw.t-kꜣ-Ptḥ*) on behalf of (...) Amenhotep (Huy).

The statue, a gift from the pharaoh, was originally set up in a temple named Neb-Maat-Re (*prenomen* of King Amenhotep III) "United-with-Ptah"—a temple constructed under the supervision of Huy:[81]

> ... he (i.e. the king) promoted me (13) to direct the construction works in his house of Millions of Years, which he made anew in his cultivated land West of Memphis (14) upon the bank/foreshore of Ankhtawy.

This temple is exclusively known from textual sources. There is no archaeological evidence of its former existence—and the same goes for all the temples of Millions of Years of kings of the New Kingdom at Memphis (see below). The

81 Built in the third decade of Amenhotep III's reign: Murnane (1998), 213.

description given by Huy provides us with a good indication for the temple's former location: it was built 'in the cultivated land of the West of Memphis, upon the banks of Ankhtawy' (*m bʿḥ n.y ỉmn.tyt Ḥw.t-kȝ-Ptḥ ḥr ỉdb n.y ʿnḫ-tȝ.wy*). This is a very specific reference to the edge of the Nile valley at the foot of the escarpment of the Saqqara plateau.[82] The temple of Millions of Years of Amenhotep III stood there not alone. In papyrus Sallier IV, verso 2,1, titled 'A letter concerning the wonders of Memphis', mentions 'the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt who are in the West and who are in the West of Memphis' (*nsw.w-bỉ.tyw n.ty(w) ỉm.y-wr.t n.ty(t) ḥr ỉmn.t n(.yt) Ḥw.t-kȝ-Ptḥ*).[83] The kings who were 'in the west of Memphis' resided in their temples of Millions of Years.[84] Interestingly, the same text also includes a reference to 'Ptah-who-is-under-his-moringa-tree-of-Men-Maat-Re-united-with-Ptah',[85] a reference to the temple of Amenhotep III which, given the date of the papyrus in the reign of Ramesses II, was over a century old when the text was composed.

Temples of Millions of Years were built primarily for the royal cult and were founded by the ruling king, even though the central sanctuary was dedicated to the prime local deity, which at Memphis would have been Ptah.[86] By drawing a parallel to Amenhotep III's royal memorial temple at Thebes (Kom el-Hettân), the full name of the Memphite temple can be reconstructed to read 'temple of Millions of Years of "Neb-Maat-Re United-with-Ptah" in the house of Ptah' (*ḥw.t n.yt ḥḥ.w m rnp.wt Nb-mȝʿ.t-Rʿ-ẖnm.t-Ptḥ m pr Ptḥ*).[87] In my view, the location of the Memphite memorial temple of Amenhotep III mirrors the landscape setting as we know it from Thebes. There, the remains of various temples of Millions of Years are situated, to this day, on the edge of the cultivated land, the ancient *bʿḥ*-terrain,[88] and the non-royal desert necropolis serves as a back-

82 The Field Museum, Chicago, holds a naos-shaped stela (acc. no. 257; cat. no. 31288) inscribed for a man named Thutmosis (late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III), who held office as guardian of the *bʿḥ* (*sȝw.ty n.y pȝ bʿḥ*), *temp*. Amenhotep III.

83 Gardiner (1937), 89, 15–16.

84 According to Caminos (1954), 342, 'the West' refers to Thebes (cf. *Wb* I, 73, 10: *ỉm.y-wr.t Wȝs.t*). However, since it is here mentioned as part of a list of deities at Memphis, it seems more likely that 'the West' in both cases refers to the Memphite necropolis. See also *Wb* I, 73,11.

85 pSallier IV, verso 1,8.

86 Ullmann (2002), 661–670. The central sanctuary of the royal memorial temples at Thebes was dedicated to Amun-Re. In the Ramesside temples, Amun was worshipped in a specific form identifying him with the king.

87 The temple was administratively attached to the temple of Ptah at Memphis, see Haring (1997), 169, 390.

88 As already suggested by Gardiner (1913), 35, and followed by Kitchen (1991), 93 and fig. 1. Others, such as Snape (2011), 466 with n. 6; Angenot (2008), 10; Jeffreys/Smith (1988), 63–

drop to the scene. Ongoing geoarchaeological research at Thebes now shows that the temple of Amenhotep III was fronted by a minor branch of the Nile, and that the temple itself was relatively safe from the annual Nile flood.[89] Such may also have been the situation at Memphis, where a former western branch of the Nile has been detected (Section 3.1).

The Memphite temple of Amenhotep III did not stand in isolation. Text references point to the former existence of several royal memorial temples of predecessors and successors.

The presence of possibly the earliest New Kingdom temple of this type at Memphis is suggested by the texts inscribed on two stelae formerly situated in the limestone quarries of Maâsara (Tura), on the east bank of the Nile opposite Memphis.[90] The stelae are dated to year 22 of Ahmose and record the quarrying of white limestone for several temples of Millions of Years, including one at Memphis.

The existence of the temple of Millions of Years of the mid-18th Dynasty King Thutmosis III is known through one of the titles held by the General of the Lord of the Two Lands (*ỉm.y-r mšʿ wr n.y nb tꜣ.wy*), Amenemone (005/USC). He officiated in the reigns of Tutankhamun to Horemheb, and his now-lost tomb was located in the Unas South Cemetery.[91] He held office as great steward in the temple of Menkheperre (*prenomen* of Thutmosis III) (*ỉm.y-r pr m tꜣ ḥw.t Mn-ḫpr-Rʿ*).[92]

Evidence for the temple of Thutmosis III's successor, Amenhotep II, is found in the tomb stela of the late 18th Dynasty (*temp*. Tutankhamun) Royal Butler (*wbꜣ nsw*), Ipu [373].[93] Ipu's father, Neferhat, who is also depicted on the stela, bears the title lector priest of Aa-kheperu-Re (*prenomen* of Amenhotep II) (*ḫr.y-ḥb n.y ʿꜣ-ḫpr.w-Rʿ*). Possible material evidence for the temple is provided by the mud bricks stamped with the name Aakheperure found in the Unas South Cemetery (Section 4.4.1).

64, propose to situate the temple "United-with-Ptah" adjacent to the temple of Ptah at Memphis and hypothesise that it was demolished under Akhenaten. Later, Ramesses II would have built the West Gate of the temple of Ptah on the spot. Garnett (2011) also situates it close to the temple of Ptah, although she argues that the temple almost certainly remained intact during the Amarna period.

89 Toonen et al. (2019).

90 For the text, see *Urk*. IV, I, 24–25. For the quarries, see Harrell (2016).

91 Staring (2017), 603–608.

92 Pasquali (2011), 10–12 [A.19]. Members of its priesthood are known as late as the Saite Period. Haring (1997), 432, assigns Amenemone to the Theban memorial temple of Thutmosis III.

93 Stela Leiden AP 9.

The temple of Millions of Years of Horemheb is referenced in the title of a man named Iniuia, who was probably a grandson of the late 18th Dynasty Chief steward of Memphis, Iniuia (009/USC).[94] The relief-fragment identifies the grandson as first prophet of the temple of Djeserkheperure Setepenre (*prenomen* of Horemheb) Son of Ptah who loves the inundated land (*t; ḥw.t Ḏsr-ḫpr(.w)-Rᶜ-stp.n-Rᶜ s; Ptḥ mr.y-bᶜḥ*). The reference to the *bᶜḥ*-terrain likely points to the same place as where the temple of Amenhotep III was located. The tomb of Iniuia's grandfather, Iniuia, is located immediately south of the former private tomb of Horemheb, which in the Ramesside period acted *de facto* as another memorial temple of the deified king.

The Memphite Ramesseum, the temple of Millions of Years of Ramesses II, was probably built by the Mayor of Memphis, Ptahmose (027/USC).[95] The temple was named 'the temple of Ramesses Mery-Amun in the house of Ptah' (*t; ḥw.t Rᶜ-ms-s(w) mr.y-ʾImn m pr Ptḥ*).[96] Ptahmose and two other officials after him, father and son Nebnefer and Mahu (130/USC), were affiliated with this temple as steward (*ỉm.y-r pr m t; ḥw.t Rᶜ-ms-s(w) mr.y-ʾImn m pr Ptḥ*).

Besides being the location of various temples of Millions of Years, the foreshore of Ankhtawy also accommodated a temple of Ptah. The son of Amenhotep Huy, Ipy [372], who succeeded his father in office as chief steward of Memphis, bore the title of first prophet in the temple of Ptah in the *bᶜḥ*-terrain (*ḥm-nṯr tp.y ḥw.t Ptḥ m p; bᶜḥ*).[97]

The recovered tombs of high-ranking officials serving the above-mentioned temples are all situated in the Unas South Cemetery. Their tombs probably stood not only in close proximity to the kings' temples, but stood also in visual connection with the royal monuments.[98] Interestingly, the Unas South Cemetery accommodated not only the tombs of senior officials of the Memphite temples of Millions of Years. The tombs of a fair number of stewards, overseers of the treasury, and overseers of cattle of the Theban Ramesseum were located there also.[99]

94 Relief Cairo TN 31.5.25.11: Schneider (2012), 121–122, fig. V.2; early 19th Dynasty.

95 Staring (2015a); (2014).

96 Staring (2015a), 178–180.

97 Pasquali/Gessler-Löhr (2011), 281–299; Pasquali (2011), 93 [B.67].

98 As has been observed in the Theban necropolis, case study Dra Abu el-Naga: Jiménez Higueras (2020), 171–210. One may also point to the Ramesside priest of the Theban temple of Millions of Years of Thutmosis III (*ḥm-nṯr tp.y n.y Mn-ḫpr-Rᶜ*), Khonsu, named Ta (*temp.* Ramesses II). He was one of the priests that had a mud brick structure built inside the temple of the long-dead king: Seco Álvarez (2017), 582–583, fig. 4; Seco Álvarez/Martínez Babón (2015). Khonsu's tomb (TT 31; Kampp 1996, 219–220; Davies 1948, II–30) is located on the hill of Sheikh Abd el-Gurna, opposite the temple in which he served during his life.

99 See Staring (2014–2015) for a comprehensive treatment of these officials.

The suggestion of the close spatial relationship between the royal memorial temples and the private tombs of those professionally associated with them is further strengthened by the autobiographical text of Amenhotep Huy (141/USC). This text informs us about the income-generating endowment he created to maintain his tomb-cult and supply it with offerings in perpetuity. This arrangement involves the temple of Amenhotep III (lines 22–40):

> Now behold, I appointed property by written deed out of my fields, my serfs, and my cattle on behalf of the statue (*twt*)[100] of Neb-Maat-Re whose name is ['United-with-Ptah'], which His Majesty [had made] for his father Ptah in this temple (*m r-pr pn*). (…) I say: "Listen you *wab* priests, lector-priests and gods-servants of 'United-with-Ptah' and every steward of the king who shall exist hereafter in Memphis (*ʾInb.w*), His Majesty has given you bread and beer (…) and all good things to nourish you in his temple of 'United-with-Ptah' in the morning of every day; do not covet my provisions which my own(?) god decreed for me so as to do me honour at my tomb (*ỉs=ỉ*). (…) I appointed property by written deed for this statue (*twt*) of the king which is in his temple (*ḥw.t=f*) in exchange for his giving to me divine offerings that come in and came forth from before his statue (*ḫnty*) after the ritual sacrifice has been made, so as to establish my provisions for future generations to come."

In this section of the text, we learn that Amenhotep Huy had donated his property to the statue of the king in the temple 'United-with-Ptah'. This property was then used by the temple to produce offerings for the statues of Ptah and the king. In an act of 'diversion of offerings', the same food offerings were taken up to the necropolis and deposited in the tomb of Amenhotep Huy, an act which had to be repeated daily, forever.[101] Those responsible for the maintenance of the offering cult were a *wab* priest and a lector-priest. They would have

100 The *twt*-statue is usually translated simply as 'statue'; *ḫnty*-statue (mentioned below) refers to a 'processional statue': Morkot (1990), 331–332.

101 The quantities transported by them daily have been calculated to amount to over one sack of grain of c. 80 litres (380 sacks annually): Haring (1997), 142. The tomb of Amenhotep Huy may have been accessible for a prolonged period of time following his interment, because he features among the venerated ancestors depicted on the so-called '*fragment Daressy*', a relief-decorated tomb-block from Saqqara dated to the Ramesside period. The block has not been seen since Egyptologist Georges Daressy (1864–1938) copied it at Saqqara. For the '*fragment Daressy*', see Mathieu (2012), 819 n. 1, which includes an extensive list of bibliographic references, and pp. 839–841 focus on Amenhotep Huy.

been the final beneficiaries of these food-offerings. The same priests may have built their own chapels near the tomb of Huy. Such practice is evidenced by the chapels (each including a stela and offering table) of Yamen (010/USC)and Peraa(er)neheh (024/USC), built in the same Unas South Cemetery. Both men served in the offering cult of Maya (028/USC), the overseer of the treasury in the reigns of Tutankhamun and Horemheb. Their memorial chapels were built against the south exterior wall of Maya's tomb.[102]

In sum, the sacred landscape at Memphis included the city-temples of Ptah and other deities, and to the west of the city, at the foot of the desert escarpment, New Kingdom pharaohs built temples of Millions of Years. Prominent citizens of Memphis built their tombs—or 'temples of eternity' (*ḥw.t n.t nḥḥ*)—on the desert plateau, which could be seen from the monument of their kings and the temple of Ptah at Memphis. Based on parallels to festivals celebrated at Thebes and Abydos, the procession of the god Sokar on day 26 of his festival travelled to chapels housed in various royal temples before heading up to the necropolis.[103] Easy access to this part of the necropolis was possible via a *wadi* network just north of the pyramid of Pepi I (Wadi Merire; Wadi Gamal, see Figs 88–91),[104] via the gentle slope over the Ras el-Gisr (Fig. 98), or via the depression which also accommodated the 5th Dynasty pyramid causeway of Unas (Fig. 99).[105] Arriving from Memphis, the southern *wadi*-approach would have offered the shortest route. However, different routes may have been taken for different purposes, on different occasions, and during different times of the year, and it is likely that all three routes were used through the New Kingdom.

6.6 On *Wadi's* and Pyramid Causeways: Accessing the Teti Pyramid Cemetery

Thus far, the landscape around the Unas South Cemetery has been discussed. Let us now move north and consider the wider landscape setting of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery. Today, visitors to the Saqqara archaeological site start their ascent near the valley temple of Unas, where a tarmac road leads up against

102 Raven (1997).

103 Eaton (2007).

104 See Dobrev (2017), 53 and fig. 1.

105 Note that the valley temple of Unas is also situated at the edge of the cultivation, on the banks of an ancient lake. The valley temple and pyramid temple of Unas are connected by a causeway measuring 690 m in length.



FIGURE 98 Possible means of accessing the Unas South Cemetery in the New Kingdom
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR, 2019



FIGURE 99 The stone-paved causeway of Unas, facing west
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR, 2019

the eastern escarpment towards the site of the Bubasteion (see Fig. 18).[106] In the past, people would have taken different routes up the plateau. The number of possibilities was not infinite, however, due to the eastern scarp. A series of natural depressions, *wadi's*, offered comfortable means of access. The ancient means of accessing the plateau have been studied for the earliest[107] and latter periods of Egyptian history.[108] All point to the Wadi of Abusir as the most significant point of entry.[109] The Serapeum was also situated in the *wadi* bed.[110] The discovery of the foundations of a temple built by Ramesses II on the sand plain bordering on the floodplain halfway between the northern bank of the *wadi* and the site of the 5th Dynasty pyramids at Abusir,[111] further illustrates the continued importance of this point of entry to the plateau.[112] The present study will limit itself to the question of how the private cemeteries were accessed, and the Wadi of Abusir appears to have played a marginal part in their biography.[113]

6.6.1 *Notes on the Situation in the Early Dynastic Period and Old Kingdom*

In the Early Dynastic period, the northern approach through the Wadi of Abusir influenced the spatial patterning of royal and private funerary monuments atop the plateau. The *wadi* accommodated a long processional way. At its southern end lay what is today called the Gisr el-Mudir (see Section 3.2) and the tombs of two or three kings of the 2nd Dynasty, Hetepsekhemwy/Raneb and Ninetjer.[114] Two kings of the 3rd Dynasty also constructed their tombs in this area near the southern end of the wadi: Netjerikhet Djoser and Sekhemkhet. The former visually dominated the plateau for the next millennia (as it still

106 The tarmac road follows a path in existence when the Prussian expedition led by Lepsius camped at Saqqara in 1843. The sand path is visible in a drawing by Ernst Weidenbach, see: Freier (2013), folded back cover.

107 Reader (2018); (2017); Dodson (2016).

108 Williams (2018); Nicholson (2016); Thompson (2012); Jeffreys/Smith (1988); Smith (1974).

109 The extent of the Wadi of Abusir is defined by the contour line marking an elevation of 45 m above mean sea level (MHR map sheet 22). See e.g., Reader (2017); (2004), 63–68.

110 The history of the burial complex(es) may go further back in time, although no archaeological evidence for potential earlier phases have been found to date.

111 Onderka et al. (2020), 130–131, 140–141; Bárta et al. (2018), 10–14.

112 Note that the entrance to the temple is oriented towards the *wadi*.

113 This may have been different for New Kingdom tombs built in the northern extent of the North Saqqara plateau; however, since we have no detailed information about the possible tombs in that area, the question of how the hypothetical tombs were accessed in the past is not addressed in this study.

114 Lacher-Raschdorff (2014).

does to the present day), while the latter was the last royal tomb to be built on the North Saqqara plateau for a few hundred years. Aidan Dodson suggests that the lack of available space at the south end of the *wadi*, by that time fully occupied with royal structures, may have been one reason why subsequent kings left Saqqara to construct their pyramid complexes elsewhere in the Memphite necropolis.[115] They selected locations on the edge of the Memphite plateau for their pyramid complexes, with a gentle slope towards the edge of the cultivation.[116] The selection of these sites along the eastern escarpment was likely linked to the changing architectural lay-out of the pyramid complexes. An artificial causeway connected the pyramid-tomb located atop the plateau with a valley temple sited at the foot of the escarpment. Thus, the natural *wadi* approach was abandoned.

The last king of the 4th Dynasty, Shepseskaf (c. 2441–2436 BCE), built his sarcophagus-shaped tomb on the South Saqqara plateau, at a site just south of the wide Wadi Taflah.[117] The first king to return to the North Saqqara plateau was Userkaf, the first king of the 5th Dynasty. He selected a plot inside the Step Pyramid complex, squeezed between the eastern enclosure wall and the so-called 'dry moat'. The limited space available at the site meant that the pyramid temple was built not east of the pyramid (as was usual), but on the south.[118] The causeway connecting the pyramid and valley temples probably followed the course of a natural *wadi*. The possible remains of the causeway were noted in 1839 by Perring.[119] On his map of the Saqqara necropolis, he indicated an 'inclined road to pyramids 2 & 3' (i.e. Userkaf and Netjerikhet) running through the depression south of the Bubasteion cliffs.[120] The causeway ran precisely parallel to the southern enclosure wall of Late Period and Ptolemaic Bubasteion.[121] It may suggest that the old road continued to provide access to the plateau in the later periods of pharaonic history.[122] It lay conveniently in front of the southern cliff (*dhn.t* of Ankhtawy), where in the New Kingdom a series of rock-cut tombs were made (Section 5.10). As such, the old

115 Dodson (2016), 10.

116 The sites are, from north to south, Abu Roash, Giza, Zawiyet el-Aryan, South Saqqara, and Dahshur.

117 Jéquier (1928); (1925).

118 Lauer (1955); Labrousse/Lauer (2000).

119 Perring (1842), pl. 7.

120 See also Labrousse/Lauer 2000, 40–41, fig. 39.

121 Perring (1842), pl. 7, erroneously labeled the massive enclosure wall as 'inclined causeway of crude bricks'. David Jeffreys suggests that the wall was built on the remains of the old causeway: Jeffreys et al. (2000), 9.

122 Dodson (2016), 12–13.

infrastructure may have influenced the clustering of tombs in this area, on one of the access ways to the plateau.

A little to the north of the causeway of Userkaf were situated the causeway(s) of Teti and Menkauhor. Nothing remains beyond a small section of the upper part of the causeway of Teti, running south of the pyramid of Menkauhor. It has been suggested that the lower part of Teti's causeway appropriated the extant causeway of Menkauhor, which was built earlier.[123] The lower end(s) of the causeway(s) of the two kings may have coincided with one of the entrances to the later Anubieion ('Way 1').[124]

6.6.2 *Accessing the Teti Pyramid Cemetery and the Cliff of Ankhtawy in the New Kingdom*

The Ptolemaic Serapeum Way ascended the plateau c. 100 m further to the north of the hypothesised lower end of the pyramid causeway(s) of Teti and Menkauhor, labelled 'Way 3' in the plan of the Anubieion.[125] It thus clearly did not reuse pre-existing Old Kingdom infrastructure.[126] One wonders if the Serapeum Way had a New Kingdom forerunner. In Chapter 5, it was observed that the spatial patterning of tombs in the cemetery north of Teti's pyramid does not hint at a similarly formal road cutting across the necropolis. This renders it unlikely that the course of the later Serapeum Way was used in the New Kingdom to access the necropolis. Furthermore, since the New Kingdom development of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery must be seen in connection with the rock-cut tombs in the *dhn.t* of Ankhtawy, with tombs in the latter cliff occupying prime necropolis real estate in terms of landscape phenomenology (in terms of visibility, accessibility), one probably needs to search further south to locate the preferred access route in the New Kingdom. The visitor departing Memphis likely first passed by the cliff-side tombs before continuing the ascend up the plateau.[127] Thus, the depression which also included the lower course of the causeway of Userkaf—if indeed still (partly) extant in the New Kingdom—offered a gradual slope upwards to the *dhn.t* of Ankhtawy. From there, the visitor may have walked passed the west and/or east side of the rocky outcrop of what would later become known as the Peak of Ankhtawy,[128]

123 Dodson (2016), 14.

124 As suggested by Dodson (2016), 15; cf. Jeffreys/Smith (1988), fig. 62.

125 Dodson (2016), fig. 1.5, with references to earlier literature.

126 Although Dodson (2016), 15, explores the possibility, he also deems it unlikely.

127 Note that the later Bubasteion also had a doorway in its south wall, which is suggestive of a southern approach (in addition to other approaches). For the approaches in the Late Period and Ptolemaic period, see also Williams (2018).

128 The western and eastern cliffs may have contained rock-cut tombs as well.

continuing northwards, through the 'gate' formed by the pyramids of Teti and Menkauhor. Beyond this monumental gate lay the core of the New Kingdom cemetery, which, over time, grew laterally to the north and west, and gradually filled the space between the two Old Kingdom pyramids. The Serapeum could be reached by crossing the desert in a westward direction, probably following much the same course as the later and well-preserved Ptolemaic paved way (Fig. 100). What the built landscape looked like beyond the western edge of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery cannot be stated with certainty based on the presently available archaeological data. However, on present evidence, it would seem that in the New Kingdom, (one of the) main route(s) towards the Serapeum lay in the south (Section 6.4).[129]

6.7 Closing Note on the Landscape of the Living East of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery and the Cliff of Ankhtawy

The Unas South Cemetery lay west of a zone occupied with temples built for gods and kings. A fair number of the owners of tombs in the cemetery held high-ranking positions in these temples. The proximity of the temples and tombs thus created an eternal link between the individuals and the institutions that they were affiliated with in life. What was the situation in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery and the *dhn.t* of Ankhtawy like? In Chapter 5, it was found that a number of the owners of tombs held positions in the king's palace, and that the cemetery accommodated many individuals engaged in 'the arts'. One wonders whether a relation existed with Djed-sut-Teti.[130] The town was established in the early 6th Dynasty to accommodate the workers involved in the construction of the pyramid complex of Teti, which bore the same name, *ḏd-sw.t-Ttỉ*, 'Teti's places are enduring'. In the Teaching of Merikare, which is set in the Herakleopolitan Period (c. 2118–1980 BCE), the town is described as having a population of 10,000, including officials that had resided there 'since the time of the (royal) residence' (*ḏr rk ḥnw*).[131] No archaeological remains of the pyramid town have been found to date, and so its precise location remains unknown.

129 In the Ptolemaic period, there were probably a number of paths leading up to the plateau towards the Serapeion. Thompson (2012), 18, singled out two main routes: the Wadi Route through the Wadi of Abusir (a 1,200 m long road may have connected the north side of the Serapeion to the *wadi* mouth crossing an area then known as Hepnebes) and the Serapieion Way. See also Nicholson (2016), 28, and fig. on p. 21.

130 See e.g., Knoblauch (2012).

131 See e.g., Parkinson (1997), 223–224; Quack (1992), 61.



FIGURE 100 A selection of the major Ptolemaic (infra-)structures projected on the New Kingdom Teti Pyramid Cemetery
IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR

Jaromir Málek suggests that the town lay at the foot of the escarpment immediately east of the pyramid of Teti, and that it may have been a natural extension of the Early Dynastic settlement of White Wall (*ʾInb-ḥḏ*), which he situates at the site of the present-day town of Abusir.[132] Were the palaces of the New Kingdom also located in this northern area? This is perhaps not very likely, because the only archaeologically attested Memphite palace is that of Merenptah. His palace is situated east of the sacred temple precinct of Ptah, on the contemporary west bank of the Nile.[133] At present, the question of what the wider landscape looked like east of the northern section of the North Saqqara plateau thus needs to remain open.

132 Málek (1997), 95 and fig. 1.

133 Gräzer Ohara (2020), maps 6–7 (and with further references). Stela Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 34187, which dates to year 3 of Ay. The stela text records the royal donation of a field to an official (overseer of the royal household?), which is taken from the holdings of several institutions. The precise location of the field is described with reference to the domain of Thutmosis IV (Menkheperure), the domain of Ptah, and the domain of Thutmosis I. It is also noted that there is a body of water in-between them (*mwy*), and that it borders on the desert plateau in the west (*ỉmn.tt m ḫȝs.t*).

CHAPTER 7

Saqqara through the New Kingdom: Synthesis and Final Thoughts

7.1 A Cultural Landscape Forever in the Making

This book set as its main aim the study of the Memphite necropolis at Saqqara through the New Kingdom (ca. 1539–1078 BCE). Grounded in the biographical approach to landscape (Chapter 2), the life-history of this cultural geography is conceived as a never-ending process of growth and ageing, and the making of the necropolis viewed as a work forever in progress—its making continuing with every new day. The entanglement of people and landscape (re-)creates material traces, meanings, identities, and memories of entire communities over many generations.[1] People moved through and acted in this landscape amidst all that had been made before. Every subsequent present moment contributed to the continual process of increasing the past, thus creating a *layered* landscape. The landscape of our study area has been very actively in the making since the New Kingdom, the period under study. It means that today we are witnessing and experiencing an emphatically different landscape from that seen and experienced by the inhabitants of ancient Memphis at any one particular time during the c. 461 years of what Egyptologists refer to as the New Kingdom. Despite the myriad of (geo-)archaeological tools at our disposal to try to overcome this methodological problem, all attempts at re-constructing the ancient landscape(s) will always be partially successful. This is all the more so for the New Kingdom desert-edge cemeteries on the elevated plateau west of Memphis. It was thoroughly excavated by antiquities' collectors and dealers in the 19th century, who often left no records of their work and left no material remains at the site. Systematic exploration of the site has so far only started to scratch the surface of an incredibly extensive city of the dead that was, perhaps paradoxically, first and foremost a place for the living.

The living in the city of the dead experienced (and contributed to) this (spatially, temporally and perceptually) growing landscape. By placing them centre stage, the necropolis is treated as having city-like qualities. Exploring the necropolis as an urban space is not entirely new. In 1899, Victor Loret was

1 Cf. Papmehl-Dufay (2015).

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one of the earliest excavators to view the individual tombs at Saqqara as forming part of a larger unit, and imagined how people would experience the built cemetery environment. He thus drew a comparison between the layout of the Old Kingdom cemetery at Saqqara centred on the so-called *Rue de tombeaux*,[2] a 'street' between the mastaba-shaped tombs built for high officials of the 6th Dynasty (see Fig. 69), and a city with its streets and public spaces:

> Tout un quartier de necropole est sortie de terre, avec ses rues, ces carrefours, ses places publiques. Il y aura la, quand tout sera repare, nettoye et rendu accessible, comme un coin de Pompei a visiter. Et ce ne sera pas, pour les touristes, le moindre attrait d'une visite a Saqqarah.[3]

In a way, Loret was very close to imagining how the cemetery would have been experienced by the ancient Egyptians. The built infrastructure, such as 'streets', 'crossroads' and 'public spaces', facilitated the living with access to certain places and spaces in the cemetery. It allowed them to socialise with each other and with the(ir) ancestors. The movement of people in the past is embodied in the fabric of the cemetery, with its specific layout, its paths and tracks. To analyse how people moved through the fabric of the ancient landscape(s), it is first necessary to find out what the place actually looked like in terms of layout, and how it changed over time. This point again touches on two of the main problems researchers face when working with the New Kingdom 'layer' of the place. First, Saqqara is a scattered necropolis existing for a large part outside the Memphite necropolis (and even outside Egypt). The second problem directly follows from the first, and pertains to the biased view of Memphis in Egyptological literature. The present study cannot change the scattered nature of the necropolis; however, the sources for the many lost tombs have been collected, categorised, made accessible, and, where possible, spatially re-contextualised. It makes the archaeologically complex site more easily accessible to researchers working outside (and inside) the Memphite study area. It is hoped that this will in turn contribute to lifting (or at least somewhat balancing) the existing bias, and bring the Memphite New Kingdom on a more equal footing with the Theban New Kingdom, which traditionally has been the focus point of Egyptian mortuary studies of various types.

In the following, the main findings of this study are synthesised, focusing on the two main clusters of tombs at Saqqara, 1) the Unas South Cemetery, and 2) the Teti Pyramid Cemetery and Cliff of Ankhtawy.

2 Capart (1907).

3 Loret (1899), 100.

7.2 Unas South Cemetery

The Unas South Cemetery grew in three ways, and stages can be characterised as 1) colonising the ground, 2) lateral expansion, and 3) internal filling of spaces. All three could be seen simultaneously at work in different localities of the cemetery. The contemporary city of Akhetaten (Tell el-Amarna) offers an urban parallel for this growth. At the heart of the social organisation of the city's neighbourhoods lay a patron-client relationship. I would argue that, to a certain extent, the growth and spatial organisation of the cemetery at Saqqara mirrored the social organisation of the contemporary neighbourhoods of the living, such as observed at Amarna.[4] It should be acknowledged, however, that it is not at all certain how the social organisation of the living at settlement sites such as Amarna and Memphis translated to its cemeteries.

7.2.1 *Beginnings Shrouded in Mist*

The current state of the archaeological evidence does not allow for a comprehensive assessment of how the cemetery grew before the Amarna period. Archaeological evidence for early New Kingdom use of the site for burial is extremely scanty, mainly due to very limited systematic archaeological research in this area. After all, our understanding of the growth of the cemetery is based on only a relatively small part of the necropolis, as covered by modern exploration since 1975. By linking the archaeological evidence with information gathered from decontextualised tomb elements excavated by the early 19th century explorers and antiquities collectors now housed in museum collections, a more complete (albeit still sketchy) image of the cemetery emerges.

The earliest New Kingdom building activity at the site is represented by the excavated portion of a wall of massive proportions. It is made of mud bricks stamped with the *prenomen* of King Amenhotep II, *Aakheperure*. The combination of the stamped bricks bearing the name of a king and the monumental dimensions of the wall strongly suggest that it was a royal building of some sort. What purpose it may have served is difficult to tell, but a temple would be a safe guess.

The earliest archaeologically attested and well documented burials are two pit-graves containing one anthropoid coffin each and dated to the reign of Amenhotep III. It is presently unclear how these burials relate to the now-

4 Unfortunately, we are not so well informed about the spatial and social organisation of the neighbourhoods of the living at New Kingdom Memphis.

lost tombs of the contemporary high priests of Ptah and viziers of the North, known by their decontextualised tomb stelae now held in museum collections.

The reign of Amenhotep III witnessed a development towards monumentalising tomb architecture. The evidence mainly revolves around the inscribed and decorated stone elements deriving from the tomb of the Chief Steward of Memphis, Amenhotep Huy (141/USC). The tomb was excavated in the 1820s, and although its exact location has subsequently been lost, a description given by Giuseppe di Nizzoli combined with the find-spot of a tomb stela reused in the monastery of Apa Jeremias strongly suggests that it must be sought in precisely this part of the necropolis. Whether we should imagine it as a completely freestanding structure or as a rock-cut tomb (which may have had a freestanding part added to it), cannot be ascertained. The fact that no relief-decorated blocks deriving from the tomb are known today, provides an indication that it differed somewhat from the so-called temple-tombs so well-known from the (post-)Amarna period at Saqqara.

7.2.2 (*Post-*)*Amarna Expansion*

We are much better informed about the cemetery from the time of Akhenaten onwards. The Amarna and immediate post-Amarna period tombs are concentrated in the area currently under excavation by the Leiden-Turin archaeological expedition. Among the earliest tombs are those built for the High priest of the Aten, Meryneith (032/USC), the Royal Butler, Ptahemwia (025/USC), and the Chief Steward of Memphis, Iniuia (009/USC). The construction and decoration of these tombs involved multi-year projects. Work continued, on and off, well into the reign of Tutankhamun. The present state of the evidence suggests that this king's reign marked an accelerated growth of the cemetery, which coincided with a significant change in the concept and architectural layout of the tombs. This development is not only attested archaeologically, it is also reflected in the quantity of decontextualised tomb elements now held in museum collections, where much more material becomes available compared to the earlier 18th Dynasty.

7.2.3 *A Spacious Cemetery for Tutankhamun's Courtiers*

The cemetery's 'growth spurt' in the reign of Tutankhamun could likely be connected with the process of abandoning Amarna early in the king's reign. Officials who had built, or were in the process of building—as in the case of May(a) (028/USC)—rock-cut tombs at Akhenaten's capital had to start all over—or continue, as in the case of Meryre alias Meryneith—, at Saqqara (or elsewhere). With the abandonment of Amarna, Memphis became an even more prominent

centre of administration,[5] in modern terms: the 'administrative capital'. The key administrators of Tutankhamun's tenure chose to build their tombs in this part of the North Saqqara plateau. The cluster of tombs include those of Horemheb (046/USC) and Maya, who ruled the kingdom practically in tandem. The other tomb owners were also in one capacity or another closely associated with the king and his court.

The immediate post-Amarna period tombs were built as freestanding structures, each located at a small distance from the others. A number of the tombs' burial shafts were reused from pre-existing Old Kingdom mastabas. As such, the spatial patterning of the old tombs played a role in the spatial distribution of the New Kingdom tombs. Open space available all around the tombs enabled the expansion of the buildings at later stages, as happened for example with the tombs of Iniuia, Pay (017/USC), and Horemheb. The open spaces also made the tombs easily accessible from all sides by the living.

7.2.4 *Lateral Growth and Filling In of Open Spaces*

After the 18th Dynasty, the cemetery grew laterally to the north and west (as observed in the archaeologically surveyed area), and probably also to the east. The highest administrators resident at Memphis continued to build their monumental tombs each at a small distance from those of their peers. At the same time, the 'old' cemetery transformed also. Taken together, the continuously growing structures, large and small, led to the gradual decrease of space available between the individual tombs. In some cases it even led to the blockage of 'streets' between tombs, which then required people to recalibrate their regular walking routes over the cemetery. This happened for example when Raia (042/USC) built a forecourt to the tomb of his father, Pay. The pre-existing pyramid of their eastern neighbour, Ry (038/USC), formed the eastern limit of the annex. Suddenly, passage between the two buildings was no longer possible, and people arriving from the south heading north (or the other way around) needed to take a detour. Towards the end of the New Kingdom, in the 20th Dynasty, the western side-mass of the pyramid, which touched on the forecourt of Raia, was cut away, which goes to show that people were also capable creating routes by adjusting the extant structures by force.

Over time, the building of variously sized tomb chapels all around and in between earlier structures led to the further decease of open space.[6] As a result

5 Cf. Van Dijk (1988).

6 Compare to the diachronic development of the so-called nucleus cemetery in the shadow of the 4th Dynasty pyramid of Khufu at Giza: Der Manuelian (2006), esp. 228–229. See also Jánosi (2006).

of this process it was made increasingly difficult to traverse the cemetery. It transformed the orderly cemetery into a true labyrinth. Some of the newly introduced chapels may have been built to form a unity with certain bigger tombs, for example to accommodate descendants and/or (other) dependents of the initial tomb owner, as exemplified by the memorial chapels made for priests serving the offering cult of Maya.[7] This development marks the gradually changing social demography of the cemetery. What appears to have been an exclusively high-elite cemetery at its beginnings, soon changed to accommodate a more balanced cross-section of society. At the same time, the larger tombs continued to function, in the sense that new interments were intermittently introduced, either in the subterranean burial spaces accessed from the main tomb shaft, or in burial chambers accessed from one or more of the subsidiary shafts. This practice is exemplified by the burials in the newly added forecourt to the tomb of Tia (057/USC). It shows that the tomb of a very senior official was not for his exclusive use; his dependents benefited from it also. As such, a single tomb complex came to serve as a *lieu de memoire*[8] for multiple generations of people from different families and from diverse walks of life. They represent the continuously expanding eternal social network of dependents of a single powerful patron.

As signalled above, the process of filling in the open spaces between the larger tombs unfolded simultaneously with another development: the lateral expansion of the cemetery. To date a substantial part of the northward expansion of the cemetery has been excavated by the Cairo University expedition since the late-1970s. The tombs unearthed in this area date from the very beginning of the 19th Dynasty until the end of the New Kingdom. The last remaining, monumental stone-built mastaba of the Old Kingdom still stands tall at the centre of the otherwise exclusively Ramesside-period cemetery. The fact that smaller chapels also dot the map in this northern extent suggests that here too the phase of 'colonising' the ground was followed by the filling in of available space between tomb structures.

7.2.5 *An Urban Parallel: Observations from Akhetaten (Tell El-Amarna)*

The way in which the Unas South Cemetery at Saqqara grew in the New Kingdom finds a parallel in the urban context at Amarna, ancient Akhetaten, generally regarded as our most complete example of an ancient Egyptian city.[9] The city was founded in year 5 of King Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten, and most of the

7 Staring (2019), 221–223.

8 Term: Nora (1997).

9 Stevens (2016), for a concise overview.

population abandoned the place shortly after the king died twelve years later (early in the reign of Tutankhaten/amun). Thus, the city accounts for a 'life' of no more than 16 or 17 years.[10] The archaeological remains of the suburban areas outside the Central City with its 'state' buildings provide a glimpse into the social mechanisms underlying urban growth. Amarna was founded as a new royal city and served as the centre for the cult of the Aten. One would perhaps expect that the personal involvement of the king in this state-planned, high-stakes project would somehow be reflected in the layout of the city as a whole. In reality, however, planning was largely confined to the official buildings. This observation led Barry Kemp to characterise Amarna as "the antithesis of city planning".[11] The layout of the two main housing areas located to the north and south of the Central City lacked a grand unitary design. Instead, they are reminiscent of a series of joined villages with clearly distinguishable clusters of houses forming complex patterns that created idiosyncratic neighbourhoods. These neighbourhoods are not unitary in the sense that they contain only one type or size of houses; to the contrary, both big and small houses (representing the 'rich and poor') are intimately mixed.[12] Despite the fact that the city was so short-lived, it is possible to observe in the archaeological remains how the city grew after its foundation.[13] The first stage saw the colonising of the desert fringe north and south of the Central City with large urban villas. The houses were built for members of the highest echelons of society. They settled conveniently close to (and along all) the main north-south axis of the city and close to the Nile, its source for fresh water. The city subsequently grew in two ways: laterally towards the east, spreading across the desert, and by filling of spaces in between the large urban villas belonging to the first phase of colonising the desert plain. According to Kemp, the distinct phases of colonisation and later development indicate that there was no 'masterplan' for the new city. The city grew organically, which resulted in a fuzzy layout. It is quite likely that the neighbourhoods were modelled after the 'traditional' urban neighbourhoods elsewhere in Egypt; the hometowns and villages of the people who resettled to Amarna—which for an unknown number of people meant Memphis. People organised themselves according to what they were accustomed to, taking local

10 Kemp (2012), 181. However, it should be emphasised that the life history or biography of the city continues to this day, of course.

11 Kemp (2012), 163.

12 This mix has also been observed in urban centres of the Old and Middle Kingdom: Moeller (2016), 378–379. See also Moreno-Garcia (2013) for e.g. patronage and informal networks that lay at the core of the organisation of ancient Egyptian society and which by definition led to the mixing of upper and lower strata of society.

13 Kemp (2012); Kemp/Stevens (2010), 473–516.

traditions and uses to the new capital. The patron-client relationship (which structured ancient Egyptian society at large) lay at the heart of the city's neighbourhoods.[14]

The present study merely scratched the surface of the social organisation of necropolis sites, and deserved a much more detailed analysis in the future. The urban parallel also deserves much more attention.

7.3 Teti Pyramid Cemetery and the Cliff of Ankhtawy

The northern section of the North Saqqara plateau was in use as a cemetery from the early 18th Dynasty onwards—a use that continued from the Old Kingdom, when this area witnessed large-scale construction works on pyramid complexes and their associated private necropolises. The earliest evidence for New Kingdom burials found in this part of the plateau consists of shallow pit burials. These may have occupied a much larger surface of the plateau than currently visible in the archaeological record. This form of burial continued until the very end of the New Kingdom, which means that, in total, thousands of individuals belonging to the lower echelons of Memphite society were buried here. If we compare these numbers to the estimates calculated for the cemeteries at contemporary Akhetaten,[15] in use for not much more than 17 years, it is likely that the northern section of the North Saqqara plateau represents just one of a number of burials sites for the masses of the non-elite. Other burial sites have remained unidentified.

The late 18th Dynasty introduction of above-ground tomb chapels in the large field of pit burials (around the time of Amenhotep II–Thutmosis IV), indicates that the cemetery facilitated a rather diverse social demography. Individuals who were part of the upper levels of society, bearing titles that associate them to the upper ranks of the administration, had the financial means to

14 A clear example of the social organisation of such villages within the urban fabric is offered by the house of the High Priest of the Aten, Panehsy, and its 'village of dependants'. See Kemp (2012), 43–44 with fig. 1.15. Interestingly, his rock-cut tomb in the North Tombs group of Amarna (TA 06) was possibly associated with a large cemetery of pit-burials. If the cemetery is to be identified as a cemetery of dependents of Panehsy, it would corroborate the suggestion that social relationships translated in death. However, the cemetery of pit-burials is yet to be investigated archaeologically.

15 Stevens (2018), 112, estimates that at least 10,000–13,000 people were buried in the city's east bank cemeteries. The population of Amarna has been estimated at up to 50,000 people: Kemp (2012), 271–272. Herzberg (2019b), 42 n. 16, estimates that the population of Memphis during the New Kingdom amounted to c. 29,575 people at any one time.

build above ground markers for the burials of themselves, their family, and their household. The highest ranking court officials made their tombs in a separate part of the cemetery, at a distance from the burial field for the 'lower and middle classes', in an area with a distinctive topography. These officials built their rock-cut tombs in the Cliff (*dhn.t*) of Ankhtawy. The archaeological evidence suggests that the pronounced southern cliff was first used for making rock-cut tombs in the mid-late 18th Dynasty, perhaps as early as Thutmosis III, although with more certainty from the time of Thutmosis IV–Amenhotep III onwards. The peak of its popularity lay in the reign of Amenhotep III; the later post-Amarna rock-cut tombs are fewer in number and their owners are generally of lower rank compared to the former senior palace officials. The choice place of burial of individuals of senior rank shifted to the Unas South Cemetery, which in the post-Amarna period attracted the kingdom's top officials.[16]

In the Amarna and post-Amarna period, the Teti Pyramid Cemetery becomes markedly 'populated' with tombs built for individuals engaged in 'the arts'. The steep increase of tombs built for overseers of craftsmen, goldsmiths, etc. at this time could perhaps be linked to the changed status of Memphis at the beginning of Tutankhamun's reign, when the short-lived capital at Akhetaten entered a process of abandonment. The (re)building of palaces, temples, and monumental tomb structures for the elite (such as in the Unas South Cemetery), required large numbers of skilled artists. They were resident at Memphis, and built their houses of eternity in the shadow of the pyramid of Teti, who, from at least the reign of Amenhotep III onwards, was locally known as Teti-Meryptah, 'beloved of Ptah'. Ptah was not just the prime city god of Memphis, but also a patron deity of artists, craftsmen, etc.[17]

The late 18th Dynasty reign of Amenhotep III also saw the redevelopment of the burial site for the Apis bulls—the living manifestation of the god Ptah—, later known as the Serapeum.[18] Even though we do not currently know the extent of the 18th Dynasty forerunner of the Serapeum, with its temples and accessory buildings as we know it from Classical authors and archaeological remains,[19] it is possible that the formal royal interest in the old, local Memphite

16 This image at Saqqara complements the image observed at Thebes, where the number of elite tombs dated to the reigns of Tutankhamun and Horemheb is surprisingly small compared to the earlier 18th Dynasty. It appears that the sort of officials that used to be buried at Thebes before the Amarna period moved to Memphis. See Pieke 2021.

17 Note that the high priest of Ptah held the title *wr-ḫrp-ḥmw.w/ḥmw.t*, 'greatest of the directors of craftsmen/directorate of the arts'. See Te Velde (1982), with further references.

18 Vercoutter (1984).

19 See most recently Williams (2018), with a reconstruction of the sacred landscape in the Late Period to Early Ptolemaic period, and a thorough review of the available data.

sanctuary had its effects on the wider landscape, including the paths, tracks, and more formal processional ways that connected it with the settlements of the living, thereby crossing the city/cities of the dead.

The closely-knit core cemetery of mid-late 18th Dynasty tombs north of the pyramid of Teti grew laterally to the north, west, and south. To the present date, excavations have only just touched upon the later, 19th and 20th Dynasty cemetery. The cemetery of the Ramesside period is presently best documented in the area in between the pyramids of Teti and Menkauhor. At the same time, the sparsely available spaces in between the extant 18th Dynasty tombs is filled by new structures. In general, the owners of the Ramesside tombs are middle-ranked administrators and priestly officials.

The construction of the stone-paved Serapeum Way, which led from Memphis to the Serapeum, resulted in the disappearance of New Kingdom tombs in this area, because the builders quarried the extant tomb structures for stone material. The monumental Serapeum road may possibly have been paved for the first time in the Late Period. It is known that it was completely reconstructed in the 30th Dynasty, and further embellished in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.[20] Quibell excavated a small portion of the paved Serapeum Way above and to the west of the mastaba of Mereruka.[21] The c. 1.2 km long paved desert road connected the Serapeum to the Anubieion situated at the edge of the escarpment. Roman burials and larger cult installations were all neatly oriented on the road.[22] This study shows that the situation was very different in the New Kingdom. The distribution pattern of the tombs reveals that the Greco-Roman Serapeum Way had no New Kingdom predecessor, in the sense that it was probably not as formalised. The tombs in this area of the necropolis are not oriented on an existing road, even though it is very likely that this area of the plateau served as the point of access towards to Serapeum from at least the late 18th Dynasty onwards. One of the stelae associated with the burial of the Apis in the reign of Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten) is at least highly suggestive.[23] The round-topped stela is divided into two registers. The scene in the lower register represents the realm of the living. It depicts the dedicator of the stela, May, servant of Apis (*bꜣk Ḥp nṯr ʿꜣ*) and servant of Amun (*bꜣk n.y ʾImn*), kneeling in adoration before the living Apis bull. The scene in the upper register represents the realm of the gods. It depicts King Teti and Horus, son of

20 Smith (1981).

21 Quibell/Hayter (1927), pl. 1.

22 Mathieson/Dittmer (2007), figs. 1, 9; Quibell/Hayter (1927), pl. 1.

23 Paris, Musée du Louvre E 3012 = IM 5305 = S 1168. Excavated by Auguste Mariette, 1853, 'tombe isolée' B = C2: Mariette (1857), II, pls 6–7, nos 1–2.

Osiris, both standing before Osiris, Lord of the West, seated, flanked by Isis and Nephthys, standing. Thus, in this stela, the deified King Teti features as one of the gods active in this sacred landscape centred on the living Apis becoming an Osiris-Apis. As a deity, Teti was rather accessible, because his cult place stood in the private cemetery. Being buried in the shadow of this powerful local deity, who acted as an intermediary between the living and the gods, meant that one could remain forever in his presence and benefit from his powers. The living who visited the cult place of the living Apis and who participated in the successive bulls' funerals passed through this private cemetery, which meant continued attention from the living for the monuments of the dead.[24] The absence of a formalised processional way crossing the necropolis in the New Kingdom suggests that the route from the edge of the escarpment to the Serapeum was much less pronounced at this time. Moreover, its exact course may have shifted regularly because every newly built tomb could potentially have contributed to rearranging the tangle of paths and tracks, which in turn encouraged people to take alternative routes to reach their destinations. This situation differs from that observed at Abydos, the sacred landscape associated with Osiris. In the Middle Kingdom, the processional route that ran from the temple of Osiris on the edge of the cultivation, through a *wadi* and towards the god's burial at Peqer (Umm el-Qaab), was kept clear from tomb building by royal edict (see Chapter 2.5).[25] The situation in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery shows that the threat of tombs encroaching over a sacred processional route would have been very real indeed.

The living inhabitants of Memphis shaped the necropolis over many generations, and so the life histories of both the city and its necropolis were closely intertwined. The development of any necropolis—not just at Saqqara—was site-specific and its 'life' cannot be seen detached from its unique urban environment. Necropolis sites were bound up with the ebbs and flows of their cities of the living. Whatever happened to or at the city, whether it was its growing or diminishing (inter-)national prominence, times of wealth alternated with times of poverty, it effected its cemeteries one way or another. Any understanding of the city of the dead starts with the (city of) the living.

24 See, for example, the Appeal to the Living inscribed on the naos-shaped pedestal supporting the lower part of seated statue, probably of deified 6th Dynasty King Teti-Merenptah (Marseille, Musée de la Vieille Charité 211), dedicated by Amenwahsu (292/TPC), early 19th Dynasty (*temp*. Seti I), scribe of the altar of the king (*sš wdḥ.w n.y nb tꜣ.wy*). Interestingly, the relief decoration on the sides shows both Amenwahsu and his wife Henutwedjebu kneeling, in adoration of Teti, who is depicted standing inside his pyramid. See: PM III/2, 729; Nelson/Piérini (1978), 33, fig. 64; Naville (1887), 69–72.

25 Leahy (1989).

Catalogue of New Kingdom Tombs at Saqqara

The catalogue is meant to provide an up-to-date list of New Kingdom tombs at Saqqara. Even though all efforts have been made to create a list that is as complete as possible, it is very certain that references to tombs are missing. The unavoidable lacunae are the result of the dispersed nature of the data.

The catalogue is structured as a prosopographic reference work, listing the basic information pertaining to the main (usually male) tomb owner, including their titles of office and rank (all in Egyptian transliteration). It should be acknowledged that a single tomb seldom served as the final resting place of a single individual. However, in order to keep the length of the catalogue (and the thickness of the book) under control, it was decided to keep the details to a minimum. The interested reader should be referred to the forthcoming publication by Anne Herzberg, *Prosopographia Memphitica*,[1] a collection of all prosopographic data pertaining to individuals who lived at Memphis during the New Kingdom, and which makes it redundant to replicate here.

The references cited at the end of every entry should allow the reader to find their way to the relevant published data pertaining to the individual tombs and tomb owners. The cited publications mainly refer to the tomb structures (e.g., final archaeological reports), or to works that offer more detailed references. The present catalogue is neither meant to offer references to all separate tomb elements, often held in different museum collections, nor is it meant to list all known references to each individual tomb(-owner).

The numbering of the tombs is largely according to the Egyptological (transliteration) alphabet, and distinguishes between the four main clusters of tombs on the North Saqqara plateau. For the Unas South Cemetery and the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, a further subdivision is made between tombs of which their location is known, and those that are lost (Table 20).

Tomb Elements

The tomb-elements are divided into the following categories:

I Reliefs
II Statues
III Architectural elements

1 Herzberg (2022, in press).

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IV Stelae
V Burial equipment;
VI Offering tables
VII Varia
VIII Extra sepulchral (exclusively pertaining to Saqqara or Memphis)

TABLE 20 Key to the catalogue of New Kingdom tombs at Saqqara

Location	Tomb numbers	Total
Unas South Cemetery	001–207	207 (128)
Teti Pyramid Cemetery	208–351; 504–509	150 (80)
Cliff of Ankhtawy / Bubasteion	352–367	16
Lost	368–501	134
Above Abusir Village	502–503	2
		509

Titles

All titles held by the individual tomb owners were collected. For the purpose of this study, every individual title has been listed separately instead of giving complete title sequences. Egyptian titles can be assigned to three broad types:
1. Occupational titles: titles of office, denoting a profession;
2. Titles of rank: denoting the position in the hierarchy of a particular occupational sector;
3. Honorific titles or epithets.

It is not always clear to the modern scholar what type a certain title belongs to. For the purpose of this study, the titles have been divided into six broad categories, numbered **[A]**–**[F]**. This subdivision follows that employed by Geoffrey Martin and Jacobus van Dijk in the tomb publications of the former EES-Leiden archaeological expedition to Saqqara.[2] The subdivision makes a distinction between the honorific titles and the titles of rank and office:
[A] Honorific titles
[B] General administration
[C] Scribal

2 Ssee e.g., Martin (2012), 60–62.

[D] Public works, crafts
[E] Sacerdotal
[F] Military

Of course a more detailed subdivision is possible and perhaps even desirable. In addition, not every title may perfectly fit into one specific category, and the categories are not mutually exclusive either. After all, the above subdivision is a modern one and it may not necessarily comply with the subdivision an ancient Egyptian would have made.

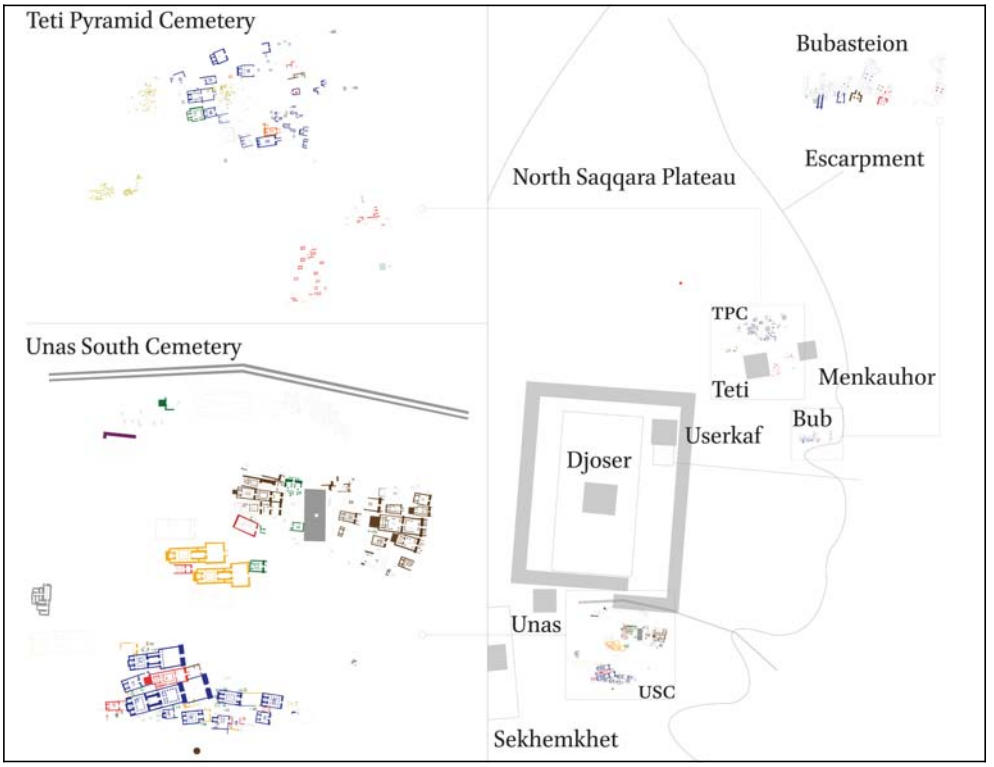


PLATE 1 The New Kingdom cemeteries on the North Saqqara plateau
IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR

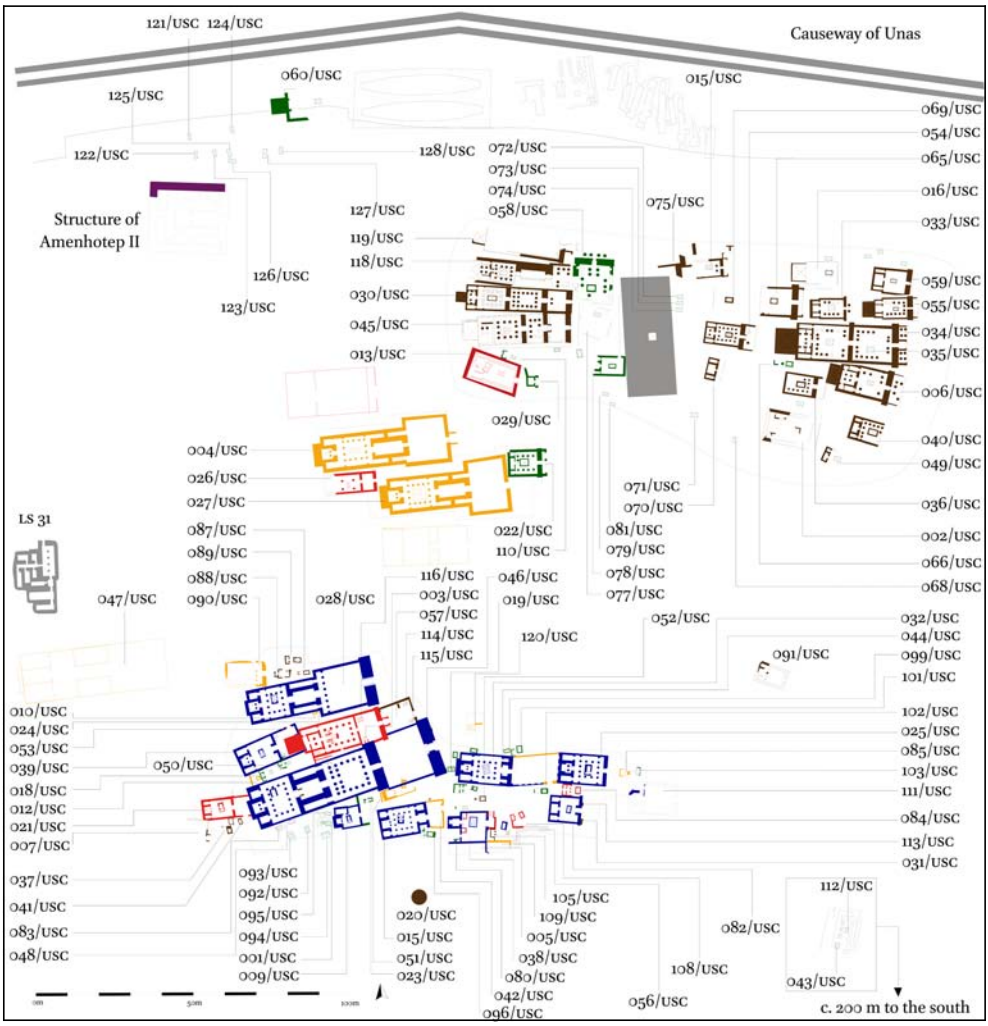


PLATE 2 Plan of the Unas South Cemetery (USC)
IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR

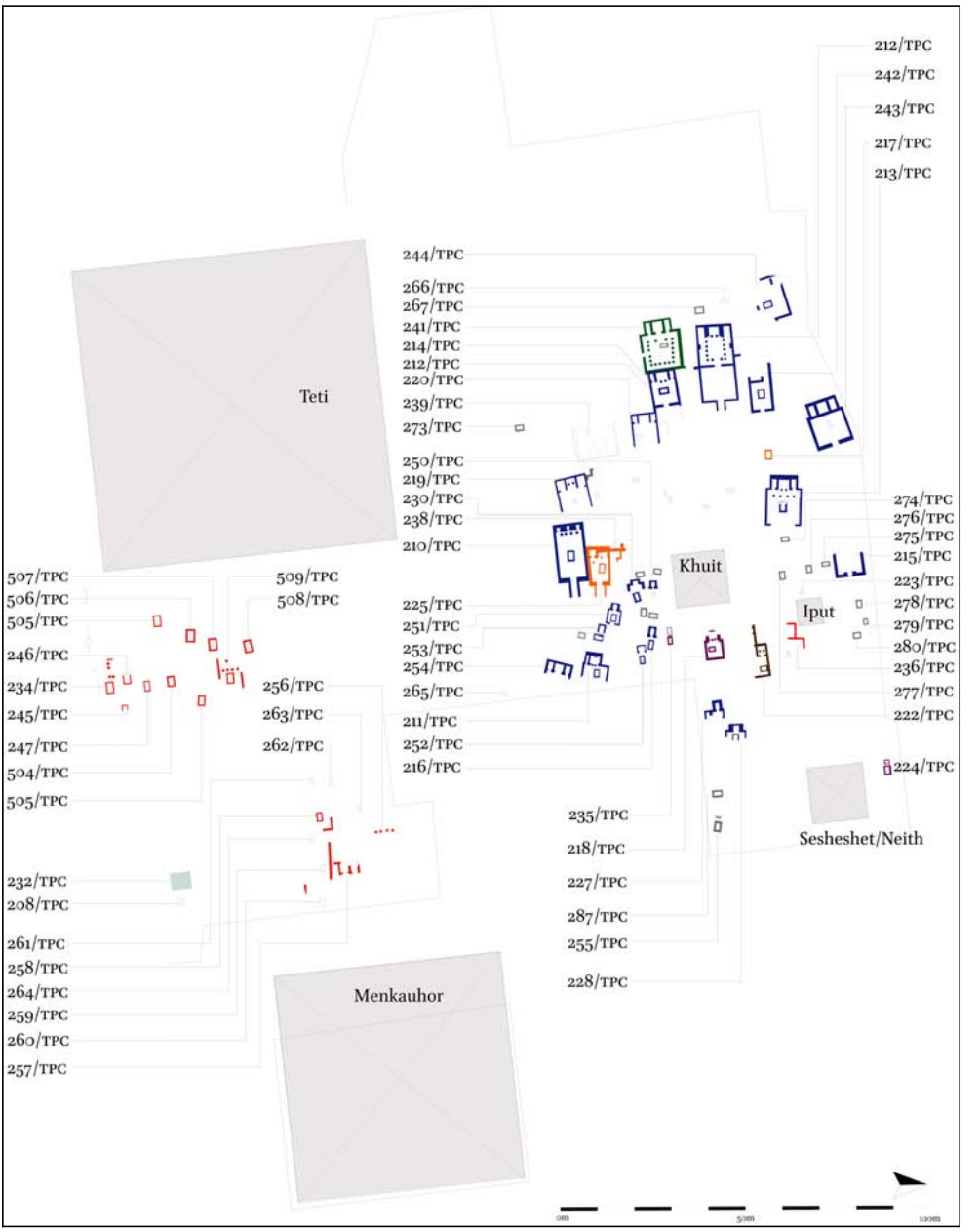


PLATE 3 Plan of the Teti Pyramid Cemetery (TPC)
IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR

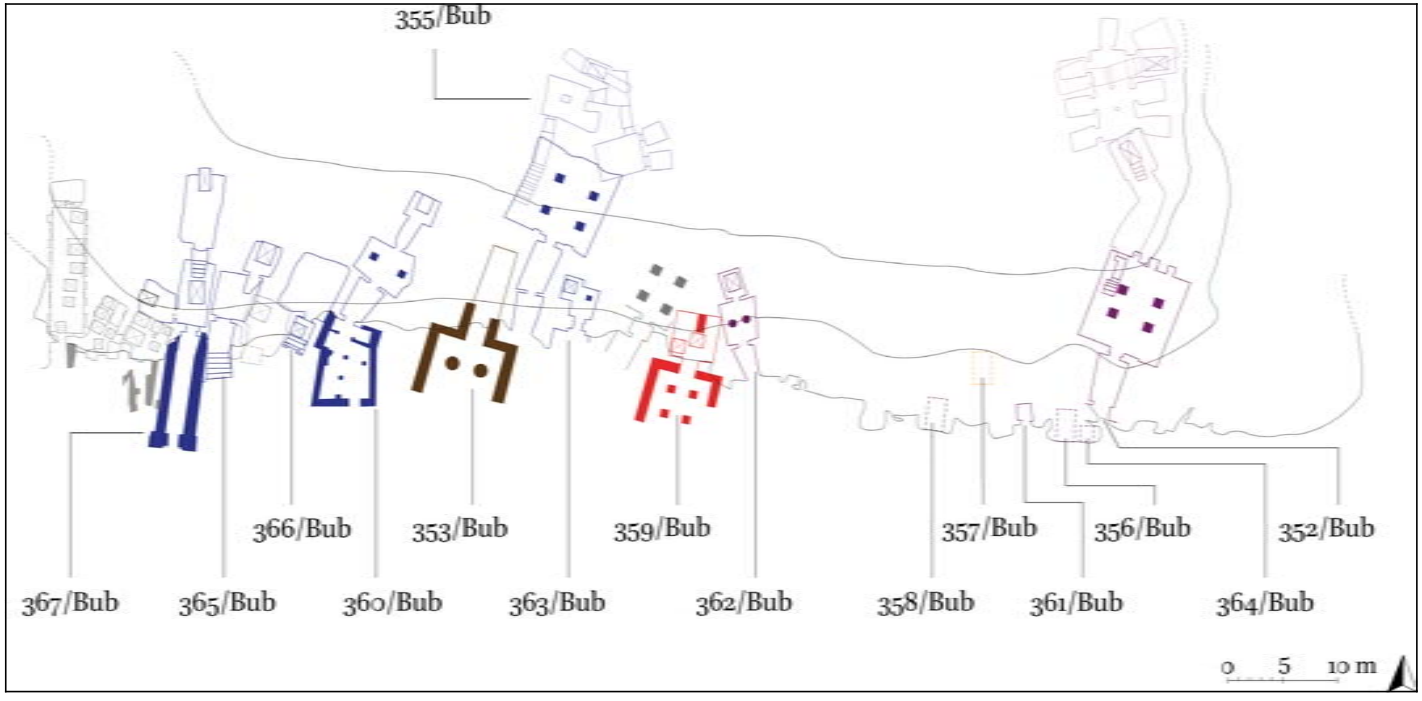


PLATE 4 Plan of the Cliff of Ankhtawy / Bubasteion cemetery (Bub)
IMAGE BY THE AUTHOR

Unas South Cemetery: Tombs

001/USC ***///-r*** **?**
Tomb 99/V, Leiden expedition, 2000.
Title(s) ?
Date 19th/20th Dynasty.
Items **III. Architectural elements**
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 2000-54—anepigraphic pyramidion

IV. Stelae
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 2000-R8—rectangular stela, fragment

Bibliography Raven et al. (2011b), 58, no. 27, 60, no. 32, figs on pp. 59 and 61, fig. 1.16; Van Walsem (2001), 9–13.

002/USC ***ʾIꜣ-nfr*** **Royal butler**
Tomb ST 105, Cairo University expedition, 1984–1988.
Title(s) [B] *wbꜣ nsw wʿb ʿ.wy*
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II.
Bibliography Tawfik (1991), 406, fig. 1, pl. 57[c].

003/USC ***ʾIw-rwḏ=f*** **Scribe of the Treasury**
Tomb EES–Leiden expedition, 1982.
Title(s) [C] *sš n.y pr-ḥḏ* ♦ *sš pr-ḥḏ n.y ʾImn* ♦ *sš pr-ḥḏ n.y ʾImn-Rʿ* ♦ *sš ḥtp.w n.w nṯr.w nb.w*
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. R 93–88

IV. Stelae
1. Durham, Oriental Museum N. 1965

V. Burial equipment
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 99640—shabti of a woman named Hener

Bibliography PM III/2, 740; Van Dijk (2021); Schneider (2012), 104, no. 37, fig. III.66; Raven et al. (2011b), 166, no. 82; Abdel Aal (2009), 2 [1], 3–4 [7], pls 1a, 3b; (2000), 1–4, pls 1–2; Raven (1991); Málek (1988), 131–132.

004/USC ***ʾIwrḫy*** **General**
Tomb LS 25, C.R. Lepsius; 1843; Cairo University expedition, 2017–2018.

Title(s) [B] *ỉm.y-r pr* ♦ *ỉm.y-r pr wr* ♦ *ỉm.y-r pr m ḥw.t Wsr-mȝʿ.t-Rʿ-stp.n-Rʿ* [*m*] *pr ʾImn* ♦ *ỉm.y-r pr n.y nb tȝ.wy* ♦ *ỉm.y-r pr n.y ḥw.t ʾImn*
[C] *sš nsw* ♦ *sš nsw mȝʿ mr.y=f*
[F] *ỉm.y-r mšʿ wr* ♦ *ḥr.y-pḏ.t n.y nb tȝ.wy*

Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Seti I–Ramesses II, first half.

Items
I. Reliefs
1. Florence, Museo Egizio 5412
2. Strasbourg, Institut d'Égyptologie de l'Université de Strasbourg 2540A
III. Architectural elements
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 65061—*djed* pillar
2. Present location unknown—5 columns
IV. Stelae
1. Avignon, Musée Calvet A4
2. Birmingham, City Museum and Art Gallery inv. no. 134'72
3. Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Palais Saint-Pierre inv. no. 84
4. Paris, Musée du Louvre E 3143 = Anastasi no. 65

Comments Urkhiya was the father of Yupa (011/USC).

Bibliography PM III/2, 661; *KRI* III, 191–195; *LD Text*, I, 182; El-Aguizy (2022); (2020a); (2019); (2018); Staring (2014–2015), 74–76, no. 4; Berlandini-Keller 2011, 31–46; Ruffle/Kitchen 1979, 55–74, pls 1–8; Gauthier 1935, 81–84, pl. 1.

005/USC ***ʾImn-m-ỉn.t*** **General of the King**

Tomb Structure 2013/6 (?); Leiden expedition, 2013; Leiden–Turin expedition, 2015.

Title(s) [A] *ỉr.y-pʿ.t ḫȝ.ty-ʿ* ♦ *ḥr.y-ỉb n.y nsw* ♦ *ḥs.y ʿȝ n.y nṯr nfr* ♦ *sr tp.y m ʾInb.w-ḥḏ*
[B] *ỉm.y-r pr m tȝ ḥw.t Mn-ḫpr-Rʿ*
[C] *sš nfr.w* ♦ *sš nsw* ♦ *sš nsw mȝʿ mr.y=f*
[D] *ỉm.y-r kȝ.t nb.t n.yt Šmʿ.w Tȝ-mḥ.w* ♦ *ỉm.y-r kȝ.t m pr Rʿ* ♦ *ỉm.y-r kȝ.t nb.t n.yt nsw*
[E] *sšm.w-ḫb n.y Mȝʿ.t*
[F] *ỉm.y-r mšʿ wr* ♦ *ỉm.y-r mšʿ wr n.y nb tȝ.wy* ♦ *wḫm.w nsw tp.y* ♦ *ḥr.y-pḏ.t*

Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Tutankhamun–Horemheb.

Items

I. Reliefs

1. (*) Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1974.468
2. Brussels, private collection
3. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 714 (two sided)
4. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 715
5. (*) Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 716
6. (*) Essen, Museum Folkwang P. 143
7. Geneva, Fondation Gandur pour l'Art FGA-ARCH-EG-0656
8. (*) Hannover, Museum August-Kestner 1935.200.186
9. Heidelberg, Sammlung des Ägyptologischen Instituts 559
10. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden RA 39a (facsimile only; original lost)
11. Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian 205
12. Paris, Musée du Louvre B 6 = N 123 = AF 105 = LP 1643 = Mimaut no. 423
13. Paris, Musée du Louvre B 8 = N 125 = LP 1641 = Mimaut no. 424
14. Paris, Musée Rodin Co. 03076 = NI 237 (as permanent loan to the Louvre)
15. (*) Paris, Musée Rodin Co. 06417
16. Parma, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Parma E.108
17. Strasbourg, Institut d'Égyptologie de l'Université de Strasbourg 2439A

III. Architectural elements

1. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico EG 1894—column fragment
2. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 27.6.24.10—lintel

IV. Stelae

1. (*) Paris, Musée du Louvre C 143 = N 292 = LP 1677 = Mimaut no. 394

Comments The asterisk (*) indicates elements provisionally attributed to Amenemone, largely following Djuževa (2000), 82.

Bibliography PM III/2, 701; VIII/4, 803-055-844; *PN* I, 27.22; LD *Text*, I, 138; pl. III.29e; Staring (2020), 46–47; Raven et al. (2019), fig. 2; Djuževa (2000), 77–98; Carpano (1994), 63, no. 46, pl. 9, fig. 29; Martin (1987a), 7–9, cat. 1–6, pls 1–3; Schneider (1985), 22–23, fig. 6; Koefoed-Petersen (1956), 36, no. 39, pls 38–39.

006/USC	***ʾImn-m-ỉn.t*** **Overseer of the Treasury of the King**
Tomb	ST 101, Cairo University expedition, 1984–1988.
Title(s)	[A] *ꜣḫ n.y nb=f ♦ ỉr.y-pˁ.t ḥꜣ.ty-ˁ ♦ ỉr.y-rd.wy n.w nb tꜣ.wy ♦ ỉr(ỉ).w ḏd=f ỉr.ty n.y nsw ♦ wˁ.ty ♦ rdỉ n ḫft ḥr wp(.wty)-nsw r tꜣ nb ♦ ḥs.y ʿꜣ n.y nb tꜣ-ḏsr ♦ šms.w ḥr wꜣ.t=f ♦ ṯꜣy-ḫw ḥr wnm.y n.y nsw ♦ /// nsw m tꜣ r ḏr=f*
	[B] *ỉm.y-r pr ♦ ỉm.y-r pr wr ♦ ỉm.y-r pr* [*m*] *tꜣ ḥw.t Wsr-mꜣˁ.t-Rˁ-stp.n-Rˁ m pr ʾImn ♦ ỉm.y-r pr wr m* [*tꜣ*] *ḥw.t Wsr-mꜣˁ.t-Rˁ-stp.n-Rˁ m pr ʾImn ♦ ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ ♦ ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ n.y nb tꜣ.wy ♦ ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ n.y Šmˁ.w Tꜣ-mḥ.w ♦ ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ pꜣ pr Rˁ-ms-sw Mr.y-ʾImn ḥr.y-ỉb wꜣ.t ỉmn.tyt Wꜣs.t ♦ wḥm.w nsw n.y nb=f ♦ šms.w n.y ḥm=f ḥr ḫꜣs.wt nb.wt*
	[C] *sš nsw ♦ sš nsw ḥs.y n.y ḥm=f ♦ sš nsw šˁ.t ♦ sš nsw šˁ.t n.yt nb tꜣ.wy ♦ sš šˁ.t n.yt nb tꜣ.wy ♦ Ḏḥw.ty šˁ.t n.yt nb tꜣ.wy*
	[D] *ỉm.y-r kꜣ.t m pr.w ///*
Date	19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II, approximately year 24–53.
Items	**II. Statues**
	1. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum ДВ-738
Bibliography	PN I, 27.22; *KRI* III, 210–211; Staring (2014–2015), 70–71, no. 4; 76, no. 6; Van Dijk (1993), 156–157; Gohary (1991b), 195–205, pls 49–60; Tawfik (1991), 405, fig. 1, pl. 57b, 58a; Lieblein (1873), 4–5, pl. 1.1–3.

007/USC	***ʾImn-ms*** **Head of Guardians of the Documents of the King**
Tomb	EES–Leiden archaeological mission, 1981.
Title(s)	[C] *ḥr.y sꜣw.ty* [*n.y*] *sš.w n.w nb tꜣ.wy ♦ ḥr.y sꜣw.ty sš.w n.w pr-ḥḏ ♦ sš nsw*
Date	19th Dynasty.
Items	**III. Architectural elements**
	1. Saqqara magazine—fragments of two *djed* pillars
Bibliography	*PN* I, 29.8; Martin (1985), 17–18 [xi, xii], pls 25, 28, 29.

008/USC	***ʾImn-nḫt*** **?**
Tomb	Leiden expedition, 2005.
Title(s)	?
Date	19th Dynasty.
Items	**IV. Stelae**
	1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 2005-R12 (fragment).
Bibliography	***PN*** I, 29.21; Raven el al. (2011b), 62, no. 38, fig. on p. 63.

009/USC ***ʾInỉwỉ;*** **Chief Steward of Memphis**

Tomb A. Mariette, L. Vassalli, 1860; EES–Leiden expedition, 1993.

Title(s) [A] *ỉr.y-pʿ.t ḥ;.ty-ʿ ♦ mr.y [n.y] nb t;.wy ♦ sḏ;.wty-bỉ.ty*

[B] *ỉm.y-r ỉḥ.w n.w ʾImn ♦ ỉm.y-r pr ♦ ỉm.y-r pr wr ♦ ỉm.y-r pr m/n.y Mn-nfr*

[C] *sš pr-ḥḏ n.y ḥḏ-nbw n.y nb t;.wy ♦ sš nsw ♦ sš nsw m;ʿ ♦ sš nsw m;ʿ mr.y=f*

[E] *sšm.w-ḥb n.y nb m;ʿ.t*

Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp.* Akhenaten, late–Horemheb.

Items

I. Reliefs

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 25.6.24.7
2. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 3.4.24.13
3. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 14.6.24.29

III. Architectural elements

1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 1627—column
2. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 1628—column
3. Chicago, Art Institute 1894.246—lintel fragment
4. Paris, Musée du Louvre D 14 = N 355 = CC 320 (?)—pyramidion

IV. Stelae

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 10079
2. Marsa Matruh Archaeological Museum (inv. no. unknown)

V. Burial equipment

1. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1977.717—double shabti coffin
2. Paris, Musée du Louvre D 2 = N 338 = LL 380—anthropoid sarcophagus
3. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 88–70—faience shabti fragment

Bibliography PM III/2, 707; *PN* I, 170.27; Pasquali (2017), 568; Schneider (2012); Raven (2001), 42 [181], pls 19, 37; Roeder (1924), 398–399; Mariette (1872), 18, pl. 57.

010/USC ***Y;-mn*** **Lector Priest**

Tomb EES–Leiden expedition, 1988.

Title(s) [E] *ḫr.y-ḥb*

Date Late 18th to early 19th Dynasty.

Items
IV. Stelae
1. Marsa Matruh Archaeological Museum (inv. no. unknown) (excavation no. 88–181)
VI. Offering tables
1. Saqqara Magazine no. unknown
VII. Varia
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 88–179 (wooden statuette of man in striding pose)

Bibliography Raven (2001), 9, 21–22 [cat. 18], 35 [cat. 121], pls 8–9b, 18, 28, frontispiece; (1997), 142–148.

011/USC *Ywpꜣ* Great Steward in the Ramesseum

Tomb LS 25 (004/USC), or lost.

Title(s)
[A] *ḥs.y n.y nṯr nfr*
[B] *ỉm.y-r pr ♦ ỉm.y-r pr.wy-ḥḏ ♦ ỉm.y-r pr wr ♦ ỉm.y-r pr wr m tꜣ ḥw.t Wsr-mꜣʿ.t-Rʿ-stp.n-Rʿ m pr ʾImn ♦ ỉm.y-r pr wr n.y nb tꜣ.wy ♦ ỉm.y-r šnw.ty*
[C] *sš nsw ♦ sš nsw mꜣʿ mr.y=f*
[D] *ỉm.y-r kꜣ.t ♦ ỉm.y-r kꜣ.t m mn.w nb n.y ḥm=f*
[E] *sšm.w-ḥb n.y ʾImn ♦ sšm.w-ḥb n.y ʾImn-Rʿ*
[F] *ỉm.y-r mšʿ ♦ ỉm.y-r ssm.t n.yt nb tꜣ.wy*

Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II, year 5–54.

Items
II. Statues
1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 24022—naophorous block statue (Schulz: 'from Thebes')
2. Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 567—block statue (provenance unknown)
3. Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 1062—naophorous statue
IV. Stelae
1. Paris, Musée du Louvre E 3143 (stela of Urkhiya and Yupa)
2. Turin, Museo Egizio cat. 1465 (stela of Mahu and Yupa) (from Abydos? See Raue (1999), 207 n. 2)
3. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. (?)—fragment
V. Burial equipment
1. Brussels, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire E 5189—sarcophagus lid (destroyed by fire in 1946)
2. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 28.11.24.5—pink granite sarcophagus lid

Bibliography *PN* I, 55.26; *KRI* III, 95–198; El-Aguizy (2020a); Van Dijk (2016); Raue (1999), 207; Martin (1997), 49, no. 344, pl. 101; Schulz

(1992), 82, no. 021, pl. 6d (Berlin ÄM 24022); Ruffle/Kitchen (1979), 55–74, pls 1–8; Wenig (1967), 95–98, pls 33–36; Borhardt (1934), 43–44 (CG 1062); (1925), 117–118, pl. 96 (CG 567); Budge (1896), 140–143, no. 61, pl. 16.

012/USC ***Y-r-ḏd.y*** **?**
Tomb EES–Leiden expedition, 1986.
Title(s) ?
Date Early 19th Dynasty.
Items **v. Burial equipment**
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 86-S88—wooden anthropoid coffin
Bibliography Martin (2001a), 31; Raven (2001), 40, cat. 24, pls 29, 30, 72, 77; location: pls 1, 2.

013/USC ***Wꜣḏ-ms*(*.w*)** **Chief of Medjay of the King**
Tomb ST 220, Cairo University expedition, 2006.
Title(s) [F] *wr mḏꜣy kṯnn n.y nb tꜣ.wy* ♦ *wr n.y mḏꜣy.w n.w nb tꜣ.wy*
Date 19th Dynasty.
Bibliography *PN* I, 74.18; El-Aguizy (2007a); (2007b).

014/USC ***Wsr*** **Royal Scribe of the Treasury of the King**
Tomb EES–Leiden archaeological mission, 1988.
Title(s) [C] *sš nsw* (*n.y*) *pr-ḥḏ* (*n.y*) *nb tꜣ.wy*
Date Late 18th Dynasty.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 88–18 (round-topped)
Bibliography *PN* I, 85.6; Raven (2001), 9, 22 [19], pl. 27.

015/USC ***Wsr-mꜣʿ.t-Rʿ-nḫt*** **Overseer of Silver and Gold**
Tomb ST 203, Cairo University expedition, 1984–1988.
Title(s) [B] *ỉm.y-r pr ḥḏ nbw*
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II.
Bibliography *PN* I, 82.16; Handoussa (1998), 533–538; Tawfik (1991), 406, fig. 1.

016/USC ***Bꜣk.t-wrnr*** **Chantress of Wadjet**
Tomb ST 8, Cairo University expedition, 1984–1988.
Title(s) [B] *nb.t pr*
[E] *šmʿ.yt n.yt Wꜣḏ.t*
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II.

Bibliography *PN* I, 92.10; Tawfik (1991), 405, fig. 1.

017/USC ***Pȝy*** **Overseer of the Royal Household of Memphis**

Tomb LS 28, C.R. Lepsius, 1843; F. Champollion/I. Rosellini, 1828–1829; EES–Leiden expedition, 1994.

Title(s)
[A] *ỉr.y-pˁ.t ḥȝ.ty-ˁ ♦ wr /// ♦ smr wˁ.ty ♦ sḏȝ.wty-bỉ.ty*
[B] *ỉm.y-r ỉp.t-nsw m grg-Wȝs.t ♦ ỉm.y-r ỉp.t nsw n.yt Mn-nfr ♦ ỉm.y-r ỉp.t nsw (n.yt nb tȝ.wy) ♦ ỉm.y-r ỉp.t nsw n.yt tȝ ḥm.t-nsw ♦ ỉm.y-r ỉḫ.w (n.w ʾImn-Rˁ) ♦ ỉm.y-r pr (n.y) nsw ♦ ỉm.y-r nfr.w n.w nb tȝ.wy*
[C] *sš nsw (mȝˁ mr.y=f)*
[D] *ỉm.y-r kȝ.t n.y mn.w nb n.y ḥm=f*

Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp.* Tutankhamun.

Items

I. Reliefs
1. Florence, Museo Egizio 1606 = 2601
2. Paris, Musée Rodin NI 104 (Paris, Musée du Louvre E 15562)
3. Paris, Musée Rodin NI 235

III. Architectural elements
1. Florence, Museo Egizio 1605 (2600)—2 door jambs
2. Kuybyshev, Regional Museum—door jamb
3. Paris, Musée du Louvre D 21= N 362—pyramidion
4. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum ÄS 5908—pyramidion

IV. Stelae
1. London, British Museum EA 156
2. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 04.2.527 (fragment)
3. Saqqara Magazine, excavation nos R94–30, R94–40, R94–56
4. Saqqara Magazine, excavation nos 2001-R27 and 2001-R282

V. Burial equipment
1. Paris, Musée du Louvre N 2657—double shabti of Pay and Repit

Comments Father of Raia (042/USC), who shared in his father's tomb.

Bibliography PM III/2, 655, pl. 62; Raven/Van Walsem (2014), 162, no. 117, fig. on p. 163; Raven (2005).

018/USC ***P3-b3-s3*** **Troop Commander of Merchants**
Tomb EES–Leiden expedition, 1986.
Title(s) [C] *sš m3ʿ n.y nb t3.wy* ♦ *sš n.y pr-ḥḏ* [*n.y Ptḥ*]
[D] *ḥr.y-pḏ.t* ♦ *ḥr.y-pḏ.t šw.ty* ♦ [*ḥr.y-pḏ.t šw.ty*] *n.y pr Ptḥ*
Date Late 19th / early 20th Dynasty.
Items **II. Statues**
1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AM 108-a—group statue of Pabes and his wife Taweretemheb
Comments Son of Khay (050/USC) (?).
Bibliography Martin (2001a), 18–30.

019/USC [***P3-n-***]***dw3*** **?**
Tomb Leiden expedition, 2002–2003.
Title(s) ?
Date Late 19th to 20th Dynasty.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 2003-R83—round-topped stela
Bibliography *PN* I, 112.9; Raven/Van Walsem (2014), fig. 1.11; Raven el al. (2011b), 60, no. 29, fig. on p. 61.

020/USC **(*P3-*)*Rʿ-ḥtp*(*.w*)** **Vizier and High Priest of Ptah**
Tomb Location no longer known.
Title(s) [A] *ỉr.y-pʿ.t* ♦ *ỉr.y-pʿ.t ḥ3.ty-ʿ* ♦ *ỉr.ty n.y nsw* ♦ *ʿnḫ.wy* (*n.y*) *bỉ.ty* ♦ *wḥm.w n.y bỉ.ty* ♦ *mḥ-ỉb n.y Ḥr m mȝʿ.t* ♦ *mḥ-ỉb n.y Ḥr m ȝḫ.t nḥḥ* ♦ *mḥ-ỉb n.y Ḥr nb t3.wy* ♦ *mdw.t n.y* 30 ♦ *n.y ỉnb.w*(*-ḥḏ*) ♦ *nḫm m-ʿ ḫwrʿ* ♦ *r Nḫn* ♦ *r n.y nsw* ♦ *r n.y nsw ḥr ḫȝs.t nb.t* ♦ *r n.y nsw m t3 ḏr=f* ♦ *ḫ3.wty m ḫ3.t rḫy.t* ♦ *ḥr.y-sšt3 m ḥw.t sḫm.w* ♦ *ḥr.y-sšt3 n.y pr-nsw* ♦ *ḥr.y-tp m t3 r ḏr=f* ♦ *ḥs.y=f mr.y=f* ♦ *ḥsb.w bȝk.w nb.w m t3 r ḏr=f* ♦ *ḫn.w n.y nsw m tỉt=f ḏsr* ♦ *ḫrp wr.w* ♦ *sỉʿỉ Mȝʿ.t n nb=f* ♦ *sỉʿỉ Mȝʿ.t ḫr ʿḥ* ♦ *sbȝ t3.wy* ♦ *sbḫ.t nsw* ♦ *sbḫ.t n.y ỉty* ♦ *shrr ḥm=f m ʿḥ špss* ♦ *st3-ỉdb.wy* ♦ *st3n t3.wy* ♦ *t3y-ḫw ḥr wnm.y n.y nsw*
[B] *ỉm.y-r ʿ3 ỉm.yw ḫnt n.y nb t3.wy m wsḫ.t ḫb-sd* ♦ *ỉm.y-r nỉw.t t3.ty* ♦ *ỉm.y-r ḥp.w n.y nṯr-nfr m wsḫ.t/sḫ n.y wḏʿ mȝʿ.t* ♦ *ḥr.y-tp t3.wy* ♦ *ḫrp spȝ.wt nỉw.wt* ♦ *sȝb n.y rḫy.t* ♦ *sȝb t3y.ty / t3y.ty sȝb* ♦ *t3y.ty* (*sȝb*) *n.y p.t* ♦ *t3y.ty sȝb t3.wy* ♦ *t3.ty* ♦ *t3.ty n.y rḫy.t* ♦ *t3.ty wp t3.wy*
[D] *ỉm.y-r kȝ.t* ♦ *ḫrp ḥmw.w*
[E] *ỉm.y-r ḥm.w-nṯr* ♦ *ỉt-nṯr mr.y nṯr* ♦ *wr mȝ.w n.y Rʿ.w-ʾItm.w*

♦ *wr-ḫrp-ḥmw.w* ♦ *pr.y m pr Ptḥ* ♦ *ḥm-nṯr n.y Wꜣḏ.ty Bỉk* ♦ *ḥm-nṯr tp.y Mꜣʿ.t* ♦ *ḥr.y-sšṯꜣ m ḥw.t bỉ.ty* ♦ *ḥr.y-sšṯꜣ m ḥw.t Mꜣʿ.t* ♦ *ḥr.y-sšṯꜣ m ḥw.t N.t* ♦ *ḫrp šnd.wt nb.wt* ♦ *stm n.y Ptḥ* ♦ *sšm.w-ḥb n.y rs.y ỉnb=f* ♦ *sšm.w tp-rd n.ty nb*

Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II, second half.

Items

II. Statues

1. Mit Rahineh, Mathaf Ramsis MO2 = Mus. 33 = Exc. 2—granite naophorous statue

III. Architectural elements

1. Sak. 2003-R092—limestone column fragment (found by the Leiden expedition in shaft 99/1, south of the south exterior wall of the inner courtyard of the tomb of Horemheb, 046/USC)

2. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. (?)—red granite pyramidion (?) fragment

3. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. (?)—quartzite pyramidion fragment

IV. Stelae

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 48845 = TN 14.4.24.4

Comments Son of Pahemneter (158/USC).

Bibliography PM III/2, 665–666; V, 43; *PN* I, 114.20; K*RI* III, 52–67; VII, 109–110; Gräzer Ohara (2020), 50, 268–271, figs 47–48; Pasquali (2017), 575; Franzmeier (2014), 151–179; Raven et al. (2011b), 58, no. 28, fig. on p. 59; Raedler (2004), 354–373 (esp. 363–364); Raue (1998), 340–351; Schneider (1996), 93 [NK 11], 94 [NK 15]; Van Dijk (1989b), 12; Altenmüller/Moussa (1974), 1–14, pl. 1; Schulz (1992), 69–70, cat. no. 014, figs 4–6; 90–91, cat. no. 026, pl. 10; Maystre (1992), 145–147 (docs 103–105); Moursi (1981), 321–329, pls 52–53.

021/USC ***Pꜣ-sr*** **Overseer of Builders of the King**

Tomb EES–Leiden expedition, 1980.

Title(s) **[A]** *ỉmꜣḫ.y ḏd.w ḥsy.w* ♦ *ḥs.y ʿꜣ n.y nṯr nfr*

[C] *sš nsw*

[D] *ỉm.y-r ḳd.w n.w nb tꜣ.wy*

Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II.

Items

IV. Stelae

1. London, British Museum EA 165

Comments Brother of Tjunery (201/USC).

Bibliography PM III/2, 742; *PN* I, 117.12–13; *HTBM* 9, 28–29, pl. 24a; K*RI* III, 278–279; Martin (1985).

022/USC ***Pꜣ-sr*** **Chief of Guardians of Records of the Army**

Tomb Cairo University expedition, 2013–2014.

Title(s) [B] *wpw.ty nsw m ḫꜣs(.w)t nb(.wt)*
[C] *ḥr.y sꜣw(.w) n.y sš.w mšʿ ♦ ḥr.y sꜣw(.w) pꜣ mšʿ*

Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II, after year 30 / 20th Dynasty.

Bibliography *PN* I, 117.12–13; El-Aguizy (2022); (2020b)

023/USC ***Pn-ʿꜣ* (*?*) / *Smn-tꜣ.wy* (*?*)** **? / Priest of the Carrying-chair**

Tomb Tomb shaft 96/1, EES–Leiden expedition, 1996.

Title(s) *Smn-tꜣ.wy*:
[E] *wʿb ḳny.t*

Date Late 19th Dynasty, post-Merenptah, or 20th Dynasty.

Items
IV. Stelae
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. Sak R 93–90 (unfinished and anepigraphic)

V. Burial equipment
1. Saqqara Magazine—9 wooden shabtis of Pena'a (excavation nos 96-58-60, 96-70-74); 3 for Sementawy (excavation nos 96–61, 96–64, 96–62); 3 for a lady Henut-pa-/// (excavation nos 96-66-68)
2. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 96–84—wooden shabti-box for Pena'a

Bibliography Raven (2005), 20, 76–77 [cat. 53, 54a–h, 55a–c, 56a–c], pls 4, 13, 80–81, 93–94, 100, 102; Van Walsem et al. (1999), 20, fig. 1; Raven et al. (1997), 73, 76, fig. 4, pl. 4.2 (stela repositioned).

024/USC ***Pr-ʿꜣ-(r)-nḥḥ*** **Lector Priest of the Overseer of the Treasury Maiay**

Tomb EES–Leiden expedition.

Title(s) [E] *ḫr.y-ḥb n.y ỉm.y-r pr Mʿỉꜣy*

Date Early 19th Dynasty.

Items
IV. Stelae
1. Warsaw, Muzeum Narodwe (National Museum) 142294

Bibliography *PN* I, 134.8; Raven (2001), 9; Raven (1997), 139–148; Van Dijk (1993), 80, fig. 12; Kołodko (1979), 26–32, fig. 15; Legrain (1894), 24–26, no. 65.

025/USC ***Ptḥ-m-wi͗ʒ*** **Royal Butler**

Tomb Leiden expedition, 2007.

Title(s) [A] *i͗r.y-pˁ.t ḥ͗ʒ.ty-ˁ ♦ wr m ˁḥ=f ♦ mr.y n.y nb=f ♦ mrr.ty n.y nb tʒ.wy ♦ r shrr m tʒ r ḏr=f ♦ ḥr.t sšt͗ʒ n.y wʒḏ.ty ♦ ḥs.y ˁʒ n.y nṯr nfr ♦ smr wˁ.ty ♦ sḏ͗ʒw.ty-bi͗.ty*

[B] *wbʒ nsw wˁb ˁ.wy*

Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Akhenaten–Tutankhamun.

Items **III. Architectural elements**

1. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico EG 1891—pilaster

2. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 8383—doorjamb

Bibliography PM III/2, 751; *PN* I, 139.18; Raven (2020b); Pasquali (2017), 574; Raven et al. (2008–2009); (2006–2007), 19–39; Reinisch (1863).

026/USC ***Ptḥ-m-wi͗ʒ*** **Overseer of Cattle of the King**

Tomb A. Mariette, 1859; 1860; Cairo University expedition, 2018.

Title(s) [A] *i͗r.y-pˁ.t ♦ smr wˁ.ty ♦ sḏ͗ʒ.wty-bi͗.ty*

[B] *i͗m.y-r i͗ḥ.w ♦ i͗m.y-r i͗ḥ.w wr m tʒ ḥw.t Wsr-mʒˁ.t-Rˁ -stp.n-Rˁ m pr ʾImn ♦ i͗m.y-r i͗ḥ.w m t[ʒ] ḥw.t Wsr-mʒˁ.t-Rˁ-stp.n-Rˁ m pr ʾImn ♦ i͗m.y-r i͗ḥ.w n.w nb tʒ.wy ♦ i͗m.y-r pr-ḥḏ nbw n.y tʒ ḥw.t n.yt ḥḥ.w rnp.wt n.y nsw.t bi͗.ty Wsr-mʒˁ.t-Rˁ-stp.n-Rˁ m pr ʾImn m i͗nb-ḥḏ.t*

[C] *sš nsw ♦ sš nsw ḥtp.w-nṯr n.w nṯr.w nb.w Šmˁ.w Tʒ-mḥ.w*

Date Early 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II.

Items **III. Architectural elements**

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 8371 = CG 17109 = TN 7.11.24.3 —pyramidion

Comments Mariette also recorded a text on an "unidentified object".

Bibliography PM III/2, 770, 775; V, 47; *PN* I, 139.18; El-Aguizy (2022); Pasquali (2017), 568; Staring (2016a); (2014–2015), 53–55; 60–61, no. 11; 65, no. 1; 69–70, no. 2; Myśliwiec (1978), 139–145, figs 1–4, pls 36–37; Petrie (1902), 31, 45, pls 65.2–4, 67 [top]; Mariette (1872), 20, pl. 62c; Devéria photograph (1859), Musée d'Orsay PHO 1986 144 64, MS 178 129.

027/USC ***Ptḥ-ms*(*.w*)** **Mayor of Memphis**

Tomb A. Mariette, 1859; Cairo University expedition, 2010.

Title(s) [A] *ʒḫ n.y nb=f ♦ i͗r.y-pˁ.t ḥ͗ʒ.ty-ˁ ♦ i͗r.y-rd.wy=f ♦ i͗r.ty n.y nsw ˁnḫ.wy bi͗.ty ♦ i͗r.ty n.y nsw m pr Ptḥ ♦ ˁḳʒ ns mi͗.tyt n.yt mḫ͗ʒ.t ♦ wˁ mnḫ n.y nṯr nfr ♦ bi͗.t=f i͗ḳr di͗ mrw.t=f ♦ mr.y nb tʒ.wy ♦ mrw.ty ˁʒ n.y nṯr nfr ♦ mḥ-i͗b ˁʒ n.y nṯr nfr ♦ [ns/r] shrr*

m Ḥw.t-kȝ-Ptḥ ♦ ḥᶜ.tw [n.y sḏm] ḫrw=f ♦ ḥr.y-tp wr.w m ỉnb(.w)-ḥḏ ♦ ḥr[.y-tp m] šny.t ♦ ḫrp rs-tp n(.y) nb tȝ.wy ♦ smr wᶜ.ty ♦ sr ♦ sḏȝ.wty-bỉ.ty

[B] *ỉm.y-r /// ♦ ỉm.y-r pr ♦ ỉm.y-r pr wr ♦ ỉm.y-r pr wr m pr Ptḥ ♦ ỉm.y-r pr m [tȝ] ḥw.t Rᶜ-ms-s(w) mr.y-ʾImn m pr Ptḥ ♦ ỉm.y-r pr wr m tȝ ḥw.t Rᶜ-ms-s(w) mr.y-ʾImn m pr Ptḥ ♦ ỉm.y-r pr wr n.y Ptḥ ♦ ỉm.y-r pr m ḥw.t nṯr ȝḫ-Stḫy-mr-n-Ptḥ m pr Ptḥ ♦ ỉm.y-r pr (n.y) Ptḥ ♦ ỉm.y-r pr n.y pr Ptḥ ḥȝ ʾInb.w Ptḥ ♦ ỉm.y-r pr n.y nb mȝᶜ.t ♦ ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ ♦ ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ n.y nb mȝᶜ.t ♦ ỉm.y-r šnw.ty ♦ ỉm.y-r šnw.ty n.y nb mȝᶜ.t ♦ ỉm.y-r šnw.ty n.y nb nḥḥ ♦ ḥȝ.ty-ᶜ wr ♦ ḥȝ.ty-ᶜ wr m ỉnb(.w) ḥḏ ♦ ḥȝ.ty-ᶜ wr m Ḥw.t-kȝ-Ptḥ ♦ ḥȝ.ty-ᶜ m ʾInb.w-ḥḏ ♦ ḥȝ.ty-ᶜ ḥȝ ỉnb.w ♦ ḥȝ.ty-ᶜ ḥȝ ʾInb.w n.w Ptḥ*

[C] *sš nsw ♦ sš nsw mȝᶜ mr.y=f*

[D] *ỉm.y-r mšᶜ wr m pr Ptḥ ♦ ỉm.y-r mšᶜ m pr Ptḥ ♦ ỉm.y-r kȝ.t ♦ ỉm.y-r kȝ.t m mn.w nb n.y nb tȝ.wy (?) ♦ ỉm.y-r kȝ.t m mn.w nb n.y nsw ♦ ỉm.y-r kȝ.t m mn.w nb n.y ḫm=f ♦ ỉm.y-r kȝ.t m mn.w nb n.y ḫm=f m ḫwt-kȝ-Ptḥ*

[E] *mrr.ty ᶜȝ n.y nṯr.w nb.w ʾInb(.w)-ḥḏ ♦ ḫr.y-šštȝ n.y ḥw.t Ptḥ*

[?] */// n(.w) nb mȝᶜ.t ♦ /// m pr [Ptḥ]*

Date 19th Dynasty, *temp.* Seti I–early Ramesses II.

Items

I. Reliefs

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 4873 = TN 14.6.24.28
2. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 4874 = TN 14.6.24.27
3. Sharm el-Sheikh Museum inv. no. unknown (previously Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 4875 = 14.6.24.30)
4. Florence, Museo Egizio 2557
5. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 54
6. Frankfurt, Liebieghaus IN 1643
7. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 25.6.24.6
8. Durham (US), Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University, 1984.2.3
9. 'Mur Rhoné' (photo T. Devéria, 1859; now lost)
10. 'Block from Giza' (seen by Lepsius, 1843; present location unknown)
11. 'Devéria-doorway' (photo T. Devéria, 1859; now lost)

II. Statues

1. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum 22.106
2. Tokyo, Matsuoka Museum of Art 568
3. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 7

4. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 8
5. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 41532
6. London, British Museum EA 1119

III. Architectural elements

1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 51a—*djed* pillar
2. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 51b—*djed* pillar
3. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 51c—*djed* pillar
4. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 51d—*djed* pillar
5. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 40000—papyriform column (from monastery of Apa Jeremias)
6. Pyramidion (seen by Lepsius with the art dealer S. Fernandez at Cairo, 1842)
7. Berlin, Ägyptische Museum 1631—pyramid panel
8. Berlin, Ägyptische Museum 1632—pyramid panel

IV. Stelae

1. Notebook H.O. Lange (seen with an art dealer at Kafr el-Haram, Giza, 1899–1900)
2. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 19718 (between 1945 and 2015 in Ann Arbor, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology 1981.4.4)

V. Burial equipment

1. Compiègne, Musée Antoine Vivenel inv. L. 496—sarcophagus fragment
2. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 4461 = CG 46564—shabti
3. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 4462 = CG 47181—shabti

VII. Varia

4. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 4103—*tyet* amulet
5. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 4104—head of a snake
6. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 4105 = CG 12018—ovoid bead
7. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 4106 = CG 5426—*djed* amulet
8. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 4494—ring with fayence bezel

VIII. Extra-sepulchral

1. Paris, Musée du Louvre IM 5269 = N 421—stela from Serapeum, *tombe isolée* G–H = C8, *temp*. Ramesses II
2. Paris, Musée du Louvre SH 213 = AF 12824 = IM 2870 = S 1441—shabti from Serapeum, *tombe isolée* G–H = C8, *temp*. Ramesses II

Bibliography PM III/2, 713–715, 784; *PN* I, 140.9; *KRI* III, 171–180; VII, 112–113, 180; *LD Text*, I, 15; Pasquali (2017), 566, 575–576; El-Aguizy

(2022); (2017); Giovetti/Picchi (2015), cat. V.55–57; Staring (2015a); (2014); Greco (2011b), 195–204; Van Dijk (1989a), 47–54; Berlandini (1982), 85–103; Martin (1995), 6, nos 4–6; Roeder (1924), 217, 308; Maspero (1915), 180, no. 652.A; Quibell (1912), pl. 86.1–2; Reisner (1907), 30, 100, pl. 7.

028/USC ***Mʿy3*** **Overseer of the Treasury**

Tomb. No. LS 27, C.R. Lepsius, 1843; EES–Leiden expedition, 1986.

Title(s)

[A] *ỉm.y-ỉb n.y [nsw]* ♦ *ỉm.y-ỉb Ḥr m pr=f* ♦ *[ỉrỉ m]rr(.w) ḫm=f* ♦ *ỉrỉ.n nb tȝ.wy kȝ=f* ♦ *ỉrỉ [s]ḥrr n.y nb tȝ.wy* ♦ *ỉr.y-pʿ.t ḥȝ.ty-ʿ* ♦ *ỉr.ty n.y nsw ///* ♦ *ʿȝ m pr nsw* ♦ *[ʿȝ] m ḥsw [m Stp]-sȝ ʿw.s* ♦ *ʿḳ.w r ʿḥ r=f ḫr mȝʿ.t r sgrḥ tȝ.wy n nb=f* ♦ *wʿ mnḫ ỉb n.y ỉty* ♦ *wr m ỉȝ.t=f* ♦ *[wr?] mr.wt m-bȝḥ ḫm=f* ♦ *wr m-ḥȝ.t rḫy.t* ♦ *wḥm.w n.y bỉ.ty* ♦ *pr ///* ♦ *mn ḥsw m stp-sȝ ʿw.s.* ♦ *[mnḫ sḫr.w]=f ḥr ỉb [nsw]* ♦ *mnḫ=f [n ỉb nb]=f* ♦ *[mr.y nb tȝ.wy] ḥr sḫr.w[=f]* ♦ *mr.y [n.y] nb tȝ.wy* ♦ *mrw/mrr n(.y) nb tȝ.wy ḥr bỉt=f* ♦ *mḥ-ỉb [n.y nsw]* ♦ *mḥ-ỉb Ḥr [m] ʿḥ* ♦ *msw=f ḥr.y-tp rḫy.t* ♦ *r n.y nsw* ♦ *r [n.y nsw (?) ... ḏd].tw.n=f ỉmnw* ♦ *r ḫm[=f]* ♦ *r shrr m tȝ r ḏr=f* ♦ *ḥr tw ḥr ỉr.n=f nb* ♦ *ḥr.y-sḫr.w[=f] ȝḥ ḥr [ỉb]=f* ♦ *ḥr.y-sšt3 n.y pr-nsw* ♦ *ḥs.y n.y nṯr nfr* ♦ *ḫtm nb n.y nsw ḥr ḏbʿ.wt=f* ♦ *sȝw n.y bỉ.ty* ♦ *smỉ ///* ♦ *smr wʿ.ty* ♦ *sʿȝ n.y nsw* ♦ *[srwḥ?]=f nb tȝ.wy ỉr ḏfȝ=f* ♦ *sḫnt ỉȝ.wt* ♦ *sḫnt n.y bỉ.ty* ♦ *sḏȝ.wty-bỉ.ty* ♦ *šsȝ wn-ḥr m kȝ.t nb.t* ♦ *tm mḥy(.w) ḥr rdy(.t) m ḥr=f* ♦ *ṯȝy-ḫw ḥr wnm.y n.y nsw* ♦ *ṯs tȝ sḫr.w[=f]* ♦ */// ỉḳr n nb=f* ♦ */// wrw(?)* ♦ */// n.y pr-nsw* ♦ */// n(.y) nb=f* ♦ */// ḥr sp ///*

[B] *ỉm.y-r pr* ♦ *ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ* ♦ *ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ n.y nb tȝ.wy* ♦ *ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ n.y ḥḏ-nbw* ♦ *ỉm.y-r pr.wy nbw* ♦ *ỉm.y-r pr.wy nbw ḥḏ* ♦ *ỉm.y-r pr.wy-ḥḏ* ♦ *[ỉm.y-r pr].wy ḥḏ-nbw* ♦ *ḥr.y-tp n.y tȝ r-ḏr=f* ♦ *ḫrp ỉdb.wy*

[C] *sš nsw* ♦ *sš nsw mȝʿ* ♦ *sš nsw mȝʿ mr.y=f*

[D] *ỉm.y-r ḫmw.w nb.w n.w nsw* ♦ *ỉm.y-r kȝ.t m S.t-nḥḥ* ♦ *ỉm.y-r kȝ.t [m] mn.w [nb n.y ḫm]=f* ♦ *ỉm.y-r kȝ.t nb.t [m] S.t-r-nḥḥ* ♦ *ỉm.y-r kȝ.t nb.t n.t nsw* ♦ *sȝb ʿḏ-mr*

[E] *wʿb ʿ.wy ỉy nṯr ⟨r⟩ ḥtp ḥr ///* ♦ *wʿb ʿ.wy ḫr [kȝp] snṯr* ♦ *ḥr.y-sšt3 pr nwb m r-pr nṯr.w nb.w* ♦ *sšm.w-ḥb* ♦ *sšm.w-ḥb n.y ỉmn* ♦ *[sšm.w-]ḥb n.y ỉmn [m ỉp.t-rsy.t?]* ♦ *sšm.w-ḥb n.y [nb] nṯr.w*

Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp.* Tutankhamun–Horemheb.

Items **1. Reliefs**

1. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum 22.86
2. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 2088
3. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 2089
4. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 43274
5. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 19.6.24.1
6. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 19.6.24.13
7. Frankfurt, Liebieghaus St.P. 425
8. Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe 1924.123
9. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden F 1993/8.1
10. New York, Memorial Art gallery, University of Rochester 42.55
11. Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum 955.79.1

II. Statues

1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 1—statue of Maya
2. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 2—statue of Meryt
3. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 3—dyad

III. Architectural elements

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 43272—door jamb
2. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 43273—door jamb
3. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 19.6.24.10—door jamb
4. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 55—pyramid panel
5. Marsa Matruh Archaeological Museum (inv. no. unknown)—pyramid panel

VII. Varia

1. Paris, Musée du Louvre N 1538—cubit rod

Bibliography PM III/2, 661–663, pl. 66; *PN* I, 146.7; *LD Text*, I, 182–184; pls III.240–241; Martin (2012); (1987a), 9–10, cat. 7–9, pl. 3; Raven (2001); Graefe (1975), 187–220; Quibell (1912).

029/USC ***Mỉy*** **?**

Tomb. No. Cairo University expedition, 2006.

Title(s) ?

Date 'Ramesside' (late-19th / 20th Dynasty?).

Comments Tomb not fully excavated.

Bibliography *PN* I, 146.10; El-Aguizy (2007a), 44.

030/USC ***Nb-nfr* & *Mʿḥw*** **Chief Steward of Ptah**

Tomb ST 218, Cairo University expedition, 1984–1988.

Title(s) Mahu:

[A] *ỉr.y-rd.wy n.y nb tꜣ.wy ♦ ḥs.y ʿꜣ n.y nṯr nfr*

[B] *ỉm.y-r pr ♦ ỉm.y-r pr wr ♦ ỉm.y-r pr m* [*tꜣ*] *ḫw.t Rʿ-ms-sw mr.y-ʾImn m pr Ptḥ ♦ ỉm.y-r pr wr n.y Ptḥ ♦ ỉm.y-r pr wr m/n.y ḫw.t ỉty ♦ ỉm.y-r pr n.y Ptḥ ♦ ỉm.y-r pr.wy-ḥḏ n.y ḥḏ-nbw n.y Ptḥ ♦ ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ n.y Ptḥ ♦ ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ n.y nfr-ḥr ♦ ỉm.y-r šnw.ty n.y nb mꜣʿ.t ♦ wpw.ty nsw r tꜣ ḫty.w ♦ wpw.ty nsw ḥr ḫꜣs.wt nb.wt*

[C] *sš nsw ♦ sš nsw mꜣʿ mr.y=f ♦ sš nsw mr.y nb tꜣ.wy*

Nebnefer:

[A] *pꜣ ḥs.y /// ♦ ḥs.y ʿꜣ n.y nb tꜣ.wy ♦ sḫm ỉꜣt nb*

[B] *ỉm.y-r pr ♦ ỉm.y-r pr wr n.y pr Ptḥ ♦ ỉm.y-r pr wr n.y nb Mꜣʿ.t ♦* [*ỉm.y-r pr m tꜣ ḫw.t*] *Rʿ-ms-sw mr.y-ʾImn m pr Ptḥ ♦ ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ nbw ♦ ỉm.y-r ḫtm ♦ ỉm.y-r ḫtm n.y pꜣ wꜣḏ-wr ♦ ỉm.y-r šnw.ty ♦ ỉm.y-r šnw.ty m ḫw.t Ptḥ ♦ ỉm.y-r šnw.ty n.y Ptḥ ♦ wpw.ty nsw*

[C] *sš nsw ♦ sš nsw mꜣʿ mr.y=f ♦ sš nsw mr.y nb tꜣ.wy*

[E] *drp nṯr.w*

Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II.

Items **I. Reliefs**

1. Saqqara Magazine—relief-decorated block fragment, found in shaft K, due east of the pylon of the tomb of Maya by the EES–Leiden expedition on 7.2.1988, unpublished (info: field notebook J. van Dijk)

Comments The tomb is shared by Mahu and his father Nebnefer, and it was designed as a dual tomb.

Bibliography *PN* I, 163.24–25; Staring (in press, a); El-Aguizy (2015), 203–217; Gohary (2010), 159–163; (2009); Vandersleyen (2010), 7–8; Tawfik (1991), 407, fig. 1, pl. 60b.

031/USC ***Mry-Mꜣʿ.t*** **Controller of the Divine Offerings**

Tomb Chapel 2010/26, Leiden expedition, 2010.

Title(s) [B] [*sš*] *ḫrp ḥtp.w n.w nṯr*

[C] *sš*

Date Late Ramesside, after year 30 of Ramesses II.

Items **IV. Stelae**

1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. SAK 2013 R-26—stela fragment, top

Bibliography *PN* I, 160.19; Raven (2020b), 64–67, figs III.32–33; Raven et al. (2011a), 8–9, figs 1, 6.

032/USC ***Mr.y-(ty-)N.t / Mr.y-Rᶜ*** **Steward of the Temple of the Aten**
Tomb H9, A. Mariette, 1850; Leiden expedition, 2001.
Title(s) [B] *ỉm.y-r pr* ♦ *ỉm.y-r pr n.y pr ʾItn* ♦ *ỉm.y-r pr n.y pr ʾItn m Mn-nfr*
[C] *sš n.y pr ʾItn m ꜣḫ.t-ʾItn m Mn-nfr* ♦ *sš nsw*
[D] *ỉm.y-r ḳꜣ.t nsw*
[E] *wr mꜣ.w n.y pꜣ ʾItn* ♦ *wr mꜣ.w n.y pꜣ ʾItn m pr ʾItn* ♦ *ḥm-nṯr tp.y m ḥw.t N.t*
Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp.* Akhenaten–Tutankhamun.
Items
I. Reliefs
1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 2070
2. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 12694
3. Chicago, Oriental Institute Museum 10595
4. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 21.2.25
5. Present location unknown—A. Mariette: 3 relief-decorated blocks
6. Private collection
7. Saqqara Magazine (?)—relief-block found by the SCA expedition
8. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. SAK 2015/R20
9. Frankfurt, Liebieghaus 270
II. Statues
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 99076—dyad found *in situ*, south-west chapel of the tomb
Bibliography PM III/2, 666; *PN* I, 162.1/160.23; Van Dijk (2019); Raven/Van Walsem (2014); Pasquali (2011), nos B.15, B.56; El-Ghandour (1997a), 12, pls 2, 11; Martin (1987a), 15–16 [25], pl. 9; Löhr (1975), 173–176; Mariette (1885), 449.

033/USC ***Nb-mḥy.t*** **General**
Tomb. No. ST 7, Cairo University expedition 1984–1988.
Title(s) [C] *sš nsw*
[F] *ỉm.y-r mšᶜ*
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II.
Bibliography *PN* I, 185.7; Tawfik (1991), 405, fig. 1.

034/USC ***Nfr-rnp.t*** **Vizier, High Priest of Ptah**

Tomb ST 0, Cairo University expedition, 1977.

Title(s) [A] *ỉrỉ.w M3ʿ.t ♦ ỉr.y-pʿ.t ♦ ỉr.y-pʿ.t ḥ3.ty-ʿ ♦ ỉr.y-pʿ.t ḥr.y-tp t3.wy ♦ ỉr.ty /// ♦ mr.y wr b3 nṯr(y) ♦ r Nḫn ♦ ḥr.y-tp t3.wy ♦ ṯ3y-ḫw ḥr wmn.y (n.y) nsw*

[B] *ỉm.y-r nỉw.t ṯ3.ty ♦ s3b ♦ s3b t3y.ty / t3y.ty s3b ♦ ṯ3.ty*

[E] *ỉt-nṯr ♦ [ỉt-nṯr] mr.y nṯr ♦ ỉm.y-r ḥm.w-nṯr n.w nṯr.w nb.w Šmʿ.w Mḥ.w ♦ wr-ḫrp-ḥmw.w n.w Ptḥ ♦ ḥm-nṯr M3ʿ.t ♦ ḥr.y-sšt3 m p.t t3 dw3.t ♦ ḥr.y-sšt3 m ḥḏ Gbb ♦ ḫrp šnd.wt nb.wt ♦ s3b t3y.ty ỉr.y-Nḫn ♦ sm wr-ḫrp-ḥmw.w ♦ sm n.y Ptḥ ♦ sšm.w-ḥb n.y ʾImn ♦ stm n.y Ptḥ*

Date 19th Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II, end 6th decade.

Items

II. Statues

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 18559 = CG 713—block statue

2. Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 1034—block statue with a naos of Ptah

3. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 2290—naos

4. *In situ* in the tomb—kneeling naophorous statue with a naos of Ptah

5. London, British Museum EA 909—standard bearer statue (provenance unknown; ex-coll. Rustafjaell)

III. Architectural elements

1. Liverpool, World Museum M11015—pyramidion

2. New York, Private collection (Mr. and Mrs. Jack A. Josephson Collection)—panel of a column

V. Burial equipment

1. Florence, Museo Archeologico 4542—shabti (provenance unknown)

2. Florence, Museo Archeologico 1812—shabti (provenance unknown)

VI. Offering tables

1. London, British Museum EA 108—black granite libation trough

VII. Varia

1. Collection Amherst—plaque

2. London, British Museum EA 4104—plaque

Bibliography PM III/2, 706–707; *PN* I, 197.18; *HTBM* 9, 16 f., pls 13, 13A; *KRI* III, 47–51; Van Dijk (2018); (1983), 52; Pasquali (2017), 571; Leblanc (2012), 87, with n. 14; Nouh (2010), 117–126; El-Aguizy (2007a), 41–50; Raedler (2004), 386–397; Maystre (1992), 156–157, docs

147–154; Tawfik (1991), 404, fig. 1, pls 56, 57a; Martin (1987a), 32, no. 78, pl. 27; Borchardt (1934), 33; (1930), 50–51, pl. 132; Newberry (1906), 182, no. 24, pl. 35; Gatty (1877), 29, no. 151.

035/USC ***Nfr-rnp.t*** **Vizier, High Priest of Ptah**
Tomb ST 0 (?), Cairo University expedition, 1977.
Title(s) [A] *ỉr.y-pʿ.t ḥ3.ty-ʿ*
[B] *ỉm.y-r nỉw.t ṯ3.ty*
[E] *wr-ḫrp-ḥmw.w*
Date 20th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses IV.
Items **II. Statues**
1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 16—naophorous statue
Comments PM III/2, 707: incorrectly attributed to the homomymous official who held the same title in the late reign of Ramesses II, ST 0 (034/USC).
Bibliography PM III/2, 707; *PN* I, 197.18; K*RI* VI, 78; Soliman (2019–2020), 11–12; Van Dijk (2018); (1993), 120 with n. 24; Raedler (2004), 386–397; Christophe (1956), 28–37; Boeser (1912), 7–8.

036/USC ***Nfr-ḥtp*** **Chamberlain of the King**
Tomb ST 103, Cairo University expedition, 1984–1988.
Title(s) [A] *ṯ3y-ḫw ḥr wnm.y n.y nsw*
[B] *ỉm.y-r ḫnt n.y nb tȝ.wy*
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II.
Bibliography *PN* I, 198.14; Tawfik (1991), 405, fig. 1, pl. 57c, 59b.

037/USC ***Nn-nȝ-m-dỉ-ʾImn*** **Head of Sandal Makers**
Tomb EES–Leiden expedition, 1981.
Title(s) [D] *ḥr.y ṯb.w*
Date Ramesside, 19th Dynasty.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Saqqara Magazine excavation no. unknown
Bibliography Martin (1985), 19 [xiv], pl. 27.

038/USC ***Ry*** **Chief of Bowmen and Overseer of Horses**
Tomb Leiden expedition, 2013.
Title(s) [A] *ỉr.y-pʿ.t ♦ ḥ3.ty-ʿ ♦ ḥs.y n.y nṯr nfr ♦ ḫtm.ty-bỉ.ty ♦ smr wʿ.ty*
[C] [*sš nsw*] *mȝʿ mr*(*.y*)*=f*
[F] *ỉm.y-r ssm.*(*w*)*t ♦ ḥr.y-pḏ.t ♦ sȝb n*(*.y*) *mnfy*(*.t*)

Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Tutankhamun.

Items

I. Reliefs

1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7275
2. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7277
3. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7278
4. New York, Brooklyn Museum 37.39E
5. Jerusalem, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Museum CTS-SB-06202
6. Saqqara, Leiden expedition excavation no. R94–78
7. Saqqara Leiden expedition excavation no. 2013-R35

III. Architectural elements

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 14975 = JE 48840 = SR 13738—pyramidion

IV. Stelae

1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7290
2. New York, Brooklyn Museum 37.46E

Bibliography PM III/2, 715–716; *PN* I, 216.29; Raven/Staring (forthcoming); Raven (2012–2013); Staring (2020); (2019); Pasquali (2017), 570; Martin (1987a), 20–21, no. 42, pl. 15; no. 45, pl. 14; Piccirillo (1983), 79, with fig; Rammant-Peeters (1983), 24–25, doc. 21, pl. 16.43; James (1974), 175–176, pl. 85, no. 431; 178, pl. 87, no. 435; Roeder (1924), 181, 198; Mariette (1880), 558–559, no. 1432.

039/USC *Rˁ-ms(.w)* Deputy of the Army

Tomb EES–Leiden expedition, 1986.

Title(s)

[A] *nfr bỉ.t ♦ ḥs.y n.y nsw ḥr bỉ.t=f nfr.t ♦ ḥs.y n.y nṯr nfr ♦ gr mɜˁ*

[C] *sš nsw ♦ sš nsw mɜˁ mr.y=f*

[E] *ḥm-nṯr*

[F] *ỉdn.w n.y pɜ mšˁ ♦ ḥr.y-pḏ.t n.y pɜ mšˁ ♦ ḥr.y-pḏ.t n.y nb tɜ.wy*

Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Tutankhamun–Horemheb.

Items

I. Reliefs

1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. SAK 2009-R23 (fragment)

IV. Stelae

1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7306
2. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 86-S90 [cat. 5]
3. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. (?)

Bibliography PM III/2, 733; *PN* I, 218.3; Martin (2001); Roeder (1924), 131–133.

040/USC ***Rˁ-ms-sw-nḫt(.w)*** **Royal Scribe**
Tomb ST 107, Cairo University expedition, 1984–1988.
Title(s) [C] *sš nsw*
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II.
Bibliography *PN* I, 219.3; Tawfik (1991), 406, fig. 1, pl. 58b.

041/USC ***Rˁỉꜣ*** **Chief Singer of Ptah-Lord-of-Truth**
Tomb EES–Leiden expedition, 1981.
Title(s) [E] *ỉm.y-r ḥsw.w nb mꜣˁ.t ♦ ḥr.y ḥs.ww Ptḥ nb mꜣˁ.t ♦ ḥs.w n.y Ptḥ nb* [*mꜣˁ.t*]
Date 19th Dynasty.
Items **V. Burial equipment**
1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden F 1987/3.3—shabti fragment
Bibliography *PN* I, 220.7; Martin (1985).

042/USC ***Rˁỉꜣ / Rˁ-msw*** **Overseer of the Royal Household of Memphis**
Tomb LS 28, C.R. Lepsius, 1843; EES–Leiden expedition, 1994.
Title(s) [A] *ṯꜣy-ḫw ḥr wnm.y* (*n.y*) *nsw*
[B] *ỉm.y-r ỉp.t nsw ♦ ỉm.y-r ỉp.t nsw n.yt* (*pr-ḫnr.t m*) *Mn-nfr ♦ ỉm.y-r ỉp.t nsw n.yt* (*pr.w-ḫnr.t m*) *Ḥw.t-kꜣ-Ptḥ*
[C] *sš nsw ♦ sš nsw mꜣˁ mr.y=f*
[F] *ỉm.y-r ssm.t* (*n.yt Ḥw.t-kꜣ-Ptḥ*) *♦ ỉr.y-pḏ.t n.y nb tꜣ.wy ♦ ḥr.y ỉḫ.w*
Date Early 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Seti I.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7270
2. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7271
Comments Son of Pay (017/USC); enlarged his father's tomb, and used it for his burial.
Bibliography PM III/2, 663–664, pl. 66; *PN* I, 220.7/218.3; LD *Text*, I, 184; Raven (2005).

043/USC ***Rˁ.y*** **Great Steward of the King**
Tomb New Kingdom shaft no. 4; SCA expedition, 1996.
Title(s) [B] *ỉm.y-r pr wr n.y nsw.t ♦ ỉm.y-r šnw.ty*
[C] *sš nsw ♦ sš nsw mꜣˁ mr.y=f*
Date 19th Dynasty.

Items

v. Burial equipment

1. Saqqara magazine (?)—sarcophagus (reused: 18th Dynasty)
2. Saqqara magazine (?)—'sledge' sarcophagus

viii. Extra-sepulchral

1. Dublin, National Museum 1908.514—statue fragment (from Memphis)

Bibliography PM III/2, 833; *PN* I, 220.9; El-Ghandour (1997a), 10–11; (1997b), 49–53, pls 66–74; Petrie (1909), 8, pl. 19.

044/USC ***Ḥꜣ.t-iꜣy*** **First Prophet of the Moon**

Tomb H9, A. Mariette, 1850; Leiden expedition, 2001.

Title(s) [A] *ỉr.y-pˁ.t ḥꜣ.ty-ˁ ♦ smr wˁ.ty ♦ sḏꜣ.wty-bỉ.ty*

[C] *sš nsw ♦ sš nsw mꜣˁ mr.y=f ♦ sš nsw ḥr.y-tp ♦ sš šˁ.t ♦ sš šˁ.t n.yt nb tꜣ.wy*

[E] *ḥm-nṯr tp.y n.y ỉˁḥ ♦ ḫr.y-ḥb ḥr.y-tp*

Date Late 18th/early 19th Dynasty.

Bibliography *PN* I, 233.2; Raven/Van Walsem (2014), 53–56, 78–80, 127–130, scenes 3 and 32.

045/USC ***Ḥy-nfr*** **Overseer of the *ḫtm* of the *wꜣḏ-wr***

Tomb ST 217, Cairo University expedition, 1984–1988.

Title(s) [B] *ỉm.y-r ḫtm ♦ ỉm.y-r ḫtm n.y pꜣ wꜣḏ-wr*

[C] *sš nsw*

Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II.

Bibliography *PN* I, 233.25; Nouh (2015); El-Aguizy (2015), 1–16; (2007a), 41–50; Gohary (2010), 159–163; (2009); Tawfik (1991), 407, fig. 1, pl. 60b; Goldscheider (1967), no. 10, pl. 10.

046/USC ***Ḥr-m-ḥb*** **Commander-in-chief of the Army; Regent**

Tomb G. d'Anastasi, early 1820s; A. Mariette 1858–1859; EES–Leiden expedition, 1975.

Title(s) [A] *ỉm.y-ỉb (n.y) nb=f r-tp r=f ♦ ỉm.y-ỉb n.y nsw m s.t nb.t ♦ ỉm.y-ỉb n.y Ḥr m ˁḥ=f ♦ ỉm.y-ỉb n.y /// ♦ ỉm.y-ỉb iꜣw.t ˁḥ ♦ ỉm.y-r iꜣw.t (nb.t) Šmˁ.w Tꜣ-mḥ.w ♦ ỉr.y-rd.wy nb=f ḥr prỉ ḥrw pn n.y smꜣ Stt.yw ♦ ỉr.ty n.y nsw ỉm.y-ḫt ỉdb.wy ♦ ỉr.ty n.y nsw m sšm tꜣ.wy m smn ḥpw ỉdb.wy ♦ ỉdn.w n.y nsw ♦ ỉdn.w n.y nsw m s.t nb.t ♦ ỉdn.w n.y nsw m tꜣ r-ḏr=f ♦ ỉdn.w n.y ḥm=f ♦ ỉdn.w n.y ḥm=f m tꜣ r-ḏr=f ♦ ˁꜣ m sˁḥ ♦ ˁꜣ n.y ˁꜣ.w ♦ ˁꜣ r ˁꜣ.w ♦ ˁšꜣ sp.w m nbw n.w ḫs.wt ♦ wˁ ♦ wˁ [ḫr] ḫw=f ♦ wr wr.w ♦ wr*

wr.w n.w smr.w ♦ wr m i3.wt=f ♦ wr mr.wt ḥr nb=f ♦ wḥm.w r bi.ty m smr.w ♦ wḥm.w r bi.ty n šn.wt=f ♦ mnḫ /// ♦ ns shrr m t3 r ḏr=f ♦ rḫ nsw ḳd=f m ḥwn ♦ r shrr m t3 r ḏr=f ♦ ḥ3.ty n.y smr.w nsw ♦ ḥr.y-sšt3 n.y W3ḏ.ty ♦ ḥr.y-sšt3 n.y pr.w-nsw ♦ ḥr.y-tp ꜥ3 n.y rḫy.t ♦ ḥr.y-tp m pr.w-dw3.t ♦ ḥs.y n.y nṯr nfr ♦ sꜥ3y [m nsw ///] ♦ sꜥḥ smr.w ♦ smr [ꜥ3?] n.y mr.wt ♦ smr wꜥ.ty ♦ stp n.y nsw ḫn.ty t3.wy r ir(ṯ) sḫr idb.wy ♦ sḏ3.wty-bi.ty ♦ sḏm sḏm.wt wꜥ.w ♦ ṯ3y-ḥw ḥr wnm.y (n.y) nsw ♦ /// m3ꜥ.t ♦ /// w m sw3ḥ rnp.wt ity ♦ /// n.y pr.w-nsw ♦ /// n.y mnḫ=f m-b3ḥ ♦ /// [n.y nb] t3.wy ♦ /// hp.w=f ḫt /// ♦ /// ḥm.w=f m ib=f ♦ /// ḫnt.y t3.wy r ir.t sḫr.wt rḫy.t

[B] *im.y-r im.yw-r n.w idb.wy ♦ im.y-r pr ♦ im.y-r pr wr ♦ im.y-r ḥḥ.w m p.t t3.w nb.w ♦ hr.y-tp m t3 r ḏr=f ♦ ḥr.y-tp n.y t3 r ḏr=f ♦ ḫn.ty t3.wy ♦ s3b ꜥḏ-mr sp3.t ♦ /// Šmꜥ.w T3-mḥ.w*

[C] *im.y-r n.y im.yw-r sš.w nb.w n.w nsw ♦ ḥr.y-tp m pr.w-mḏ3.t ♦ sš nfr.w ♦ sš nsw ♦ sš nsw m3ꜥ mr.y=f*

[D] [*im.y-r*] *k3.t m Šmꜥ.w T3-mḥ.w ♦ im.y-r k3.t n.t ḏw n.y bi3.t ♦ im.y-r k3.t nb.t ♦ im.y-r k3.t nb.t n.t nsw ♦ im.y-r k3.t nb.t n.t nsw m s.t nb ♦ im.y-r k3.t nb.t n.t Šmꜥ.w T3-mḥ.w ♦ [mḥ]-ib n.y nsw m mn.w ♦ mḥ-ib n.y nsw m mn.w nb ♦ mḥ-ib n.y nsw m smnḫ mn.w=f ♦ ḥr.y-tp m sḫ ḥmw.w*

[E] *im.y-r i3.wt nb.t nṯr.t ♦ im.y-r pr n.y ʾImn-Rꜥ ♦ im.y-r ḥm.w-nṯr n.w Ḥr nb Sby*

[F] *im.y-r im.yw-r mšꜥ nb t3.wy ♦ im.y-r mšꜥ n.y nb t3.wy ♦ im.y-r mšꜥ wr ♦ im.y-r mšꜥ wr n.y nb t3.wy ♦ im.y-r mšꜥ wr n.y nsw ♦ im.y-r nfr.w n.w nb t3.wy ♦ wpw.ty nsw ♦ wpw.ty nsw r-ḥ3.t mšꜥ=f r ḫ3s.t rsy.t mḥ.ty ♦ ḥr.y-tp mnf3.t nb.t ir.yw ḫn.t r rw.ty ꜥḥ ♦ ḥsb mnf3.t ♦ šms.w nsw r nmt.t=f ḥr ḫ3s.t rsy.t mḥ.ty*

Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp.* Tutankhamun.

Items **1. Reliefs**

1. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum 22.128
2. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 20363
3. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 22663
4. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico EG 1885
5. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico EG 1886
6. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico EG 1869 = 1887
7. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico EG 1888
8. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico EG 1889
9. Chicago, Oriental Institute Museum 10591
10. Florence, Museo Egizio 2566

11. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, H.III.0000
12. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, H.III.PPPP
13. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, H.III.QQQQa-b
14. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, H.III.SSSSa-c
15. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, EG-ZM3019
16. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, F 1914/4.1
17. Munich, Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst 7089
18. New York, Brooklyn Museum 32.103
19. Paris, Musée du Louvre E 11273 = B 56
20. Paris, Musée du Louvre E 11274 = B 57
21. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum ÄS 214
22. Marsa Matruh Archaeological Museum (inv. no. unknown), SCA 1999 excavation nos 99M2, 99AB (found reused at Menawat village)

II. Statues

1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 4
2. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden L.X.2
3. London, British Museum EA 36 (dyad)

III. Architectural elements

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 11332—column panel
2. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 11333—column panel
3. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 11334—column panel
4. London, British Museum EA 550—pilaster
5. London, British Museum EA 552—pilaster

IV. Stelae

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 8.6.24.20—fragment
2. London, British Museum EA 551
3. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum ДВ-1061—fragment

V. Burial equipment

1. London, British Museum EA 36635

VIII. Extra-sepulchral

1. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 23.10.1 (Memphis?)—scribe's statue
2. Sydney, Chau Chak Wing Museum, The University of Sydney (Nicholson collection) NMR. 1138 (temple of Ptah, Memphis)—scribe's statue

Bibliography PM III/2, 655–661, pl. 62; *PN* I, 248.7; Pasquali (2017), 569; Martin (2016); (1989); Raven et al. (2011b); Schneider (1996); Sowada (1994), 137–143, pl. 12; Mariette (1872), 25–26, pls 74–75; (1864), 251, nos 74–77.

047/USC ***Ḥr-Mn(.w)*** **Overseer of the Royal Household at Memphis**

Tomb LS 29, C.R. Lepsius, 1843; earlier visited by G. d'Anastasi, early 1820s, and later by A. Mariette, 1857–1859.

Title(s) [A] *ḥs.y n.y nṯr nfr*
[B] *im.y-r ḫtm.w-nsw ♦ im.y-r ḫtm.w n.w nb tȝ.wy ♦ im.y-r ỉp.t nsw ♦ im.y-r ỉp.t nsw n.yt Mn-nfr ♦ im.y-r ỉp.t nsw n.yt pr-ỉp.t m Mn-nfr ♦ im.y-r ỉp.t nsw n.yt ḫnr m Mn-nfr*
[C] *sš nsw ♦ sš nsw mȝʿ mr.y=f ♦ sš nsw wdḥ.w*

Date Early 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Seti I–Ramesses II.

Items
I. Reliefs
1. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico EG 1944
2. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 8374–8379; 8380b–d; 8382
3. Paris, Musée du Louvre C 213 = E 3337 = IM 6166

II. Statues
1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 5—naophorous statue

IV. Stelae
1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7274
2. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7305

Bibliography PM III/2, 664–665; VIII/2, 679 (801-634-200); *PN* I, 248.19; LD *Text*, I, 185, pl. 33; Kruijf (2018–2019); Pasquali (2017), 574; Staring (2015a), cat. V.61; Barbotin (2005), 170–171, no. 92; Hofmann (2004), 102–103 and fig. 27 (stela Berlin); Pernigotti (2001–2002), 155–167; (1997), 143–150; Martin (1995), 6–7, nos 7–18; Gohary (1991a), 94 n. 12; Berlandini (1977), pl. 14.B (Cairo JE 8378); Boeser (1912), 8, no. 19, pl. 7; Mariette (1872), 20, pl. 60.

048/USC ***Ḥsy-nb=f*** **?**

Tomb Burial 99/4B with structure 99/7, Leiden expedition, 1999.

Title(s) ?

Date 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III.

Items
V. Burial equipment
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 1999–127A—gabled rectangular wooden coffin with remains of a skeleton.
2. Saqqara Magazine—wooden staff [cat. 52]

Bibliography Raven et al. (2011b), 72, 76–80, cat. 14; 90, cat. 52, fig. I.20.

049/USC ***Ḥʿ(i)-m-ỉp.t (?)*** **Royal Scribe**

Tomb ST 106, Cairo University expedition, 1984–1988.

Title(s) [C] *sš nsw*

Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II.
Bibliography *PN* I, 263.18; Tawfik (1991), 406, fig. 1.

050/USC ***Ḫʿy*** **Merchant of the Treasury of the King**
Tomb EES–Leiden expedition, 1986.
Title(s) [B] *iʿw ♦ iʿw nbw ♦ [iʿw] nbw n.y nb tȝ.wy ♦ [iʿw] nbw n.y pr-ḥḏ ♦ ḥr.y-pḏ.t n.y šw.ty n.y pr-ḥḏ [n.y] pr-ʿȝ ʿ.w.s. ♦ ḥr.y šw.ty ♦ šw.ty ♦ šw.ty n.y pr-ḥḏ n.y pr-ʿȝ ʿ.w.s. ♦ šw.ty n.y pr-ḥḏ n.y nb tȝ.wy*
Date Late 19th–20th Dynasty.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7314
Comments Father of Piay (307/TPC) and Pabes (018/USC)?
Bibliography PM III/2, 733; *PN* I, 265.7; Martin (2001); Roeder (1924), 152–153.

051/USC ***Ḫʿy*** ***Wab*** **Priest of the Front of Ptah**
Tomb (EES–)Leiden expedition, 1993, 1999.
Title(s) [B] *ʿȝ n.y š n.y pȝ š n.y pr-ʿȝ ʿ.w.s.*
[E] *[wʿb] n.y ḥȝ.t n.y Ptḥ*
Date Late 18th/early 19th Dynasty.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. R 93–71—door jamb without name; only the title 'overseer of the garden of pharaoh, l.p.h.', which could be either Khay or his father
2. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 2009-R4 (joins 2009-R19)
3. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 2009-R11
4. Marsa Matruh Archaeological Museum, no. unknown (excavation no. 2009-R19; joins 2009-R4)
III. Architectural elements
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. SAK93–18—pyramidion
Bibliography *PN* I, 265.7; Raven (forthcoming), chapter 2; Schneider (2012), 102, no. 31, fig. III.61; 125–126, fig. VI.1–d; Raven et al. (2010), 6–9; Schneider et al. (1993), 3, fig. 1, 8, pl. III.2.

052/USC ***Sȝ-mw.t*** **Stone Mason**
Tomb 2015/11, Leiden–Turin expedition, 2015.
Title(s) [D] *ḫr.ty nṯr*
Date Late-19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II, 4th decade or later.

Bibliography *PN* I, 282.3; Raven (forthcoming), chapter 3; (2014–2015), 13, figs. 2, 11.

053/USC ***Sw-ḥr-ʿ.wy-ʾImn*** **?**
Tomb EES–Leiden expedition, 1988.
Title(s) ?
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 88–194
Bibliography Raven (2001), 22 [cat. 20], pls 9c, 29.

054/USC ***Swnr*** **Royal Butler**
Tomb ST 201; Cairo University expedition, 1984–1988.
Title(s) **[B]** *wbꜣ nsw*
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery 1937.126
Bibliography Tawfik (1991), 406, fig. 1, pl. 60a; Scott III (1986), 133–134, cat. 75.

055/USC ***Tꜣ-sꜣ-ḫwi*** **Royal Butler**
Tomb ST 5, Cairo University expedition, 1984.
Title(s) **[A]** *tꜣy-ḫw ḥr wnm.y n.y nsw*
[B] *wbꜣ nsw* ♦ *wbꜣ nsw wʿb ʿ.wy* ♦ *wr swnw* ♦ *wr swnw m ʿḥ nsw*
[C] *sš nsw*
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II.
Bibliography Handoussa (1986), 409–419; Tawfik (1991), 404, fig. 1, pl. 59a.

056/USC ***Tꜣ-ṯiꜣ*** **Chief of Goldsmiths**
Tomb Leiden expedition, 2009.
Title(s) **[D]** *ʿḳ.w m ḫw.t-nbw* ♦ *ḥr.y nby.w* ♦ *ḥr.y nby.w n.w Ptḥ* ♦ *ḥr.y nby.w ʿḳ.w m ḫw.t-nbw n.yt Ptḥ* ♦ *ḥr.y nby.w m ḫw.t-nbw* ♦ *ḥr.y nby.w n.w ḫw.t-nbw m pr Ptḥ*
[E] *wʿb n.y Ptḥ* ♦ *wʿb n.y ḫꜣ.t n.yt Ptḥ*
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II.
Comments A relative of Mose (222/TPC)
Bibliography *PN* I, 372.7; Raven (2020b), 1308–1310; Raven et al. (2011a), 15, figs 11–12; (2010), 9–13, figs 8–11; Oeters in Raven (forthcoming), chapter 6; Oeters (2017); (2012).

057/USC *Tỉ* **Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum**

Tomb EES–Leiden expedition, 1982.

Title(s)
[A] *ỉr.y-pˁ.t ḥ3.ty-ˁ ♦ wˁ ỉḳr mty mỉˁ ♦ mrr.w n.y nb t3.wy (ḥr bỉt=f / ḥr sḫrw=f) ♦ ḥn.y tp.y n.y ḥm=f ♦ ḥs.y ˁ3 n.y nṯr nfr ♦ t3y-ḫw ḥr wnm.y n.y nsw*

[B] *ỉm.y-r ỉḫ.w wr ♦ ỉm.y-r ỉḫ.w wr n.y ʾImnw-Rˁ nsw nṯr.w ♦ ỉm.y-r pr.wy n.y ḥḏ-nbw ♦ ỉm.y-r pr ♦ ỉm.y-r pr wr ♦ ỉm.y-r pr n.y ʾImn n.y Rˁ-ms-sw-mr.y-ʾImn ♦ ỉm.y-r pr n.y nb t3.wy ♦ ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ ♦ ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ m t3 ḥw.t Wsr-mỉˁ.t-Rˁ-stp.n-Rˁ m pr ʾImn ♦ ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ m t3 ḥw.t Wsr-mỉˁ.t-Rˁ-stp.n-Rˁ m pr ʾImn-Rˁ ♦ nsw nṯr.w ♦ ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ n.y nb-t3.wy*

[C] *sš nsw ♦ sš nsw mỉˁ mr.y=f*

[E] *[ḥm-nṯr tp.y] n.y ʾImn n.y Rˁ-ms-sw-mr.y-ʾImn ♦ /// [n.y Rˁ]-ms-sw-mr.y-ʾImn-m-wỉ3*

Date 19th Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II.

Items

III. Architectural elements

1. Pyramidion, present location unknown

IV. Stelae

1. Durham, Oriental Museum N. 1965 (possibly from the Kafr el-Gebel chapel)
2. Florence, Museo Egizio 2532

V. Burial equipment

1. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek ÆIN 48—sarcophagus fragment
2. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden F 1987/3.10–11—two shabtis of Tia, wife of Tia

Bibliography PM III/2, 654–655, pl. 62; *PN* I, 378.1; Van Dijk (2021); Raven et al. (2011b), 153–189; Abdel-Aal (2009), 1–4; Martin (1997).

058/USC *T3-ỉry* **Chief Overseer of the Royal Household**

Tomb ST 211; Cairo University expedition, 1984–1988.

Title(s)
[A] *mrr.w n.y nb t3.wy ♦ r n.y nsw ♦ ḥs.y ˁ3 n.y nṯr=f rˁ nb ♦ ḥs.y ˁ3 n.y [nṯr] nfr ♦ ḥnt.y ʾInb.w-ḥḏ*

[B] *ỉm.y-r ỉp.t nsw wr n.yt nb t3.wy ♦ ỉm.y-r ỉp.t nsw wr n.yt Mn-nfr ♦ ỉm.y-r ỉp.t nsw m pr.w ḫnr(.t) m ʾInb.w-ḥḏ ♦ ỉm.y-r ỉp.t nsw n.yt nb t3.wy ♦ ỉm.y-r nfr.w ♦ ỉm.y-r nfr.w (n.w) nb t3.wy*

[C] *sš nsw ♦ sš nsw mỉˁ mr.y=f*

Date 20th Dynasty, Sethnakht–Ramesses III.

Items **II. Statues**

1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 6
2. Saqqara Magazine—kneeling naophorous statue (fragment)

Comments Tjairy is also known as *Rᶜ-ms-sw-nḫt* and as *Wsr-ḫᶜ.w-Rᶜ-nḫt*. The latter court name refers to King Sethnakht.

Bibliography *PN* I, 386.24; Van Dijk (2017b); (1983), 52; Gohary (2011), 199–205; (1991a), 191–194; Tawfik 1991, 406, fig. 1; Boeser (1912), 6–7 [16], pl. 7.

059/USC ***Ḏḥw.ty-m-ḥb*** **"Priest"**

Tomb ST 6, Cairo University expedition, 1984–1988.

Title(s) [E] "Priest"

Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II.

Comments The name is inscribed on a wooden coffin found in the burial chamber. It is not clear whether the coffin belongs to the tomb's original owner.

Bibliography *PN* I, 408.2; Tawfik (1991), 405, fig. 1, pl. 59a.

060/USC ***Ḏḥw.ty-nḫt*** **Chief Steward / Overseer of Works of the King**

Tomb Freie Universität Berlin/Universität Hannover expedition, 2000–2001.

Title(s) [B] *ỉm.y-r pr* ♦ *ỉm.y-r pr wr* ♦ *ỉm.y-r pr wr n.y nb tꜣ.wy* (*?*)
[C] *sš nsw*
[D] *ỉm.y-r kꜣ.t*

Date 19th Dynasty, after year 30 / 20th Dynasty.

Items **I. Reliefs**

1. Saqqara Magazine—seven relief-decorated blocks, fragments

II. Statues

1. Saqqara Magazine—kneeling statue with offering table (?), fragment of lower part

III. Architectural elements

1. Saqqara Magazine—two door jambs, fragments

IV. Stelae

1. Saqqara Magazine—torus moulding and cavetto cornice fragment (alternatively part of a lintel)

V. Burial equipment

1. Saqqara Magazine—fragment of head of a canopic set, quartzite

Bibliography Youssef (2017), 276–281, pls 155–160; Lacher-Raschdorff (2014), 98, fig. 18; Munro (2001), 1–3, plan 1; Seliger (unpublished).

061/USC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb ST 1, Cairo University expedition, 1984–1988.
Title(s) Unknown.
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Tawfik (1991), 404, fig. 1.

062/USC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb ST 2, Cairo University expedition, 1984–1988.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Tawfik (1991), 404, fig. 1.

063/USC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb ST 3, Cairo University expedition, 1984–1988.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Tawfik (1991), 404, fig. 1.

064/USC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb ST 4, Cairo University expedition, 1984–1988.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Tawfik (1991), 404, fig. 1.

065/USC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb ST 9, Cairo University expedition, 1984–1988.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Tawfik (1991), 405, fig. 1, pl. 60a.

066/USC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb ST 102, Cairo University expedition, 1984–1988.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Tawfik (1991), 405, fig. 1.

067/USC *NN* ?
Tomb ST 104, Cairo University expedition, 1984–1988.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside
Bibliography Tawfik (1991), 405, fig. 1.

068/USC *NN* ?
Tomb ST 108, Cairo University expedition, 1984–1988.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Tawfik (1991), 406, fig. 1.

069/USC *NN* ?
Tomb ST 202, Cairo University expedition, 1984–1988.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Tawfik (1991), 406, fig. 1.

070/USC *NN* ?
Tomb ST 204, Cairo University expedition, 1984–1988.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Tawfik (1991), 406, fig. 1.

071/USC *NN* ?
Tomb ST 205, Cairo University expedition, 1984–1988.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Tawfik (1991), 406, fig. 1.

072/USC *NN* ?
Tomb ST 206, Cairo University expedition, 1984–1988.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Tawfik (1991), 406, fig. 1.

073/USC *NN* ?
Tomb ST 207, Cairo University expedition, 1984–1988.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Tawfik (1991), 406, fig. 1.

074/USC *NN* ?
Tomb ST 208, Cairo University expedition, 1984–1988.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Tawfik (1991), 406, fig. 1.

075/USC *NN* ?
Tomb ST 209, Cairo University expedition, 1984–1988.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Tawfik (1991), 406, fig. 1.

076/USC *NN* ?
Tomb ST 210, Cairo University expedition, 1984–1988.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Tawfik (1991), 406, fig. 1.

077/USC *NN* ?
Tomb ST 212, Cairo University expedition, 1984–1988.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside (20th Dynasty?)
Bibliography Tawfik (1991), 407, fig. 1.

078/USC *NN* ?
Tomb ST 213, Cairo University expedition, 1984–1988.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside (20th Dynasty?)
Bibliography Tawfik (1991), 407, fig. 1.

079/USC *NN* ?
Tomb ST 214, Cairo University, 1984–1988.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Tawfik (1991), 407, fig. 1.

080/USC *NN* ?
Tomb Chapel 2013/17; Leiden expedition, 2013.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Raven (forthcoming), chapter 4.

081/USC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb ST 216, Cairo University expedition, 1984–1988.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Tawfik (1991), 407, fig. 1.

082/USC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Leiden expedition, 2010.
Title(s) ?
Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Tutankhamun.
Comments The burial chamber was used in the Ramesside period for a man named Sethnakht, who held office as scribe of the temple of Ptah (*sš n.y pr Ptḥ*), as recorded on his blue faience shabtis and fragments of canopic jars.
Bibliography Raven (2020b), 53–61; Hays (2011), 84–105.

083/USC ***NN*** **Chief Servant**
Tomb Burial no. 99/5 with structure 99/8; Leiden expedition, 1999.
Title(s) **[B]** *ḥr.y sḏm-ʿš*
Date 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III.
Items **V. Burial equipment**
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 1999–130A—wooden anthropoid coffin
2. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 1999–130C—tripartite wooden headrest
3. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 1999–130G—bronze signet ring
4. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 1999–130E–F—heart scarab with remains of pectoral
5. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 1999–130B—necklace
6. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 1999–130H—wooden pectoral

Bibliography Raven et al. (2011b), 72, 81 [cat. 15], 90 [cat. 50], 95–96 [cat. 72a–b, 73a–b, 76].

084/USC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb 2007/10.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside period.
Comments The tomb shaft has not been fully excavated.

Bibliography Raven (2020b), 63, fig. III.1, 27; Staring (2019), 220–221, figs 13.6–7; Raven et al. (2008–2009), 8, 13, figs 5, 7.

085/USC *NN* ?
Tomb Chapel 2008/6.
Title(s) ?
Date Early Ramesside period.
Items **1. Reliefs**
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 2007-R98
2. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 2007-R99
3. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 2007-R1
Bibliog raphy Raven (2020b), 62–63, fig. III.1, 28a–c, 29; 114–115 [64–66]; Raven et al. (2008–2009), 8, figs 5, 6.

086/USC *NN* ?
Tomb Freie Universität Berlin/Universität Hannover expedition, 2001.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside period (?)
Comments The "poor remainder" of a tomb that presumably dates to the Ramesside period. No further detail are given in the excavation report.
Bibliography Munro (2001), 2.

087/USC *NN* ?
Tomb Chapel 125, Leiden-Turin expedition, 2017.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside, *temp*. Ramesses II, second half?
Bibliography Del Vesco et al. (2019), 12–13, figs 1–2, 19–20; Raven et al. (2019), 139–142, figs 1, 9, 12, 14.

088/USC *NN* ?
Tomb Chapel 135, Leiden-Turin expedition, 2017.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside, *temp*. Ramesses II, second half?
Bibliography Del Vesco et al. (2019), 8, figs 1–2, 11; Raven et al. (2019), 142–143, figs 1, 9, 15.

089/USC *NN* ?
Tomb Chapel 270; Leiden-Turin expedition, 2017.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside, *temp*. Ramesses II, second half?
Bibliography Del Vesco et al. (2019), 9–12, figs 1, 2 12–18.

090/USC *NN* ?
Tomb V82.1, Leiden–Turin expedition, 2018.
Title(s) ?
Date Early 19th Dynasty.
Comments Tomb still under excavation.
Bibliography Del Vesco et al. (2020), 64–71, figs 1, 6–11.

091/USC *NN* ?
Tomb No number.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside (?)
Bibliography Quibell (1912), 134, pl. 18.2

092/USC *NN* ?
Tomb Burial mound 99/II; Leiden expedition, 1999.
Title(s) ?
Date Late 19th / 20th Dynasty.
Bibliography Raven et al. (2011b), 42–43, figs I.25–27.

093/USC *NN* ?
Tomb Burial mound 99/III; Leiden expedition, 1999.
Title(s) ?
Date Late 19th / 20th Dynasty.
Bibliography Raven et al. (2011b), 43, fig. I.25.

094/USC *NN* ?
Tomb Burial mound 99/VII; Leiden expedition, 1999
Title(s) ?
Date Late 19th / 20th Dynasty.
Bibliography Raven et al. (2011b), 42–45, figs I.25–26.

095/USC *NN* ?
Tomb Burial mound 2000/I; Leiden expedition, 2000.
Title(s) ?

Date Late 19th / 20th Dynasty.
Bibliography Raven et al. (2011b), 45.

096/USC *NN* ?
Tomb Chapel 96/4; EES–Leiden expedition, 1996.
Title(s) ?
Date Late 19th / 20th Dynasty.
Bibliography Raven (2005), 70–71, fig, 9.

097/USC *NN* ?
Tomb Tomb chapel with shaft 2002/4; Leiden expedition, 2002.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Raven/Van Walsem (2014), 32, fig. I.12.

098/USC *NN* ?
Tomb Tomb chapel 2002/5 = 2017/10; Leiden expedition, 2002.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Raven et al. (2019), fig. 2; (2014), 32, fig. I.12.

099/USC *NN* ?
Tomb Tomb chapel with shaft 2002/8; Leiden expedition, 2002.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Raven/Van Walsem (2014), 33, fig. I.12.

100/USC *NN* ?
Tomb Tomb chapel with shaft 2002/10; Leiden expedition, 2002.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Raven/Van Walsem (2014), 33, fig. I.12.

101/USC *NN* ?
Tomb Tomb chapel 2002/12; Leiden expedition, 2002.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Raven/Van Walsem (2014), 33, fig. I.12.

102/USC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Tomb chapel 2003/16 = 2009/15; Leiden expedition, 2003.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Raven/Van Walsem (2014), 32, fig. I.12.

103/USC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Chapel 2008/2; Leiden expedition, 2008.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Raven (2020b), 64, fig. III.30.

104/USC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Feature 2009/2 with stela 2009/R34; Leiden expedition, 2009.
Title(s) ?
Date Late 19th Dynasty.
Bibliography Raven (forthcoming), chapter 7, cat. [14]; Raven et al. (2010), 6, fig. 2.

105/USC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Chapel 2013/7; Leiden expedition, 2013.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Comments Tomb shaft 2015/8, located to the east of the chapel, has been linked to it, although this is rather questionable.
Bibliography Raven (forthcoming), chapter 5; Raven et al. (2012–2013), 11, figs 1, 6–7.

106/USC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Chapel with tomb shaft 2017/8; Leiden–Turin expedition, 2017.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Raven et al. (2019), fig. 2.

107/USC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Rectangular tomb shaft 2015/2; Leiden–Turin expedition, 2015.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Raven et al. (2019), fig. 2.

108/USC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Structure 2015/4; Leiden–Turin expedition, 2015.
Title(s) ?
Date Late 18th Dynasty (*temp*. Amenhotep II–III?)
Bibliography Raven (2019), fig. 2.

109/USC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Wall 2015/6; Leiden–Turin expedition, 2015.
Title(s) ?
Date Late 18th / early 19th Dynasty (?)
Bibliography Raven (2019), fig. 2.

110/USC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Chapel with Shaft 5; Cairo University expedition, 2007.
Title(s) ?
Date Late 19th / 20th Dynasty (?)
Bibliography El-Aguizy (2007a), 44, fig. 14.

111/USC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Tomb 2008/5; Leiden expedition, 2008.
Title(s) ?
Date Late 18th Dynasty (?)
Bibliography Raven (2020b), 62, fig. III.26; Raven et al. (2008–2009), fig. 5.

112/USC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb New Kingdom shaft no. 5; SCA expedition, 1996.
Title(s) ?
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II (?)
Bibliography el-Ghandour (1997a), 11–12, pls 1, 2, 6.

113/USC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Stela base 2010/30.
Title(s) ?
Date Late 19th Dynasty, or later.
Bibliography Raven (2020b), 67.

114/USC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Tomb shaft 2005/1; Leiden expedition, 2005.
Title(s) ?
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II, or later.
Bibliography Raven et al. (2011), 156–157.

115/USC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Tomb shaft 2006/6; Leiden expedition, 2006.
Title(s) ?
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II, or later.
Bibliography Raven et al. (2011b), 156–157, 160–161.

116/USC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Chapel in the second courtyard of the tomb of Tia, 057/USC; EES-Leiden expedition, 1982.
Title(s) ?
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II.
Comments Perhaps the chapel of Amenemheb Pakharu, stela Durham, Oriental Museum N. 1965 (?)
Bibliography Martin (1997); Raven (1991), 4.

117/USC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Tomb of Horemheb (046/USC), shaft i; EES–Leiden expedition.
Title(s) ?
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II.
Bibliography Martin (1989), 133–137, pls 7, 156–168.

118/USC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb ST 219, Cairo University expedition, 1984–1988.
Title(s) ?
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II, late.
Bibliography Tawfik (1991), fig. 1.

119/USC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb ST 220, Cairo University expedition, 1984–1988.
Title(s) ?
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II, late.
Bibliography Tawfik (1991), fig. 1.

120/USC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Tomb with shaft 2013/14 and wall 2013/12.
Title(s) ?
Date Late 18th Dynasty.
Bibliography Raven (forthcoming), chapter 1.3; (2012–2013), 14, fig. 11.

121/USC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Tomb shaft; DAIK expedition, 2003–2010.
Title(s)
Date Late 19th / 20th Dynasty.
Bibliography Lacher-Raschdorff (2014), fig. 18.

122/USC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Tomb shaft; DAIK expedition, 2003–2010.
Title(s)
Date Late 19th / 20th Dynasty.
Bibliography Lacher-Raschdorff (2014), fig. 18.

123/USC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Tomb shaft; DAIK expedition, 2003–2010.
Title(s)
Date Late 19th / 20th Dynasty.
Bibliography Lacher-Raschdorff (2014), fig. 18.

124/USC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Tomb shaft; DAIK expedition, 2003–2010.
Title(s)
Date Late 19th / 20th Dynasty.
Bibliography Lacher-Raschdorff (2014), fig. 18.

125/USC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Tomb shaft; DAIK expedition, 2003–2010.
Title(s)
Date Late 19th / 20th Dynasty.
Bibliography Lacher-Raschdorff (2014), fig. 18.

126/USC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Tomb shaft; DAIK expedition, 2003–2010.
Title(s)
Date Late 19th / 20th Dynasty.
Bibliography Lacher-Raschdorff (2014), fig. 18.

127/USC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Tomb shaft; DAIK expedition, 2003–2010.
Title(s)
Date Late 19th / 20th Dynasty.
Bibliography Lacher-Raschdorff (2014), fig. 18.

128/USC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Tomb shaft; DAIK expedition, 2003–2010.
Title(s)
Date Late 19th / 20th Dynasty.
Bibliography Lacher-Raschdorff (2014), fig. 18.

Unas South Cemetery: Decontextualised Tomb Elements

129/USC ***///-y*** **/// of the Mansion of Gold (?)**

Title(s) [B] */// n.y pr nwb ///*

Date Late 18th / early 19th Dynasty.

Items **III. Architectural elements**

1. Saqqara Magazine, SAK 93–12—pyramidion (6 fragments)

Comments
- Found south of the pyramid of Iniuia (009/USC).
- Van Dijk (1993b), 8, suggests to reconstruct the name of the owner as Iny, possibly the same man as the homonymous scribe of the treasury (*sš pr-ḥḏ n.y nb tȝ.wy*), a colleague of Maya (027/USC), and named in the latter's tomb, see Martin (2012), scenes [6] and [38]. Perhaps the same man as Iny (142/USC).
- See also Berlandini (1981), 9–20: socle Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 14126, a monument of Amenemone named Iny, dedicated to Hathor, bearing the titles *ỉm.y-r sš.w mr.y n.y nb tȝ.wy; sš pr-ḥḏ n.y nb tȝ.wy; sš pr-ḥḏ ʾImn-m-ỉn.t/ʾIny*.

Bibliography Schneider (2012), 127–128, cat. 3, fig. VI.3.

130/USC ***///-wiȝ*** **?**

Title(s) ?

Date 19th Dynasty.

Items **I. Reliefs**

1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 2002-R53

Comments Found reused in a secondary wall around shaft 2002/8 (099/USC).

Bibliography Raven/Van Walsem (2014), 166, no. 133, fig. on p. 167.

131/USC ***///-m-ḥȝt*** **?**

Title(s) ?

Date Late 18th Dynasty.

Items **III. Architectural elements**

1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. unknown—red quartzite pyramidion (fragment)

Comments
- Found west of the tomb of Horemheb (046/USC).
- Schneider (1996), 93–94, reconstructs the owner's name as Ptahemhat, and identifies him with the high priest of Ptah also known as Ty (408/USC). However, no traces of the man's title(s) are preserved on the pyramidion fragment.

Bibliography Schneider (1996), 93–94 [NK 12], pls 101, 106.

132/USC ***///-ms(.w)*** **?**
Title(s) ?
Date Late 18th /early 19th Dynasty.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Saqqara Magazine, obj. no. 17002 (fragment of lower part)
Comments Found at the Unas Valley Temple, 1970.
Bibliography Moussa (1981), 76, no. 6, pl. 8b.

133/USC ***ʿḥ(i)-p.t*** **Physician**
Title(s) [B] *swnw*
[C] *sš*
Date 19th Dynasty.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. SAK 2013 R-50—round-topped, fragment
Comments Found reused in a drystone wall built around the rim of the shaft of the tomb of Ry (038/USC).
Bibliography *PN* I, 71.3; Raven (forthcoming), cat. 18.

134/USC ***ʾIʿḥ-ms*** **Fan Bearer of the *ỉwʿỉ.t*-troops of the King**
Title(s) [A] *ṯzy*[*-sry.t*] *n.y tꜣ ỉwʿỉ.t n.y pr-ʿꜣ ʿ.w.s.*
Date Ramesside.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. D 3/4–18.6
Bibliography *PN* I, 12.19; Munro (1988), 78–79.

135/USC ***ʾImn-m-///*** **Child of the Nursery**
Title(s) [B] *ḫrd n.y kꜣp*
Date Late 18th Dynasty.
Items **III. Architectural elements**
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. SAK 93–17—pyramidion
Comments – Found east of the tomb of Iniuia (009/USC).
– Van Dijk (1993b), 8, suggests this could be Amenemheb, father of Pay (017/USC), although he is not otherwise associated with this title.
Bibliography Schneider (2012), 126–127, cat. 2, fig. VI.2.

136/USC ***ʾImn-m-///*** **/// of the King**
Title(s) [?] */// n.y nb tȝ.wy*
Date 19th Dynasty.
Items **v. Burial equipment**
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 75-S 11—faience canopic jar fragment

Comments Found on the surface west of the tomb of Horemheb (046/USC).
Bibliography Schneider (1996), 47, no. 293, pls 30, 72.

137/USC ***ʾImn-m-ḥb/Pȝ-Rʿ-m-ḥb* & *Ptḥ-m-ḥb*** **Chief of Goldsmiths**
Title(s) [D] *ḥr.y nby.w* ♦ *ḥr.y nby.w n.w nb tȝ.wy*
Date Late 18th / early 19th Dynasty.
Items **III. Architectural elements**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 46190—jamb
2. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 46191—jamb

IV. Stelae
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 18925 = TN 27.3.25.15 (Amenemheb/Paraemheb)

Comments
– The jambs were found reused in the monastery of Apa Jeremias.
– Amenemheb and Ptahemheb, who both bear the same title, share in the two door jambs, which suggests they shared in a single tomb (if not the two names in fact refer to the same person).
– Ptahemheb and Amenemheb might possibly be the sons of Amenemone (213/TPC).

Bibliography PM III/2, 669, 736–737; *PN* I, 28.14; 114.13; 140.2; Pasquali (2017), 571; Staring (2016b), 367–370; Martin (1995), 14–15, no. 65; Gaballa (1979c), 80–82, fig. 3, pl. 16b; Châban (1917), 180–182, nos 14–15.

138/USC ***ʾImn-m-ỉp.t*** **?**
Title(s) [?] *wr n.t ỉmnt.t*
Date 19th Dynasty (?)
Items **III. Architectural elements**
1. Saqqara Magazine, no. 16697—lintel

Comments The same man as (139/USC)?
Bibliography *PN* I, 27.18; Moussa (1984–1985), 35, pl. 1.

139/USC ***ʾImn-m-ỉp.t*** **God's Father (of Ptah)**

Title(s) [A] *wʿb ʿ.wy sḥtp /// n.y Ptḥ ♦ nb-nmt.wt m r-sṯȝ.w*
[E] *ỉt-nṯr mr.y nṯr (n.y Ptḥ) ♦ ḥm-nṯr (tp.y) n.y Mw.t-ḫntỉ.t-ʿb.wy-nṯr.w*

Date 19th Dynasty.

Items **II. Statues**
1. Saqqara, Imhotep Museum inv. no. D 3/4–17.86—dyad

Comments The same man as (138/USC)?

Bibliography *PN* I, 27.18; Munro (1988), 77–78, pls 8–9.

140/USC ***ʾImn-ḥtp(.w)*** **Chief Steward of the King**

Title(s) [A] *ṯȝ*[*y*]*-///*
[B] *ỉm.y-r pr wr n.y nb tȝ.wy*

Date Ramesside.

Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. D 4/4–16.86—relief fragment

Comments Son of *Ḏḥw.ty-nḫt*, possibly the owner of tomb 060/USC, who bore the same title. It cannot be excluded that the relief block in fact derives from his father's tomb.

Bibliography *PN* I, 30.12; Munro (1988), 78.

141/USC ***ʾImn-ḥtp Ḥwy*** **Chief Steward in Memphis**

Title(s) [A] *ỉm.y-ỉb n.y Ḥr m pr=f ♦ ỉr.y-pʿ.t ḥȝ.ty-ʿ ♦ mḥ-ỉb mnḫ n.y nb=f ♦ r shrr m tȝ r ḏr=f ♦ smr wʿ.ty ♦ sḏȝ.wty-bỉ.ty*
[B] *ỉm.y-r pr wr ♦ ỉm.y-r pr wr m Mn-nfr ♦ ỉm.y-r pr wr n.y nsw ♦ ỉm.y-r pr wr n.y nsw m ʾInb.w-ḥḏ ♦ ỉm.y-r pr n.y Mn-nfr ♦ ỉm.y-r pr n.y ḥḏ-nbw ♦ ỉm.y-r ḫȝs.wt m tȝ r ḏr=f*
[C] *sš nsw ♦ sš nsw mȝʿ mr.y=f ♦ sš nsw nfr.w*
[D] *ỉm.y-r kȝ.t m ḫnm.t Ptḥ*
[E] *ỉm.y-r ḥm.w-nṯr m ḥw.t Sḫm.t ♦ ḥm-nṯr wr.t ḥkȝ.w ♦ sšm.w-ḥb n.y Ptḥ rs.y ỉnb=f n.y nṯr.w nb.w ʾInb.w-ḥḏ*

Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp.* Amenhotep III.

Items **I. Reliefs**
1. London, private collection Salomon Aaron (David Aaron Ancient Art)—fragment, mentioning his son Ipy [372]
II. Statues
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, no number

III. Architectural elements

1. Florence, Museo Egizio 2610—pyramidion
2. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AM 6-b—pyramidion

IV. Stelae

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 763
2. Florence, Museo Egizio 2567 (with his son Ipy [372])
3. Saqqara Magazine (found reused in the 'Court of Octagons', monastery of Apa Jeremias)

V. Burial equipment

1. Florence, Museo Egizio 2338—calcite jar
2. Florence, Museo Egizio 2339—calcite jar
3. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AM 2—canopic chest
4. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AH 126—wooden chair leg
5. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum ДВ-999—shabti coffin

VII. Varia

6. Florence, Museo Egizio 3078—calcite cubit measure
7. Florence, Museo Egizio 3080—calcite model palette
8. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 37.2.1—calcite model palette
9. Paris, Musée du Louvre AF 483 = Salt no. 833—calcite model palette

VIII. Extra-sepulchral

1. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 08.205.3—offering table, from Memphis
2. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1913.163—statue fragment, from Memphis
3. Mit Rahineh, Mathaf Ramsis MO27—calcite embalming table (found at Kôm Tumân)
4. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 27862 = CG 1169—fragment of a scribe's statue, found at Memphis "*bei der kleinen Ramsesstatue*", cf. Borchardt (1934), 88

Comments

– Amenhotep Huy is the father of Ipy, chief steward in Memphis [372]; and possibly the brother of the Vizier Ramose (TT 55), *temp.* Amenhotep III/Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten.

– A. Mariette's *inventaire* of the Bulaq Museum (Pasquali 2017, 570) records another fragment of a wooden chair, (JE) 15033,

with a hieroglyphic inscription mentioning "Houï", which may in fact be Amenhotep Huy (cf. wooden chair leg Leiden AH 126).

Bibliography PM III/2, 702–703, 835, 836; *PN* I, 30.12; *Urk* IV, 1801–1802; Gräzer Ohara (2020), 248–251; Youssef (2017), 68–78, pl. 55; Pasquali (2017), 570; (2012), 133–138; Giovetti/Picchi (2015), cat. V.13, 15, 19; Mathieu (2012), 839–840 (*fragment Daressy*); Schulz (1992), 374, no. 216, pl. 97; Berlandini (1977), 32 n. 2; Bosticco (1965), 38–39, no. 32; Helck (1958), 302–304 (Vizier Ramose, TT 55), 368–370, 483–485, no. 14; Hayes (1938); Borchardt (1934), 88; Petrie (1913), 33–36, pls 78 [bottom right], 79–80; (1909), 7, pls 9, 18; (1903), 45, pl. 36 [below]; Boeser (1912), 1, pl. 1; Quibell (1912), pl. 84.

142/USC ***ỉny*** **Overseer of the Gold Workers of the King**

Tomb H8, A. Mariette, 8 February 1861.

Title(s) [A] *mrr nb=f ḥr bỉ.t=f ♦ ḥs.y ꜥ.w n.y nṯr nfr*

[D] *ỉm.y-r nby.w n.w nb tꜣ.wy ♦ ỉm.y-r ḫmw.t m Šmꜥ.w Tꜣ-mḥ.w ♦ rḫ sšṯꜣ m ḫw.wt-nbw*

Date Late 18th / early 19th Dynasty.

Items **IV. Stelae**

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 15115 = TN 14.1.25.5

Comments The same man as ///.*y* (129/USC)?

Bibliography PM III/2, 667; *PN* I, 33.16; Gaballa (1977b), 125–126, pls 23.3, 23.A[2]; Mariette (1885), fig. on p. 450 [H8] (with mistakes in the text); (1872), 20, pl. 62.b.

143/USC ***ỉnw-///*** **Chief of Hour Watchers**

Title(s) [E] *ḥr.y wnw.ty(w) smn ḥr.y ms wdn.w n.y pr Ptḥ*

Date Early Ramesside.

Items **IV. Stelae**

1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. unknown (rectangular stela fragment)

Comments Found when a sondage was made for the EAO, 1989 (K. Daoud), south of the inner courtyard of Horemheb (046/USC).

Bibliography Schneider (2012), fig. I.1; Raven et al. (2011b), 58, figs. I.22, II.1; Daoud (1993), 261–265, pls 26.2, 27.

144/USC ***ʾIry*** **Scribe of the Temple of Ramesses II in the House of Amun**

Tomb LS 26, C.R. Lepsius, 1843

Title(s) [C] *sš m tꜣ ḥw.t Wsr-mꜣʿ.t-Rʿ-stp*[*.n*]*-Rʿ m pr.w ʾImn*

Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II, or later.

Items **IV. Stelae**

1. Present location unknown

Bibliography PM III/2, 667; *PN* I, 39.11; LD *Text*, I, 182, pl. 33.

145/USC ***ʾItt*** **Steward**

Title(s) [B] *ỉm.y-r pr*

Date Late 18th / early 19th Dynasty.

Items **IV. Stelae**

1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 2003-R34 (fragment)

Comments Found near the forecourt of Meryneith (032/USC).

Bibliography Raven/Van Walsem (2014), 170, no. 155, fig on p. 171.

146/USC ***Y-ny-y*** **Steward**

Title(s) [B] *ỉm.y-r pr*

[C] *sš nsw*

Date Ramesside.

Items **II. Statues**

1. Saqqara Magazine—kneeling statue fragment D 3/4–4.86a

Bibliography Munro (1988), 75, 78.

147/USC ***Wp(ỉ)-wꜣwt-ms(.w)*** **Overseer of the Double Granary of Upper and Lower Egypt**

Title(s) [A] *ỉr.y-pʿ.t ḥꜣ.ty-ʿ*

[B] *ỉm.y-r šnw.ty n.y nb tꜣ.wy* ♦ *ỉm.y-r šnw.ty n.y Šmʿ.w Mḥ.w*

[C] *sš wdḥ.w* ♦ *sš wdḥ.w n.y nb tꜣ.wy* ♦ *sš mḏꜣ.t nṯr* ♦ *sš nsw* ♦ *sš nsw wdḥ.w n.y nb tꜣ.wy* ♦ *sš nsw mꜣʿ mr.y=f*

Date Late 18th Dynasty.

Items **I. Reliefs**

1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. (?) (relief fragment or doorjamb?)

2. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. SAK 2009-R31

III. Architectural elements

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 26.11.24.4—column

IV. Stelae

1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7316

Comments The relief-blocks were found at the southwest chapel of the tomb of Horemheb (046/USC), 1975–1977, and south of the tomb of Ptahemwia (025/USC).

Bibliography PM III/2, 734; *PN* I, 77.23; Schneider (1996), 94 [NK 19], pl. 102; Berlandini (1982), 99 n. 3, pl. 14; Roeder (1924), 134–136; Anonymous (1899), 161–162, no. 7316, fig. 34.

148/USC ***Bꜣk-ḏḥw.ty*** **Chief Charioteer of the Residence (?)**

Title(s) [F] *ḥr.y kṯn n(y) ḫnw (?)*

Date Late 19th / early 20th Dynasty.

Items **II. Statues**

1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 2010-7—naophorous statue, 2 fragments, joined

Comments Found at the tomb of *NN* (082/USC)

Bibliography Raven (2020b), 168, cat. 3, fig. on p. 169.

149/USC ***Pꜣy*** **?**

Title(s) ?

Date Ramesside.

Items **III. Architectural elements**

1. Saqqara Magazine, no. 17021—lintel fragment

Comments Found at the Unas Valley Temple area, 1970.

Bibliography Moussa (1981), 77, no. 12.

150/USC ***Pꜣ-ʾItn-m-ḥb*** **Royal Butler**

Title(s) [A] *ḥs.y n.y nṯr nfr*

[B] *wbꜣ nsw*

Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Horemheb.

Items **I. Reliefs**

1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AMT 1–35

IV. Stelae

1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 52

VII. Varia

1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AH 140c—fragment of wooden stick

Comments Possibly the owner of of tomb 082/USC (?)

Bibliography PM III/2, 709–711; *PN* I, 102.7; Weiss (2020–2021); Gessler-Löhr (1989), 27–34 (esp. 31); Boeser (1911), 1–5, pls 1–18.

151/USC ***P3-n-ʾImn*** **Chamberlain (?)**

Title(s) [A] *ỉr.y-pʿ.t ♦ ḥ3.ty-ʿ ♦ r shrr m t3 r* [*ḏr=f*]
[B] */// t3.wy ♦ ỉm.y* [*ỉs?*]

Date Late 18th / early 19th Dynasty.

Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. SAK 2010-R45 (door-jamb fragment)

Comments Found at the anonymous tomb of *NN* (082/USC).

Bibliography *PN* I, 106.8; Raven (2020b), 126, cat. 112, figs on p. 127.

152/USC ***P3-n-Rnn-wtt*** **Chief of Medjay**

Title(s) [F] *wr n.y mḏ3y.w*

Date Ramesside.

Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum inv. no. unknown

Comments Found reused in the monastery of Apa Jeremias.

Bibliography PM III/2, 669; *PN* I, 109.16–17; Quibell (1912), 145, pl. 81.2.

153/USC ***P3-n-dw3*** **Royal Scribe of the King**

Title(s) [C] *sš nsw n.y nb t3.wy*

Date Late 18th to 19th Dynasty.

Items **V. Burial equipment**
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 75-S 30—canopic jar

Comments
– Found at the tomb of Horemheb (046/USC), northern lateral magazine (B).
– A sculptor (*t3y-mḏ3.t*) named Pendua is mentioned in a visitors' graffito in the tomb of Horemheb (046/USC), see Van Pelt/Staring (2019), fig. 35.

Bibliography *PN* I, 112.9; Schneider (1996), 25, no. 113, pls 18, 60; Martin (1989), pl. 48 (canopic jar *in situ*).

154/USC ***P3-nḥsy*** **Scribe of the Altar of the Royal Household**

Title(s) [A] *wʿ ỉḳr*
[B] *ỉm.y-r3 šnw.ty /// ♦ /// ḥm.wt*
[C] *sš wdḥ.w n.y ỉp.t-nsw*

Date Late 18th Dynasty.

Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 1999-R18
IV. Stelae
1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7317 (fragment of IV.2)
2. Saqqara Magazine—upper right corner (fragment of IV.1)

Comments Found south of the tomb of Horembeb (046/USC), 1982 and 1999.

Bibliography PM III/2, 733; *PN* I, 113.13; Raven et al. (2011b), 64, no. 39, fig. 1.16 and on p. 65; Martin (1997), 48, no. 341, pl. 100; Roeder (1924), 139–142.

155/USC ***Pꜣ-nḫt-m-ḏdw*** **?**

Title(s) ?

Date (Late) Ramesside.

Items **IV. Stelae**

1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. SAK 2009-R21

Comments Found in the forecourt of Khay (051/USC), burial 2009/20.

Bibliography Raven et al. (2010), 21–22, fig. 17.

156/USC ***Pꜣ-Rᶜ-m-ḥb*** **Great Overseer of Cattle of Amun**

Title(s) [B] *ỉm.y-r ỉḥ.w ♦ ỉm.y-r ỉḥ.w wr n.y ʾImn ♦ ỉm.y-r ỉḥ.w n.w ʾImn n.y tꜣ ḥw.t Wsr-mꜣᶜ.t-Rᶜ-stp.n-Rᶜ m pr ʾImn*

Date 19th Dynasty.

Items **V. Burial equipment**

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 4322—canopic jar

2. Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 4323—canopic jar

3. New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery 13.1.1953 (P.M. 6263)—canopic jar

4. Rouen, Musée départemental des antiquités, inv. no. unknown—shabti

5. Saqqara Magazine excavation no. 87–153—shabti (from fill of the northern lateral chapel (B) of Maya (028/USC)

Comments A relief fragment depicting a man named Paraemheb with his four sons was found in the tomb of Khay (051/USC): SAK 2009-R19, see Raven et al. (2010), 9, fig. 6.

Bibliography PM III/2, 771, 772; *PN* I, 114.13; *KRI* III, 376; Pasquali (2017), 572; Staring (2014–2015), 67, no. 4; Raven (2001b), 44, cat. 196, pl. 37; Haring (1997), 444; Scott III (1986), 116, no. 65; Reisner (1967), 218–220, pls 54, 57; Loret (1880), 151, no. 4.

157/USC ***Pꜣ-ḥꜣ-rw*** **Overseer of *Wab* Priests**

Title(s) [E] *ỉm.y-rꜣ wᶜb.w*

Date 19th Dynasty.

Items **IV. Stelae**

1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 2002-R32 (fragment)

Comments From the fill around shaft 2002/8 (099/USC).
Bibliography Raven/Van Walsem (2014), 164–166, no. 128, fig. on p. 165.

158/USC ***Pꜣ-ḥm-nṯr*** **High Priest of Ptah**
Title(s) [A] *ỉr.y-pˁ.t ḥꜣ.ty-ˁ ♦ ˁꜣ mrw.t ♦ wˁ ỉḳr ♦ mr.y nb=f mꜣˁ ♦ mrw.t=f mntỉ m pr-nsw ♦ smr* [*wˁ.ty*] *♦ stp mdw.t ♦ tỉt ỉwn-mw.t=f pw ♦ /// ˁḳ ḥr nb=f m sꜣr.t=f*
[E] *mꜣ sšt; nṯr.w nb.w ♦ ḥr.y-sšt; m r-pr.w ♦ sm wr-ḫrp-ḥmw.w*
Date Early 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Seti I–Ramesses II (?)
Items
I. Reliefs
1. Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet 32011 = NME 038A
2. Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet 32013 = NE 037A,B
3. Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet 32014 = NME 053—joins no. 4
4. Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet 32015 = NME 054—joins no. 3

II. Statues
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 89046—naos with statue

V. Burial equipment
1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 33—anthropoid sarcophagus
2. London, British Museum EA 18—anthropoid sarcophagus
3. Toulouse, Musée Georges Labit 49.289—canopic jar

VII. Varia
1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AAL 157a–c—calcite palette fragments
2. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 87–89—fragment of a calcite writing palette(?)

Comments
– Father of (Pa-)Rahotep (020/USC).
– The statue was found reused in the ruins of the monastery of Apa Jeremias (1950), along with a number of additional inscribed material believed to derive from his tomb (Gaballa 1974, 21); these items are not mentioned in PM III/2, 708–709.
– The palette (?) fragment found at the tomb of Maya (028/USC), northwest chapel (E).

Bibliography PM III/2, 708–709; *PN* I, 15.16; *HTBM 9*, 21–22, pl. 17; Raedler (2011), 137, 139 table 1; Raven (2001b), 24 [cat. 32], pl. 31; Maystre (1992), 142–145, docs 94–102; Gaballa (1974), 21–24, pl. 2b–c (with further references); Peterson (1969), 5–15.

159/USC ***Pꜣ-ḥry-pḏt*** **Excellent Scribe**
Title(s) [C] *sš iḳr*
Date 19th Dynasty.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation nos 2002-R22, 2002-R23 (fragments)
Comments Found at the tomb of Meryneith (032/USC), subterranean complex, corridor E, niche 12
Bibliography *PN* I, 115.27; Raven/Van Walsem (2014), 164, no. 126, fig. on p. 165.

160/USC ***Pꜣ-šd*** **Lector Priest**
Title(s) [E] *ḫr.y-ḥb*
Date Ramesside.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. (?) (fragment)
Comments Found at subsidiary shaft L east of the pylon of Maya (028/USC).
Bibliography *PN* I, 119.13; Martin (2012), 56–57, no. 30, pl. 66.

161/USC ***Pyiꜣy*** **Overseer of Cattle**
Title(s) [B] *ỉm.y-r ỉḫ.w ♦ ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ n.y nb tꜣ.wy*
[C] *sš nsw* [or: *sš nsw n.y pr-ḥḏ n.y nb tꜣ.wy*]
Date Late 18th or early 19th Dynasty.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Saqqara Magazine
Comments – Found in shaft F outside the NW-corner of the tomb of Paser (021/USC).
– Martin (1985), 16 n. 6: a shabti (83-S65) of a scribe Pyiay found in shaft B of the tomb of Tia (057/USC).
Bibliography *PN* I, 129.25; Martin (1985), 16–17 [iv; v], pl. 26.

162/USC ***Ptḥ-m-ḥb*** **?**
Title(s) ?
Date New Kingdom.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 1.7.24.2
Comments – Blocks found reused in the monastery of Apa Jeremias
– The block's reverse has a scene of *Ky-ỉri* (199/USC), indicating the block was reused by one of the two tomb owners.
Bibliography PM III/2, 668; *PN* I, 140.2; Quibell (1912), 145, pl. 80.2.

163/USC ***Ptḥ-mˁy*** **Scribe of the Treasury of the King**

Title(s) [C] *sš pr-ḥḏ ♦ sš pr-ḥḏ n.y nb tȝ.wy*

Date Late 18th/early 19th Dynasty.

Items **I. Stelae**

1. Saqqara Magazine, no. 16902 (fragment)

Comments Found at the Unas Valley Temple area, 1970

Bibliography *PN* I, 140.6; Moussa (1981), 76, no. 5, pl. 8a.

164/USC ***Ptḥ(?)-ms(.w)*** **Scribe**

Title(s) [C] *sš*

Date 19th Dynasty.

Items **IV. Stelae**

1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 2003-R89 (fragment)

Comments From shaft 99/1, chamber B.

Bibliography *PN* I, 140.9; Raven et al. (2011b), 64, no. 40, fig. on p. 65.

165/USC ***Ptḥ-ms(.w)*** **Overseer of Cattle of Amun**

Title(s) [A] *mrw.t[y] n.y nb tȝ.wy ♦ ḥs.y ʿȝ n.y nṯr nfr*

[B] *ỉm.y-r iḥ.w ♦ ỉm.y-r iḥ.w n.w ʾImn ♦ ỉm.y-r pr wr n.y nsw.t /// ♦ ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ*

[C] *sš nsw [n.y] pr.wy-ḥḏ ♦ sš nsw [n.y] nb tȝ.wy*

Date Early 19th Dynasty.

Items **I. Reliefs**

1. Present location unknown (?)—relief block with *djed* pillar

2. Present location unknown—blocks seen by Wilkinson at Saqqara, 1856

3. Private collection (sold at Christoph Bacher Ancient Art, Austria)

4. Saqqara Magazine—relief fragment, no. Ix (Martin (1985), pl. 26)

II. Statues

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 27961 = CG 642—block statue

Comments

– Blocks seen by Wilkinson at Saqqara, 1856: "… opening of the mouth ceremony, one with Ptah and Sekhmet, and another with priests dragging sledge with chest with four sons of Horus."

– The description of the latter block seen by Wilkinson resembles block Hannover, Museum August Kestner 1935.200.192; see Loeben (2007), 88–89, cat. no. 82.

Bibliography PM III/2, 667; 763; *PN* I, 140.9; *KRI* III, 172–173; Staring (2014–2015), 58–59, no. 8; Van Dijk (1993), 161, with. fig. 27; Schulz (1992), 199–200, cat. 098; Bohleke (1991), 314; Berlandini (1988), 27, pl. 2A; Málek (1987), 122, 132; Martin (1985), 17, no. ix, pl. 26; Helck (1958), 394; Borchardt (1925), 188; Wilkinson MSS. XIII, 25–26.

166/USC ***Ptḥ-ms(.w)*** **?**
Title(s) ?
Date Late 19th Dynasty.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. R94–75
Comments Found at the tomb of Pay (017/USC), north of northeast chapel (D)
Bibliography *PN* I, 140.9; Raven (2005), 48, no. 77, pl. 79.

167/USC ***Ptḥ-ms(.w) n.y Mn-nfr*** **Overseer of the Royal Household**
Title(s) [A] */// mr.y nb tꜣ.wy*
[B] *ỉm.y-rꜣ ỉp.t nsw*
[C] *sš nsw ♦ sš nsw mꜣꜥ mr.y=f*
Date Late 18th Dynasty.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. London, British Museum EA 160 (fragment)
2. Melbourne, Ancient Times House (fragment; private collection)
3. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 90221
IV. Stelae
1. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 67.3
2. Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Egizio 251 (fragment of lower part)
Bibliography PM III/2, 308; *PN* I, 140.9; *HTBM* 10, 9–10, pls 4–5; Binder (2008), 308 [088]; Crocker (1990), 65–70, fig. 47; Málek (1981), 156–157; Zivie (1976), 217, no. 67; Botti/Romanelli (1951), 77–78, no. 124, pl. 60; Mercer (1914), 176–178; Budge (1909), 178, no. 642; Kamal (1905), 29–31 (MMA 67.3 as: "trouvée à Thèbes").

168/USC ***Mỉy*** **General**
Title(s) [C] *sš nsw*
[F] *ỉm.y-r mšꜥ*
Date 20th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses III, year 15.

Comments This tomb is exclusively known through the tomb construction dossier written by the scribe Buqentuf, P. Cairo 52002, 52003, P. MMA 3569 + Vienna 3934 + 3937 + 9352.

Bibliography *PN* I, 146.10; Soliman (2019); (2017); Olsen (2018), 31–65; Posener-Kriéger (1996); (1981); Quibell/Olver (1926), 172–173.

169/USC ***Nꜣ-ḥr-ḥw-iꜣ*** **Charioteer of the King**

Title(s) [E] [*ḥm*] *tp.y n.y Wꜣḏy.t*
[F] *kṯn n.y nb tꜣ.wy* ♦ /// *n.y nb tꜣ.wy*

Date Ramesside.

Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. R94–63.

Comments Found east of outer courtyard of Pay (017/USC) and Raia (042/USC)

Bibliography Raven (2005), 49–50, no. 86, pls 80–81.

170/USC ***Ny Wab*** **Priest of the Front of Ptah**

Title(s) [E] *ʿḳ.w ḥr ḏsr m ḥw.t-nbw n.y Ptḥ* ♦ *wʿb* ♦ *wʿb n.y ḥꜣ.t n.y Ptḥ* ♦ *wʿb ḥry nby* {*gb.ty*} (*n pr Ptḥ*)
[D] *ḥmw*

Date 19th Dynasty.

Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 2001-R277 (fragment joining no. 2)
2. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 2013-R31 (fragment joining no. 1)
3. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum inv. no. 10864—naos-shaped stela

Comments Stela fragment IV.1 was found on the surface south of the south-east chapel of Meryneith (032/USC); IV.2 was found reused in secondary drystone wall around rim of shaft of the tomb of Ry (038/USC).

Bibliography PM III/2, 741; *PN* I, 181.18; Raven (2020a), 1310–1311; Staring (2016b), 366 n. 135; Raven/Van Walsem (2014), 162 [116], fig. on p. 163; Pörtner (1908), 6, no. 19, pl. 6; Maspero (1882), 120–122, no. 21.

171/USC ***Nb-wr*** **(*Nb-iꜣw?*)** **?**

Title(s) ?

Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp.* Akhenaten, after year 9.

Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 2008-R52 (gabled stela)

Comments Found north of Ptahemwia (025/USC).

Bibliography *PN* I, 184.9; Raven (2020b), 124 [105], fig. on p. 125; Raven et al (2008–2009), 12–13, fig. 8.

172/USC ***Nb-mrw.t=f*** **Royal Butler**

Title(s) [A] *ḥs.y ꜥ3 n.y nṯr nfr*
[B] *wḥ3 nsw wꜥb ꜥ.wy ♦ wr swnw n.y nb t3.wy*
[C] *sš nsw*

Date Late 18th to 19th Dynasty.

Items **VII. Varia**
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 75-S 32—faience plaque

Comments
– Found at the tomb of Horemheb (046/USC), surface, at northeast corner of the second courtyard.
– Perhaps of the same man: a shabti found on the surface west of the tomb of Paser (021/USC), see: Schneider (1996), 17; Martin (1985), cat. 42, pl. 34.

Bibliography *PN* I, 185.6; Schneider (1996), 17, no. 59, pls 8, 55.

173/USC ***Nfr-ms(.w)*** **Scribe of the Treasury of the King**

Title(s) [A] *ḥs.y ꜥ3 n.y nṯr=f*
[C] *sš pr.w-ḥḏ n.y nb t3.wy*

Date Ramesside.

Items **II. Statues**
1. Saqqara Magazine (?)—Anubis-statue D 3/4–20.86

Bibliography *PN* I, 196.29; Munro (1988), 75–76, 79, pl. 6.

174/USC ***Nḥ.y*** **Chief Guardian of the *pr-ḫnr* in Memphis**

Title(s) [B] [*ḥr.y rwd*].*w n.y pr-ḫnr m Mn-nfr*

Date Late 18th /early 19th Dynasty.

Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. (?) (fragment)

Comments Found near the south-east corner of the inner courtyard of the tomb of Pay (017/USC).

Bibliography *PN* I, 217.19; Raven (2005), 48–49, no. 82, pls 78, 82; Van Dijk (1995), 21.

175/USC ***Nḫt-mnṯ(.w)*** **?**

Title(s) [A] *ḥsy ꜥ n.y nṯr nfr* ♦ *ṯzy-ḫw ḥr wnm.y n.y nsw*

Date Late 19th Dynasty.

Items **I. Reliefs**

1. Saqqara Magazine, no. unknown

Comments
- Found at the monastery of Apa Jeremias, reused in a niche, room 1811 (DAIK archaeological expedition, 1981).
- Another block (door jamb fragment) found in *Westmausoleum 1823* is anonymous and preserves the titles *sšm.w-ḥb* and *ḥs.y ꜥ n.y nṯr nfr*. It is uncertain whether the elements also belonged to Nakhtmontu.
- A block naming the *sꜣb Mnṯ(.w)-n*[*ḫt*] as the father of the /// *n.y nb tꜣ.wy* /// NN, was found near the Step Pyramid Complex in 1985, Ibrahim Aly (1998), 221–222, pl. 23a.

Bibliography *PN* I, 210.17; Raue in Grossmann (2009), 73–77, pl. 19a–b.

176/USC ***Nḫt.y*** **?**

Title(s) ?

Date Ramesside.

Items **IV. Statues**

1. Saqqara Magazine—Anubis-statue D 3/4–20.86

Bibliography *PN* I, 212.9; Munro (1988), 76, 79, pl. 7.

177/USC ***Nḫt.y / Nḫt-ty*** **?**

Title(s) ?

Date Late 18th to 19th Dynasty.

Items **VI. Offering tables**

1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 87–60

Comments Found at the tomb of Maya (028/USC), inner courtyard.

Bibliography *PN* I, 212.9; Raven (2001), 19–20, cat. 4, pl. 27.

178/USC ***Nḏm*** **Chief Steward of the King**

Title(s) [A] *ḥs.y ꜥ n.y nṯr nfr*

[B] *ỉm.y-r pr* ♦ *ỉm.y-r pr wr* ♦ *ỉm.y-r pr wr n.y nb tꜣ.wy* ♦ *ỉm.y-r pr wr n.y tꜣ ḥw.t Wsr-mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ-stp.n-Rꜥ m pr ỉmn* ♦ *ỉm.y-r šnw.ty n.y pꜣ rwḏ ỉmn.ty* ♦ *ỉm.y-r šnw.ty n.y nb tꜣ.wy* ♦ *ỉm.y-r šnw.ty n.y Šmꜥ.w Tꜣ-mḥ.w* ♦ *wpw.ty nsw r ḫꜣs.t nb.t*

[C] *sš nsw* ♦ *sš nsw mꜣꜥ mr.y=f*

Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II late to Merenptah, or later.

Items

III. Architectural elements

1. Saqqara Magazine—Abacus (Leiden expedition, SAK 2003-72)

IV. Stelae

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 34508 (unpublished; see *KRI* III, 201 [5])

V. Burial equipment

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 4161–4164—four canopic jars
2. Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 47188—shabti
3. Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 47209–47211—three shabtis (Saqqara)
4. Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 47221—shabti (provenance unknown)
5. London, Petrie Museum UC 232—shabti
6. Private collection, the Netherlands (wooden shabti)
7. Saqqara Magazine—shabti (Leiden expedition: SAK 2007–016)

VII. Varia

1. London, Petrie Museum UC inv. no. unknown—plaque (provenance unknown)

VIII. Extra-sepulchral

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 1220—naophorous block statue (Kitchen: Memphis; Borchardt: Matariya, Heliopolis)
2. Memphis (Tennessee), Memphis State University Collection 1981.1.20 (formerly: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 29.730)—block statue from the Ptah-temple at Memphis (A. Mariette, 1871, 1872, or 1875)

Comments Abacus SAK 2003-72 was found reused in secondary wall around shaft 2003/17.

Bibliography PM III/2, 771, 838; *PN* I, 215.8; Staring (2014–2015), 78–80, no. 9 (with references to individual items).

179/USC ***Nḏm-Mn-nfr*** **?**

Title(s) ?

Date Ramesside.

Items

IV. Stelae

1. Saqqara Magazine (?), Cairo University registration no. 105

Bibliography *PN* I, 215.16; Abolataa (2008), 41–44, pl. 1.

180/USC ***Rˁ-ms(.w)*** **?**
Title(s) ?
Date 19th Dynasty
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 40693 (fragment)
Comments – Found reused in the monastery of Apa Jeremias.
– The stela depicts Ramose standing in adoration before the deified King Sekhemkhet or Teti.
Bibliography PM III/2, 667; *PN* I, 218.3; Wildung (1967), 97–99 [doc. 17.70], pl. 8.2 (identified as King Sekhemkhet); Grdseloff (1939), 393–396, fig. 17 (identified as King Ity).

181/USC ***Rˁ-ms(.w)*** **Scribe of Recruits of the King**
Title(s) [C] *sš nfr.w n.w nb tȝ.wy*
[E] *ỉdn.w m tȝ ḫw.t*
Date 19th Dynasty
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Present location unknown
Comments Found reused in the monastery of Apa Jeremias.
Bibliography PM III/2, 669; *PN* I, 218.3; Quibell (1912), 112, pl. 51.4.

182/USC ***Rˁ-ms(.w)*** **Overseer of Chamberlains**
Title(s) [B] *ỉm.y-r ỉm.yw-ḫnt* [*n.y nb tȝ.wy*]
Date 19th Dynasty, second half / 20th Dynasty.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Saqqara Magazine (?)
Comments – Found north of the Unas causeway, close to the escarpment overlooking the Unas Valley Temple.
– Daoud (1994), 208: "… There is no doubt that this loose block belongs to one of the Ramesside tomb-chapels south of the causeway of the Unas pyramid …"
Bibliography *PN* I, 218.3; Daoud (1994), 202–208, pl. 32b.

183/USC ***Rˁ-ms-s(w)-nḫt(.w)*** **?**
Title(s) ?
Date 19th Dynasty.
Items **V. Burial equipment**
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 96-37—shabti
2. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 87-1—alabaster canopic jar fragments

Comments Shabti found at the tomb of Pay (017/USC), subterranean chamber C; canopic jar fragments found on the surface over the inner courtyard of the tomb of Maya (028/USC).

Bibliography *PN* I, 219.3; Raven (2005), 72, cat. 10, pls 92, 102; (2001), 25–26, cat. 44a–d, pl. 32.

184/USC ***Ḥꜣ.t-iꜣy*** **?**

Title(s) ?

Date 19th Dynasty.

Items **I. Reliefs**

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 25.6.24.1

Comments Found reused in the monastery of Apa Jeremias.

Bibliography PM III/2, 669; Quibell (1912), 144, pl. 74.1.

185/USC ***Ḥwyꜣ*** **Chief of Fattened(?) Fowl**

Title(s) [B] *ḥr.y ꜣpd.w ỉr.w*

[C] *sš nsw mꜣꜥ*

Date Late 18th Dynasty.

Items **IV. Stelae**

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 27958

Bibliography PM III/2, 667; *PN* I, 233.27; Gaballa (1979b), 42–43.

186/USC ***Ḥꜥpy-ꜥꜣ*** **Scribe**

Title(s) [C] *sš*

Date Late 18th to 19th Dynasty.

Items **V. Burial equipment**

1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 87–139—faience shabti

2. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 87–173—faience shabti fragment

Comments Found at the tomb of Maya (028/USC), fill of the southern lateral chapel (A) and fill of the outer courtyard.

Bibliography *PN* I, 234.8; Raven (2001), 42, cat. 179a–b, pls 19, 37a.

187/USC ***Ḥr-m-ḥb*** **Chief Steward of the King**

Title(s) [A] *ỉr.y-pꜥ.t ḥꜣ.ty-ꜥ ♦ wr m-ḥꜣ.t rḫy.t ♦ smr wꜥ.ty ♦ sḏꜣ.wty-bỉ.ty ♦ ṯꜣy-ḫw ḥr wnm.y n.y nsw*

[B] */// m tꜣ ḥw.t Wsr-mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ-stp.n-Rꜥ m pr ỉmn ♦ ỉm.y-r pr ♦ ỉm.y-r pr wr n.y nb tꜣ.wy ♦ ỉm.y-r pr n.y nb tꜣ.wy*

[C] *sš nsw ♦ sš nsw mꜣꜥ mr.y=f*

Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II.

Items **I. Reliefs**

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 43276 (+ two more blocks, nos unknown)
2. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 43277 (+ another block, no. unknown)
3. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 14.6.24.25
4. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 17.6.24.5
5. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 19.6.24.4
6. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 19.6.24.5
7. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 19.6.24.11
8. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 19.6.24.15
9. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 19.6.24.16
10. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 19.6.24.17
11. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 19.6.24.18

Comments Blocks found reused in the monastery of Apa Jeremias.

Bibliography PM III/2, 667–668; *PN* I, 248.7; *KRI* III, 187–191; Staring (2014–2015), 73, no. 3; Raedler (2012), 129, with n. 28; Quibell (1912).

188/USC ***Ḥr-ms*(*.w*) Steward of the King**

Title(s) [B] *ỉm.y-r pr n.y nb tȝ.wy*

Date 19th Dynasty.

Items **I. Reliefs**

1. Present location unknown

Comments Found reused in the monastery of Apa Jeremias.

Bibliography PM III/2, 669; *PN* I, 249.1; Quibell (1912), 145, pl. 72.7.

189/USC ***Ḥrỉ* High Priest of Ptah**

Title(s) [A] *ỉr.y-pˁ.t ♦ ỉr.y-pˁ.t ḥȝ.ty-ˁ ♦ nb ˁḳ prỉ.t m r-stȝ.w ♦ ḥr.y-tp tȝ.wy*

[E] *ỉt-nṯr mr.y nṯr ♦ ḥr.y-sšt; m ḥw.t Ptḥ ♦ sm wr-ḫrp-ḥmw.w*

Date Late 19th Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II–Merenptah.

Items **I. Reliefs**

Private collection? (seen with an art dealer by M. Grdseloff)

II. Statues

1. London, British Museum EA 845

III. Architectural elements

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 43271—*djed* pillar

IV. Stelae

1. Cairo, ex-coll. Michaelides—from Mit Rahineh (originally Saqqara?)

v. Burial equipment
1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 57—sandstone sarcophagus
2. London, British Museum EA 36530–36535—canopic jars
viii. Extra-sepulchral
1. Paris, Musée du Louvre N 768—shabti, Serapeum

Comments
– The *djed* pillar was found reused in the monastery of Apa Jeremias.
– PM and Raedler (2011) consider Hori the son of Khaemwaset, fourth son of Ramesses II (192/USC).
– Maystre (1992), 142, regards Hori not the son of Khaemwaset, son of Ramesses II, but the son of Khaemwaset, the son of the Vizier Hori (cf. stela ex-coll. Michaelides).

Bibliography PM III/2, 703–704; *PN* I, 251.8; *KRI* IV, 292–293; Raedler (2011), 139 table 1, 140; Maystre (1992), 142, doc. 87 (Hori 1); Quibell (1912), 144, pl. 70.1–3; Mariette (1857), pl. 10.

190/USC ***Ḥrỉ*** **Overseer of the Northern Foreign Lands**
Title(s) [A] */// nb tꜣ.wy ♦ ḥs.y n.y nṯr nfr*
[B] *ỉm.y-r ḫꜣs.t mḥ.tyt*
Date New Kingdom.
Items **II. Statues**
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. (?)

Comments
– Found at tomb of Tia (057/USC).
– Another statue(?) fragment with the name *Ḥrỉ* (SAK 2010 R-044) was found in 2010, south of the tomb of Ptahemwia (025/USC).

Bibliography *PN* I, 251.8; Martin (1997), 49, no. 350, pl. 101.

191/USC ***Ḥrỉ ḳn.w***
Title(s) [?] *ḳn.w ꜥꜣ pr.w Ptḥ m (p ꜥ mḥy.t?)*
Date Ramesside.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Saqqara Magazine (?)—relief fragment D 3/3–4.86a
III. Architectural elements
1. Saqqara Magazine (?)—lintel fragment D 3/4–19.86

Comments
– According to Munro, this otherwise unattested title refers to some sort of a police service in the temple of Ptah.
– Perhaps *ḳn.w* should be considered as a noun: 'the strong/brave one', i.e. a honorific title.

Bibliography *PN* I, 251.8; Munro (1988), 78–79.

192/USC ***Ḥʳ(i)-m-wꜣs.t*** **High Priest of Ptah**

Title(s)
[A] *ꜣḫ n.y Ptḥ ♦ irỉ.w ḥrr.t kꜣ=f ♦ ỉr.y-pʿ.t ḥꜣ.ty-ʿ ♦ ḫnt.y r-stꜣ.w ♦ snn mr.y n.y Ptḥ*
[B] *ḥꜣ.ty-ʿ m ʾIꜣ.t-Ṯmt ♦ ḥr.y-tp tꜣ.wy*
[E] *rḫ n.ty m r-pr.w ♦ rḫ tꜣ.w-ḏsr.w r-pr.w ♦ ḫm-nṯr m tꜣ ḥw.t Rʿ-ms-sw-mr.y-ʾImn m pr Ptḥ ♦ ḥr.y-sšt3 m r-stꜣ.w ♦ ḥr.y-sšt3 n.y p.t tꜣ dwꜣ.t ♦ ḥr.y-sšt3 n.y Sḫt-nṯr ♦ ḫrp ỉꜣ.wt nb.wt ♦ ḫrp šnd.wt nb.t ♦ sm wr-ḫrp-ḥmw.w ♦ sm m s.t ʾIwn-mw.t=f ♦ sm n.y Ptḥ ♦ stỉ-Gbb*

Date 19th Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II.

Items

I. Reliefs

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 40016
2. Hannover, Museum August-Kestner 1935.200.183
3. Paris, Musée du Louvre E 25497
4. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum ÄS 5081 (Apis temple, Serapeum?)
5. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum ÄS 5082 (Apis temple, Serapeum?)
6. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum ÄS 5083 (Apis temple, Serapeum?)
7. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum ÄS 5095 (Apis temple, Serapeum?)
8. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum ÄS 5096 (Apis temple, Serapeum?)
9. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum ÄS 5097 (Apis temple, Serapeum?)

II. Statues

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 17.11.24.2—socle of a statue
2. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 40016 = TN 17.11.24.2—statue base, found reused in the monastery of Apa Jeremias

III. Architectural elements

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 41525—column (fragment)

V. Burial equipment

1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 87–108—faience shabti
2. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 87–103—faience shabti (fragment)
3. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 87–405—faience shabti (fragment)

VIII. Extra-sepulchral

1. Paris, Musée du Louvre N 518 = IM 6149—relief block from the Serapeum

Comments
- Blocks found variously by A. Mariette, 1850s; J.E. Quibell, 1908–1912; C.M. Firth, 1920s
- Blocks found reused in the monastery of Apa Jeremias and in the Serapeum.
- Khaemwaset is the fourth son of Ramesses II.

Bibliography PM III/2, 572, 704, 819; *PN* I, 263.19; Raedler (2011); Maystre (1992), 147–156, doc. 107–146; Málek (1989b), 7 (stela C12; block D4; monument G14); Gomaà (1973), cat. nos 76–84; Lauer (1961), 15 [middle]; Quibell (1912), 16, 29, 45–46; (1909), 4–5; Mariette (1864), 283–284 [29].

193/USC ***Ḫʿ(i)-m-nṯr*** **Controller**

Title(s)
[B] *rwḏ.w*
[C] *sš nsw*

Date Late 18th Dynasty.

Items

I. Reliefs

1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. SAK 2009-R6 (relief fragment, found in the area between the tombs of Iniuia (009/USC) and Horemheb (046/USC); unpublished)

III. Architectural elements

2. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. R 93–2—lintel

Comments Lintel found c. 4 m south of outer court of Horemheb (046/USC) and immediately south of northwest chapel (A) of Iniuia (009/USC).

Bibliography Schneider (2012), 101, no. 28, fig. III.59; Van Dijk, in Schneider et al. (1993), 8.

194/USC ***Ḫʿy*** **Overseer of the Treasury of the Temple of Ramesses II in the House of Amun**

Title(s)
[A] *ḥs.y ʿ; n.y nṯr nfr*
[B] *ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ* ♦ *ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ n.y t; ḫw.t n.yt rnp.wt n.yt nsw.t bỉ.ty Wsr-M;ʿ.t-Rʿ-stp.n-Rʿ m pr ʾImn* ♦ *ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ m ḫw.t Wsr-m;ʿ.t-Rʿ-stp.n-Rʿ m pr ʾImn*
[C] *sš nsw* ♦ *sš nsw m;ʿ mr.y=f*

Date 19th Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II.

Items

I. Reliefs

1. Possibly of the same man: a block found by Quibell reused in the monastery of Apa Jeremias, bearing the name of *Ḥrʿy*, Quibell (1908), 65.
2. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 4872 = TN 12.6.24.11 = SR 11754

II. Statues

3. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 4736 = CG 604 (with naos of Ra-Horakhti; A. Mariette, 03.1859)
4. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 4737 = CG 606 (with naos of Osiris; A. Mariette, 03.1859)

III. Architectural elements

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 5.11.24.7—*djed* pillar
2. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 7.11.24.5—*djed* pillar
3. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 9.11.24.1—*djed* pillar
4. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 14.11.24.2—*djed* pillar

V. Burial equipment

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 4647 = CG 46563—shabti (as: *ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ*).

Comments Tomb photographed by T. Devéria, 1859.

Bibliography PM III/2, 726, 775A and Addenda; *PN* I, 265.7; *KRI* III, 373; Pasquali (2017), 566, 575–576; (2013), 315–316, figs 10–11; Staring (2014–2015), 70, no. 3 (with further references to earlier literature).

195/USC ***Sꜣy-m-ptỉ=f*** **Chief of Goldworkers of the Temple of Seti I**

Title(s)

[A] *ḥs.y n.y nṯr=f*

[D] *ḥr.y nby.w ♦ ḥr.y nbw.w n.w tꜣ ḥw.t Mn-mꜣʿ.t-Rʿ ♦ ḥr.y nbw.w n.w nb tꜣ.wy*

Date Early 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Seti I–Ramesses II.

Items

I. Reliefs

1. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 8851 (ex-coll. Van Leer 8**)
2. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 52542 = SR 11766
3. Hannover, Museum August-Kestner 4506
4. Hannover, Museum August-Kestner 1935.200.181
5. Hannover, Museum August-Kestner 1935.200.187
6. Private collection (formerly Collection Jelgersma, Oegstgeest)

IV. Stelae

1. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 17000 (formerly Gemeentemuseum voor Oude Kunst 1957)

Bibliography PM III/2, 716–717; *PN* I, 299.9; *KRI* I, 346–349; Martin (1995), 15, no. 67; Martin (1991), 201; Van Haarlem/Scheurleer (1986), 35, 37, fig. 17; Lunsingh Scheurleer (1940), 551, no. 28, pl. 17; Van Wijngaarden (1939), 264, pl. 4; Blok (1932), 81–94, pls 3–5; Keimer (1929), 81–88, pl. 1.

196/USC ***Sꜣrbyḫn ʾIby*** **Priest of Amun, Astarte, and Baal**

Title(s) [A] *ḥs.y ꜥꜣ n.y nṯr nfr ♦ mrr nb=f ḥr bi̯.t=f iḳr.t*

[E] *ḥm-nṯr tp.y n.y ʾImn n.y psḏ.t m /// pr.w-nfr ♦ ḥm-nṯr n.y ʾImn ♦ ḥm-nṯr n.y ꜥstrt.t ♦ ḥm-nṯr n.y Bꜥr*

Date Ramesside (?)

Items **VII. Varia**

1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 1882—wooden lid of box ("*mykenische Arbeit*")

2. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 1785—gold ring with name of Amenhotep IV

3. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 1284—wooden staff of deceased

4. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, inv. no. unknown—scarab

5. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 8665—necklace fragment

6. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, inv. no. unknown—wooden palette

7. Paris, Musée du Louvre E 1155 = AF 2382 = Clot bey C 21 P no. 181 (currently in Aix-en-Provence (France), Musée Granet)—cornaline bead amulette

8. Paris, Musée du Louvre E 2208 = N 4568 (currently in Aix-en-Provence (France), Musée Granet)—cornaine *tyet* amulet

9. Paris, Musée du Louvre E 3860—cornaline snake's head amulet

Comments See also LD *Text*, I, 185: LS 30.

Bibliography PM III/2, 716–717; LD *Text*, I, 16–17, 185; Dewachter (1985a), 27–39; Hassan (1976), 139, no. 15; Roeder (1924), 306; Anonymous (1899), 205, 209, 223.

197/USC ***Sty*** **Chief of Bowmen and Overseer of Horses**

Title(s) [F] *i̯m.y-r ssm.t ♦ ḥr.y-pḏ.t n.y nb tꜣ.wy*

Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp.* Tutankhamun (?)

Items **I. Reliefs**

1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. R94–83

Comments
- Found reused in the secondary staircase (seventh step) in the outer courtyard of the tomb of Pay (017/USC) and Raia (042/USC).
- Van Dijk (1995), 21 n. 25, indicates it is tempting to identify this official with the standard bearer of the regiment of Neferkheperure named Suty, who was the owner of a large and unfinished tomb at Amarna (no. 15).

Bibliography *PN* I, 321.17; Raven (2005), 47, pl. 79 [75]; Van Dijk (1995), 20–21.

198/USC ***Sty*** **Sword Bearer in [Front of] the King**

Title(s) [F] *ḫpšy m* [///] *nb tꜣ.wy* ♦ *ṯꜣy-ḏr.w n.y šn.w ḥḳꜣ m tꜣ.wy*

Date 19th Dynasty.

Items

IV. Stelae

1. Present location unknown

Comments Found reused in the monastery of Apa Jeremias.

Bibliography PM III/2, 667; Quibell (1909), 107–108, pl. 38.1–2.

199/USC ***Ky-irỉ*** **Overseer of Craftsmen of the King**

Title(s) [D] *ỉm.y-r ḥmw.t* ♦ *ỉm.y-r ḥmw.t /// pr.wy*[-ꜥꜣ] ♦ *ỉm.y-r ḥmw.w m pꜣ-ḫpš* ♦ *ỉm.y-r ḥmw.w n.w nb tꜣ.wy* ♦ *ḥr.y ḥmw.w* ♦ *ḥr.y ḥmw.w wrr.t n.y ///* ♦ *ḥr.y ḥmw.w n.w pꜣ-ḫpš* ♦ *ḥr.y ḥmw.w n.w nb tꜣ.wy*

Date 19th Dynasty.

Items

I. Reliefs

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 43275 a–g = SR 11793 (7 blocks)

2. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 43275 h–r = SR 11798 (11 blocks)

3. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 43275 s, t, u = SR 11799 (3 blocks)

4. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 17.6.24.9

III. Architectural elements

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, inv. no. unknown—2 *djed* pillars

Comments Found reused in the monastery of Apa Jeremias.

Bibliography PM III/2, 668; *PN* I, 343.6; Grajetzki (2001–2002), 111–125; Quibell (1912), 145, pls 67.1, 68.2–6, 69.1–4, 75.1–11, 76.1–11, 77.3–9, 78.1–7, 80.4–6, 8–9, 11.

200/USC ***Kss*** **?**

Title(s) [A] *ḥs.y n.y nb tꜣ.wy*

Date 19th Dynasty.

Items **IV. Stelae**

1. Saqqara Magazine, excav. no. 1999-R34 (rectangular stela, fragment)

Comments Found near the northeast corner of shaft 99/II, south of the south exterior wall of the inner courtyard of Horemheb (046/USC)

Bibliography Raven et al. (2011b), 60, no. 31, fig. on p. 61.

201/USC ***Twnry* (*Tl*) Overseer of Works on All Monuments of the King**

Title(s)
[A] *mnḫ n.y nb tꜣ.wy ♦ ḥs.y ꜥꜣ n.y nb tꜣ.wy ♦ ḥs.y n.y nṯr nfr*
[B] *ḥr.y wḏb ♦ ḥr.y-tp*
[C] *sš nsw ♦ sš ḥr.y-tp*
[D] *ỉm.y-r kꜣ.t m mn.w nb n.y nb tꜣ.wy ♦ ỉm.y-r kꜣ.t m mn.w nb n.y nsw.t ♦ ḫrp mn.w nb n.y nsw ḥr.y-tp*
[E] *ḫr.y-ḥb ḥr.y-tp ♦ sšm.w-ḥb n.y nṯr.w nb.w*

Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II.

Items

I. Reliefs

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 11335 = CG 34516—so-called *Table de Saqqara*, two-sided

II. Statues

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 8385 = CG 1105—naophorous statue (lower part)

IV. Stelae

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 18924 = CG 34516 B

V. Burial equipment

1. Brooklyn Museum 48.30.1–4—four canopic jars

Comments
– Tjunery is the brother of Paser (021/USC).
– The photographs of the *Table Royale de Sakkarah* published by De Rougé (1863–1864) were shot by Vicomte de Banville at Saqqara (Pasquali, 2017, 569), although clearly not *in situ*. De Rougé writes that one block belonging to this wall was "broken or lost". According to Auguste Mariette, the tomb was destroyed by Saqqara's Sheikh el-Beled, c. 1860.

Bibliography PM III/2, 666–667; *PN* I, 381.18; *KRI* III, 479–489; Pasquali (2017), 569, 571; Málek (1982); Borchardt (1934), 58–59; Mariette (1872), 18–19, pls 57b, 58; De Rougé (1863–1864), nos 143–145, 154.

202/USC ***Ḏḥw.ty* (*-?*) [Royal Butler?] Clean of Hands**

Title(s) **[B]** */// wꜥb ꜥ.wy*

Date Late 18th to 19th Dynasty.
Items **III. Architectural fragments**
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 77-S 65, 6886—pyramidion (fragment; limestone)

Comments Found at the tomb of Horemheb (046/USC), fill of the northern lateral chapel (B).
Bibliography Schneider (1996), 94 [NK 13], pl. 102.

203/USC ***NN*** **Captain of Sailors**
Title(s) [B] *ḥr.y nfw*
Date 19th Dynasty.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Saqqara Magazine (?)—fragment

Comments Found at the bottom of a sondage pit, southwest of the tomb of Horemheb (046/USC).
Bibliography Martin (1985), 17 [X], pl. 27.

204/USC ***NN*** **Steward of the Temple of Amun**
Title(s) [B] *ỉm.y-r pr ʾImn*
[C] *sš nsw*
Date Late 18th to 19th Dynasty (?)
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. (?)

III. Architectural elements
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. (?)—column (fragment)

Comments Found at the tomb of Ramose (039/USC), main shaft (relief) and at the tomb of Horemheb (046/USC) (column fragment).
Bibliography Martin (2012), 57, no. 36, pl. 67; Schneider (1996), 94 [NK 16].

205/USC ***NN*** **Quartermaster of the Army**
Title(s) [F] *wʿrtw.w n.w mšʿ*
Date Late 18th Dynasty.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 87–97 (upper half; two fragments, rejoined)

Comments Found at he tomb of Maya (028/USC), surface over the southern lateral chapel (A).
Bibliography Raven (2001), 22–23 [21], pl. 29.

206/USC ***NN*** **?**
Title(s) ?
Date Late 18th to 19th Dynasty.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation nos 87–419 and 88–192 (fragments, lower part)
Comments Found at the tomb of Maya (028/USC), statue chamber: surface and floor level, and southern lateral chapel (A), surface (7 fragments, rejoined).
Bibliography Raven (2001), 23 [22], pl. 27.

207/USC ***NN*** **Overseer of the *Wab* Priests of Sakhmet**
Title(s) **[A]** *ꜥḳ.w ỉr.ty nb mdw.w-nṯr ♦ mrr nb=f rꜥ nb ♦ /// ꜥḥ*
[E] *ỉm.y-r wꜥb.w Sḫm.t n.y nsw sḥtp.w ḥm.t=s rꜥ nb ♦ ḥr.y-tp wr m pr-ꜥnḫ ♦ /// n.y nšm.t*
Date Late 18th Dynasty.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation nos R94–71a–b—door jamb with reveal (fragments, rejoined)
Comments Found just outside the south wall of the inner courtyard of the tomb of Pay (017/USC).
Bibliography Raven (2005), 46–47 [74], pls 78–79; Van Dijk (1995), 20, pl. 8.4.

Teti Pyramid Cemetery: Tombs

208/TPC *ʿḥ(i)-p.t* **Overseer of Embalmers**
Tomb IFAO expedition, 1965–1966.
Title(s) [C] *sš nsw mȝʿ mr.y=f*
[E] *ỉm.y-r wt.w ♦ ỉm.y-r wt.w n.w nb tȝ.wy ♦ ḫr.y-ḥb ḫr.y-tp m pr.wy-nfr*
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II, after year 30.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Saqqara Magazine (no.?)—multiple fragments
III. Architectural elements
1. Saqqara Magazine (no. ?)—pillar (fragments)
2. Saqqara Magazine (no. ?)—column (fragment)
V. Burial equipment
1. Saqqara Magazine (no. ?)—sarcophagus
Bibliography PM III/2, 558–559; *PN* I, 71.3; Giddy (1992), 4, pls 2, 4; Málek (1985), fig. 10; Lauer (1976), 178–179 and n. 180, pl. 153; (1966), 32–34, pl. 4; Leclant (1968), 105, pls 18–19; (1967), 189, pls 26–28; (1966), 15, pl. 3.

209/TPC *ʾIi-nfr.t* **?**
Tomb No number.
Title(s) ?
Date 18th Dynasty.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Saqqara Magazine (?)
Bibliography *PN* I, 10.7; Abd el-Raziq/Krekeler (1986), 218, fig. 1, pl. 31.

210/TPC *ʾIʿḥ-ms* **Scribe of the Army of the King**
Tomb Loret no. 1, V. Loret, 1898, SCA expedition, 1990s.
Title(s) [C] *sš mšʿ n.y nb tȝ.wy*
Date Late 18th Dynasty.
Bibliography *PN* I, 12.19; Youssef (2017), 269–275, pls 150–154; Hawass (2000), fig. 8; Málek (1989a), 69; Loret (1899), 11.

211/TPC *ʾIpy* **Overseer of Honey Production of the Temple of Amun**
Tomb SCA expedition, 1990s.
Title(s) [B] *ḫr.y bỉ.tyw n.y pr ʾImn*
Date Late-18th Dynasty, *temp*. Tutankhamun.
Bibliography *PN* I, 23.2; Youssef (2017), 197–202, pls 95–99.

212/TPC *ʾIpwi;* **Chief of Goldsmiths of the King**

Tomb S 2730 (+ 2736?), J.E. Quibell/A.G.K. Hayter 1912–1914.

Title(s) [D] *ỉm.y-r ḥmw.w* ♦ *ḥr.y nby.w* ♦ *ḥr.y nbw.w n.w nb tȝ.wy*

Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Tutankhamun.

Items

I. Reliefs

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 44924
2. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 21.6.24.12
3. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 17.6.24.13
4. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 21.6.24.16 (2×)

II. Statues

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 44884 (wood)

IV. Stelae

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 44722
2. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 27.3.25.17

Bibliography PM III/2, 555–556, pl. 57; *PN* I, 23.26; Giddy (1992), 5, with n. 5 and pl. 4 (incorrect identification); Quibell/Hayter (1927), 10–11, 32–36, pls 2, 8–14.

213/TPC *ʾImn-m-ỉn.t* **Chief of Craftsmen of the King**

Tomb Loret no. 2, V. Loret, 1898–1899; Macquarie University expedition, 1995–1996.

Title(s) [D] *ỉm.y-r ḥmw.t n.t nb tȝ.wy* ♦ *ḥr.y nbw.w n.w nb tȝ.wy*

Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Tutankhamun.

Items

I. Reliefs

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 11913
2. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 11975 = TN 5.7.24.15
3. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 17.6.25.1a–e
4. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 29.6.24.8
5. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 27.6.24.2
6. Munich, Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst Gl. 298

II. Statues

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 8.6.24.10—dyad

III. Architectural elements

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 41665—pyramidion
2. Paris, Musée du Louvre B 48 = E 3028 = N 151 = IM 2614—pilaster

IV Stelae

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 10.6.24.8 = SR 11732

Bibliography PM III/2, 552–553, 820; *PN* I, 27.22; Assem (2006), 63–66, pl. 15; Ockinga (2004); (2000), 121–132; Graefe (1988), 49–53; Berlandini-Grenier (1976), 301–316; Loret (1899), 11.

214/TPC ***ʾImn-mȝ*** **Guardian of the House (Palace) of His Majesty**
Tomb C.R. Lepsius, 1843.
Title(s) [B] *sȝw.ty n.y pr ḥm=f*
Date 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Thutmosis IV–Amenhotep III.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7320
Bibliography PM III/2, 557; *PN* I, 29.5; LD *Text*, I, 146, 154, 156; Gessler-Löhr (2007a), 71–72, pl. 5.

215/TPC ***Pȝ-n-ʾImn*** **Overseer of Craftsmen**
Tomb Loret no. 3, V. Loret, 1898.
Title(s) [C] *sš nsw*
[D] *ỉm.y-r ḥmw.w wr*
Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Tutankhamun.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. New York, Brooklyn Museum 37.1486E
Bibliography PM III/2, 735; *PN* I, 106.8; *NYHS Cat.*, 13, No. 179; Gessler-Löhr (2007a), 75 with n. 84; Kitchen (1979), 275; James (1974), 177–178, pls 13 [434], 86; Werbrouck (1938), 91; Loret (1899), 11.

216/TPC ***Pȝ-ḥȝ-rw*** **Chief of Goldworkers**
Tomb SCA expedition, 1990s (= Loret shaft no. 55?)
Title(s) [D] *ḥr.y nby.w*
Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Tutankhamun.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Present location unknown (ex-coll. Massara, Cairo)
2. Saqqara Magazine, no. unknown
Bibliography PM III/2, 748–749; LD *Text*, I, 17; Youssef (2017), pls 110–113.

217/TPC ***Ptḥ-mʿy*** ***Wab*** **Priest of the *Heret* of the Lord of Truth**
Tomb TNM New Kingdom Tomb no. 2, Macquarie University expedition, 2008.
Title(s) [E] *wʿb ♦ wʿb ḥr.t n.yt nb mȝʿ.t ♦ fȝỉ wr.t sȝ.t n.t Ptḥ ♦ ḫr.y-(ḥb) n.y Ptḥ*
Date Early 19th Dynasty.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. TNE 95: F116p
2. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. TNE 94/5 F24
3. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. TNE 96: 122
4. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. TNE 96: 199 (same man named Ptahmay?)

II. Statues

1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 2297—group statue

IV. Stelae

1. Turin, Museo Egizio cat. 1572—round-topped stela surmounted by a pyramidion

VI. Offering tables

1. Paris, Musée du Louvre N 388 = CC 254 = D 36 = Denon no. 135—offering stand

Bibliography *PN* I, 140.6; Ockinga (2012), 379–385, fig. 1; (2004), 107–109, 115; Vercoutter (1945), 54–63, figs 9, 11–14; Maspero (1883), 141; Fabretti et al. (1882), 157.

218/TPC ***Mʿḥw*** **Guardian of the Treasury of Memphis**

Tomb Loret no. 6 (with shaft no. 49), V. Loret 1898–1899.

Title(s) [B] *ḥr.y sṯw.ty pr-ḥḏ n.y Mn-nfr ♦ nḏ snṯr n.y ʾImn-Rʿ n.y nṯr.w nb.w ʾInb.w-ḥḏ n.y psḏ.t n.y pr nsw ♦ sṯw.ty pr-ḥḏ*

Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp.* Amenhotep III.

Items

I. Reliefs

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 33258
2. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 33260

III. Architectural elements

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 33259—door jamb

IV. Stelae

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 33256

VI. Offering tables

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 23257 = CG 23094

Bibliography PM III/2, 556; *PN* I, 163.24–25; Gessler-Löhr (2007a), 76–80 (with additional references), figs 3–4, pls 12–16; Kamal (1909), 81, pl. 20; Gauthier (1906), 41–42; Loret (1899), 96.

219/TPC ***Mr-nḫt*** **?**

Tomb S 2720, J.E. Quibell/A.G.K. Hayter 1912–1914.

Title(s) ?

Date 18th/19th Dynasty.

Items

I. Reliefs

1. Saqqara Magazine (?)

III. Architectural elements

1. Saqqara Magazine (?)—jamb

Bibliography PM III/2, 557; Quibell/Hayter (1927), 11, pl. 2.

220/TPC ***Mry-ꜣ* [*Mry-Ḥr*] Merchant**
Tomb S 2727, J.E. Quibell/A.G.K. Hayter 1912–1914.
Title(s) [B] *šw.ty*
Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Tutankhamun.
Items **1. Reliefs**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 44926
2. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 44928
3. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 3.7.24.2
4. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 44925 (found with TN 3.7.24.2; 18th Dynasty or Ramesside)
5. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 44929 (id.)
6. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 44930 (id.)

Bibliography PM III/2, 557; *PN* I, 161.6; Quibell/Hayter (1927), 11, 36–37, pls 16–18.

221/TPC ***Mry-Rᶜ* Head of Guardians**
Tomb LS 8, C.R. Lepsius, 1843.
Title(s) [B] *ḥr.y sꜣw.ty*(*w*)
Date 19th Dynasty.
Items **1. Reliefs**
Present location unknown (various blocks)
Comments In spring 1843, C.R. Lepsius noted that this tomb had been excavated by S. Fernandez, and that only a few blocks had remained. Lepsius copied two of the blocks that had remained in the tomb.
Bibliography PM III/2, 556; *PN* I, 160.23; LD *Text*, I, 144, pl. 33.

222/TPC ***Ms* Scribe of the Treasury of Ptah**
Tomb Loret no. 5, V. Loret, 1898; SCA expedition, 1990s.
Title(s) [A] *ḥs.y* ///
[B] *rwḏ mntỉ m pr Ptḥ*
[C] *sš* [*wr*] *m ỉꜣ.t=f ỉp ỉb m mdw-nṯr* ♦ *sš pr-ḥḏ* ♦ *sš pr–ḥḏ n.y Ptḥ* ♦ *sš n.y Ptḥ* ♦ *sš ḥsb ḥtp.w-nṯr n.w nṯr.w nb.w ỉnb.w-ḥḏ* ♦ *sš ḥsb ḥḏ-nbw n.y psḏ.t ᶜꜣ.t* ♦ *sš ḥsb ḫ.t nb.t n.yt nb Mꜣᶜ.t* ♦ *sš ḥḏ-nbw n.w nb Mꜣᶜ.t*
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II, late.
Items **1. Reliefs**
1. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1974.315
2. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 25.1.15.7
3. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 17.6.25.5

4. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 22.5.25.1
5. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 17.5.25.1
6. Barcelona, private collection (possibly from Mose's tomb)
7. Hannover, Museum August Kestner 1935.200.190
8. Hannover, Museum August Kestner 1935.200.191
9. Saqqara Magazine—11 relief-decorated blocks (SCA expedition, 1990s)

III. Architectural elements

1. Saqqara Magazine—3 blocks
2. Sydney, Chau Chak Wing Museum, The University of Sydney (Nicholson Collection) NMR 1131–1133; 1134.1, 4; 1135, 1137—7 *djed* pillar fragments (blocks)

V. Burial equipment

1. Saqqara Magazine—4 canopic jars

Comments A relative of Tatia (056/USC).

Bibliography PM III/2, 553–555, pl. 57; *PN* I, 164.18; Youssef (2017), 240–264, pls 127–145; Oeters (2017); (2012); Pieke (2016); Orsenigo (2013), 167–171, pls 25–26; Piacentini/Orsenigo (2009), 83–102; Hawass (2003), 154–155, with fig. on p. 157; Drenkhahn (1989), 122–124, figs. 41–41; Málek (1981), 157–165; Gaballa (1977a); Anthes (1940), 93–119, pls 17–18; Gauthier (1935), 206; Loret (1899), 11–12; Nicholson (1891), 93–112, pls 1–4.

223/TPC ***Nb-ʿn-sw*** **Guardian of the "Splendour of the Aten"**

Tomb Loret shaft no. 6 (?), V. Loret 1898–1899.

Title(s) [B] *sꜣw.ty n.y ʾItn-ṯḥn*

Date 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III, second half.

Items **IV. Stelae**

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 33107 = CG 34055

Bibliography PM III/2, 557; *PN* I, 183.25; Gessler-Löhr (2007a), 72–73, no. 6, pl. 7; Johnson (1998), 75–77; Bryan (1990), 72–73, pl. 18, fig. 3; Lacau (1909–1916), 98–99, pl. 33.

224/TPC ***Nfr-ḥr*** **?**

Tomb SCA expedition, 1990s.

Title(s) ?

Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III.

Items **I. Reliefs**

1. Saqqara Magazine—two relief-decorated blocks

III. Architectural elements
1. Saqqara Magazine—two doorjambs
IV. Stelae
1. Saqqara Magazine—rectangular stela

Bibliography *PN* I, 198.6; Youssef (2017), 43–59, pls 44–51.

225/TPC ***Nfr-rnp.t*** **?**
Tomb SCA expedition, 1990s.
Title(s) ?
Date Early 19th Dynasty.
Bibliography *PN* I, 197.18; Youssef (2017), 266–268, pls 146–149.

226/TPC ***Rˁ-ms-s(w)-wsr-ḫpš*** **Royal Scribe**
Tomb J.E. Quibell, 1906–1907.
Title(s) [A] *ṯzy-ḫw ḥr wnm.y n.y nsw*
[C] *sš nsw*
Date 19th Dynasty.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Quibell (1908), 4, makes note of "… a considerable number of pieces of inscription." It is unclear where these pieces are located today.
II. Statues
1. Saqqara, magazine (?)—kneeling statue, lower half

Bibliography Giddy (1992), 4–5; Quibell (1908), 1, 4–6, 80, pls 4, 37.2–3.

227/TPC ***Ḥꜣ.t-ỉꜣy*** **Chief of Makers of Lapis Lazuli**
Tomb SCA expedition, 1990s.
Title(s) [D] *ỉr.w ḫsbḏ* ♦ *ḥr.y ỉr.w ḫsbḏ*
Date Late 18th Dynasty.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 25641

Bibliography *PN* I, 233.2; Youssef (2017), 220–227, pls 114–121; Gaballa (1979c), 46, fig. 2, pl. 2.

228/TPC ***Ḥꜣ.t-ỉꜣy*** **Chief of Craftsmen of Ptah**
Tomb SCA expedition, 1990s.
Title(s) [D] *ḥr.y ḫmw.w n.y Ptḥ*
Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Tutankhamun.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Saqqara Magazine—10 relief-decorated blocks

IV. Stelae

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 2.11.24.1 (cult stela)
2. Saqqara Magazine—various fragments (stela with sun hymn)

Bibliography *PN* I, 233.2; Youssef (2017), 129–189, pls 75–92; Pasquali (2017), 577; Gaballa (1979c), 47–49, fig. 3, pl. 3; Mariette (1880), 379–380, no. 1054.

229/TPC ***Ḥwy*** **Scribe of the Army of the King**

Tomb. No. LS 12, C.R. Lepsius, 1843; S 2735, J.E. Quibell 1912–1914.

Title(s) [A] *ḥs.y n.y nṯr nfr*

[C] *sš mšʿ n.y nb tȝ.wy ♦ sš nsw ♦ sš nsw n.y nb tȝ.wy*

Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Ay–Horemheb.

Items

I. Reliefs

1. Present location unknown
2. Saqqara Magazine (?)
3. Saqqara Magazine, TNE 94/5: F93
4. Saqqara Magazine, TNE 94: F117

II. Statues

1. Present location unknown unknown—fragments of a statue group, from tomb no. S 2721 (sandstone)
2. Saqqara Magazine—dyad statue

III. Architectural elements

1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 2087—jamb fragment
2. Saqqara Magazine (?)—doorjamb, entrance (found *in situ*)
3. Saqqara Magazine TNE 94: F118
4. Saqqara, on-site magazine, tomb of Ankhmahor—4 papyriform columns
5. Saqqara Magazine—pyramidion

V. Burial equipment

Saqqara Magazine—various shabtis

Comments S 2735 (LS 12, incorrectly placed), see PM III/2, 556.

Bibliography PM III/2, 556; *PN* I, 233.18; Gunn, *Notebook* 8, no. 67 (texts), *Text*, I, 161; Youssef (2017), 202–210, pls 100–109; Ockinga (2012), 374–377, figs 1–3; (2004), 110, pls 37b, 81g; Martin (1987a), no. 10, pl. 4; Abd el-Raziq/Krekeler (1986), 218, fig. 1; Wenig (1974), 239–245; Quibell/Hayter (1927), 20–21, pl. 2.

230/TPC ***Ḥwy*** **Head of Merchants of the Temple of the Aten**

Tomb A. Mariette, 04.1860; SCA expedition, 1990s.

Title(s) [E] *ḥr.y šw.ty* ♦ *ḥr.y šw.tyw n.w tꜣ ḥw.t pꜣ ỉtn* ♦ *šw.ty n.y tꜣ ḥw.t pꜣ ỉtn*

Date 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten.

Items

I. Reliefs

1. Saqqara Magazine—two relief-decorated blocks

III. Architectural ellements

1. Saqqara Magazine—two door jambs

IV. Stelae

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 10174 = CG 34182

Bibliography PM III/2, 737; *PN* I, 233.18; Youssef (2017), 83–105, pls 56–64; Pasquali (2017), 569; (2011), 78–79, doc. B.19; Ockinga/Binder (2013), 506–509; Löhr (1975), 176–178, Dok. III.3; Lacau (1909–1916), 222–224, pl. 69; Mariette (1872), 18, pl. 56b.

231/TPC ***Ḥrỉ*** **Royal Butler**

Tomb C.M. Firth, 1920s.

Title(s) [B] *wbꜣ nsw*

Date 20th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses III/IV (or later).

Items

I. Reliefs

1. Gunn, *Notebook* 6, Nos 4, 13—relief fragment

IV. Stelae

1. Neuchâtel, Musée d'Ethnographie Eg.428

Comments Nakhtamun (327/TPC) was the head of servants of the Royal butler Hori (Neuchâtel Eg.428).

Bibliography PM III/2, 751; *PN* I, 251.8; Málek (1988), 125–136.

232/TPC ***Ḥḳꜣ-mꜣʿ.t-Rʿ-nḥḥ*** **Royal Butler of the King**

Tomb C.M. Firth, 1924–1927.

Title(s) [B] *wbꜣ nsw n.y nb tꜣ.wy* ♦ */// tp.y n.y pr-ʿꜣ ʿ.w.s. / /// tp.y n.y ḥm=f* ♦ *ỉm.y-r ʿḫnw.ty n.y nb tꜣ.wy*

Perhaps also associated with the chapel of this individual:

[A] [*tꜣy-ḫw*] *ḥr wnm.y n.y nsw*

[B] *ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ*

Date 20th Dynasty.

Items Present location unknown.

Bibliography PM III/2, 558; Giddy (1992), 5; Málek (1989b), 7 (tomb A3); (1985), 43–60, pls 2–5; Gunn MSS 19 [4–6], *Notebook* 6, nos 21 [8], 61, 63.

233/TPC ***Ḥʿy*** **True Scribe of the Accounting**
Tomb Burial no. 358; J.E. Quibell, 1907–1908.
Title(s) [C] *sš mꜣʿ n.y tp-ḥsb*
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Seti I.
Items **VII. Varia**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 39925 = CG 68001—senet game
Comments Intact mat-burial (present location unknown).
Bibliography *PN* I, 265.7; Pusch (1979), 299–302 (Br. 5), pl. 76; Quibell (1909), 21, 114, fig. 4 (p. 19), pls 58–59.

234/TPC ***Ḳn-ḥr-ḥpš=f*** **(Royal) Butler**
Tomb Chapel with shaft no. 332; J.E. Quibell, 1906–1907.
Title(s) [B] */// s.t šʿ.t ♦ wbꜣ*
Date Ramesside.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Saqqara Magazine (?)—stela fragment, lower part
Comments Reused in the TIP.
Bibliography PM III/2, 559; *PN* I, 334.23; Gunn, Notebook 8, no. 61; Giddy (1992), 4–5, pl. 4; Málek (1985), fig. 10; Kitchen (1979b), fig. 14; Quibell (1908), 1, 4–6, 80, pls 4, 37.1.

235/TPC ***Tyꜣy*** **(*Ty*)** **?**
Tomb Loret shaft no. 52; V. Loret, 1898.
Title(s) ?
Date 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III.
Items **V. Burial equipment**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 33172 = CG 48500 = Loret NI 116A—shabti
2. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 33176 = CG 48501 = Loret NI 118—model coffin with funerary statuette
Comments Loret: family tomb with eleven coffins, "poor" funerary equipment. Loret mentions 20 vessels, with some paint-decorated limestone vessels imitating more valuable stone vessels. The burial equipment is comparable to that of the scribe Pamerihu (344/TPC), *temp*. Amenhotep III.
Bibliography *PN* I, 377.22; Gessler-Löhr (2007a), 74–75, with nn 72–80, pls 10–11; Newberry (1937–1957), 379–380, pls 15.380, 30; Loret (1899), 96–97.

236/TPC ***T̲ȝy*** **Scribe of the Storeroom**
Tomb Loret no. 4; V. Loret 1898.
Title(s) [C] *sš n.y ꜥ.t ḥnḳ.t*
Date 19th Dynasty, first half.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 34542 = TN 22.11.24.9 = SR 13463
Bibliography PM III/2, 553; *PN* I, 388.11; Assem (2012b), 185–190; Gessler-Löhr (2007a), 74, with n. 70, pl. 9; Helck (1958), 254ff., 258; Loret (1899), 95.

237/TPC ***T̲ȝy*** **Overseer of Horses of the King**
Tomb Loret shaft no. 8–11 (?); V. Loret, 1898.
Title(s) [B] *šms.w nsw*
[C] *sš nsw ♦ sš nsw mȝꜥ mr.y=f*
[F] *ỉm.y-r ssm.t n.yt nb tȝ.wy*
Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp.* Amenhotep III.
Items **II. Statues**
1. Luxor Museum = Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 33255 = Loret NI 197
Comments Ebony statue, found wrapped in linen with plaster.
Bibliography PM III/2, 553; *PN* I, 388.11; Binder (2008), 344–345, no. 218 (as owner of tomb Loret no. 4, and post-Amarna); Gessler-Löhr (2007a), 73–74, with nn 66–71, pl. 8; Loret (1899), 99.

238/TPC ***D̲ḥw.ty-m-ḥb*** **Royal Scribe**
Tomb SCA expedition, 1990s.
Title(s) [A] *ḥs.y n.y nṯr nfr*
[C] *sš ♦ sš nsw*
Date Early 19th Dynasty.
Bibliography Youssef (2017), 191–196, pls 93–94.

239/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb S 2732; J.E. Quibell/A.G.K. Hayter, 1912–1914.
Title(s) ?
Date New Kingdom (?)
Bibliography Quibell/Hayter (1927), 11, pl. 2.

240/TPC ***NN*** **Royal-letter Scribe**
Tomb LS 13; C.R. Lepsius, 1843.

Title(s) [C] *sš nsw šʿ.t*
Date New Kingdom (?)
Items Unknown; present location unknown.
Bibliography PM III/2, 558; LD *Text*, I, 161.

241/TPC ***NN*** ***?***
Tomb LS 11, C.R. Lepsius, 1843; S 2733; J.E. Quibell/A.G.K. Hayter, 1912–1914.
Title(s) ?
Date New Kingdom.
Bibliography LD *Text*, I, 145 ("*Stein Grabkammer*"), 161; Abd el-Raziq/Krekeler (1986), fig. 1 (shaft SPP-a); Quibell/Hayter (1927), II, pl. 2.

242/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb TNM New Kingdom Tomb no. 1; Macquarie University expedition, 1994–1995.
Title(s) ?
Date Late 18th Dynasty.
Bibliography Ockinga (2012), 372–374, fig. 1; Kanawati (2006), pl. 68.

243/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb TNM New Kingdom Tomb no. 3; Macquarie University expedition, 2008.
Title(s) ?
Date Late 18th Dynasty.
Bibliography Ockinga (2012), 377–379, fig. 1.

244/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb TNM New Kingdom Tomb no. 4; Macquarie University expedition, 2010.
Title(s) ?
Date Late 18th Dynasty.
Comments Below the surface of the tomb's courtyard were found three earlier coffins, one of which dates to the reign of Thutmosis III (CF56).
Bibliography Ockinga (2011), 126, 131–133, 137–138, fig. 2.

245/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Tomb shaft no. 333; J.E. Quibell.
Title(s) ?

Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Quibell (1908), pl. 4.

246/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Tomb shaft no. 334; J.E. Quibell.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Quibell (1908), pl. 4.

247/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Tomb shaft no. 338; J.E. Quibell.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Sykora (2016); Quibell (1908), pls 1, 4, 34.2–3.

248/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Tomb shaft no no.; J.E. Quibell.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Quibell (1908), pl. 4.

249/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Loret shaft no. 71.
Title(s) ?
Date New Kingdom.
Bibliography Quibell/Hayter (1927), pl. 2; Loret (1899), pl. 1.

250/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb SCA expedition, 1990s.
Title(s) ?
Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Tutankhamun (?)
Bibliography Youssef (2017), pls 9, 11, 12; Hawass (2003), 154–155, fig. on p. 156.

251/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb SCA expedition, 1990s.
Title(s) ?
Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Tutankhamun (?)
Bibliography Youssef (2017), pls 9–12.

252/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb SCA expedition, 1990s.
Title(s) ?
Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Tutankhamun (?)
Bibliography Youssef (2017), pls 9, 11, 12.

253/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb SCA expedition, 1990s.
Title(s) ?
Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Tutankhamun (?)
Bibliography Youssef (2017), pls 9–12.

254/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb SCA expedition, 1990s.
Title(s) ?
Date Late 18th Dynasty (?)
Bibliography Youssef (2017), pl. 12.

255/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb SCA expedition, 1990s.
Title(s) ?
Date New Kingdom.
Bibliography Youssef (2017), pl. 12.

256/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Chapel to north of shaft BEU; EES expedition, 1980s.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Giddy (1992), 3, pls 3–5.

257/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Chapel in Area 5 north; EES expedition, 1980s.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Giddy (1992), 3–4, pls 3–5.

258/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Tomb shaft AQT; EES expedition, 1980s.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Giddy (1992), 3, pls 3–5.

259/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Tomb shaft BEU; EES expedition, 1980s.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Giddy (1992), 3, pls 3–5.

260/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Tomb shaft ASN; EES expedition, 1980s.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Giddy (1992), 3, pls 3–5.

261/TPC ***NN*** ***?***
Tomb EES expedition, 1980s.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Giddy (1992), 3, pls 3–5.

262/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb "Undesignated shaft"; EES expedition, 1980s.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Giddy (1992), 3, pls 3–5.

263/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb EES expedition, 1980s.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Giddy (1992), 3, pls 3–5.

264/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Tomb shaft ASQ; EES expedition, 1980s.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Giddy (1992), 3, pls 3–5.

265/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Service des Antiquités (C.M. Firth), 1922–1923.
Title(s) ?
Date New Kingdom.

Comments Tomb shaft partly cut into the eastern façade of the mastaba of Khentika. No traces have been recorded of the associated superstructure.
Bibliography James (1953), pls 1, 4.

266/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Tomb shaft.
Title(s) ?
Date New Kingdom.
Comments Tomb shaft cut into the structure of an Old Kingdom tomb directly south of Siankhuptah. No traces have been recorded of the associated superstructure.
Bibliography Abd el-Raziq/Krekeler (1986), fig. 1.

267/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Tomb shaft.
Title(s) ?
Date New Kingdom.
Comments Abd el-Raziq/Krekeler (1987), fig. 1, mark the shaft as that of Huy (229/TPC, LS 12, Quibell S 2735). This cannot be the case, because it lies too far west to possibly belong to Huy's tomb.
Bibliography Abd el-Raziq/Krekeler (1986), fig. 1.

268/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Loret shaft no. 70.
Title(s) ?
Date New Kingdom.
Comments Shaft in the west end of the pillared hall (Room VI) of the mastaba of Ankhmahor.
Bibliography Loret (1899).

269/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Loret shaft no. 66.
Title(s) ?
Date New Kingdom.
Comments Shaft cut into the mastaba of Neferseshemptah.
Bibliography Loret (1899).

270/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Loret shaft no. 65.

Title(s) ?
Date New Kingdom.
Comments Shaft cut into the mastaba of Neferseshemptah.
Bibliography Loret (1899).

271/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Loret shaft no. 63.
Title(s) ?
Date New Kingdom.
Comments Shaft cut into the mastaba of Neferseshemptah.
Bibliography Loret (1899).

272/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Loret shaft no. 61.
Title(s) ?
Date New Kingdom.
Comments Shaft cut into the mastaba of Neferseshemptah.
Bibliography Loret (1899).

273/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb No number.
Title(s) ?
Date New Kingdom.
Comments Shaft cut into Mastaba E.
Bibliography Firth/Gunn (1926), pl. 51.

274/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Loret shaft no. 56.
Title(s) ?
Date 19th Dynasty (?)
Bibliography Loret (1899), pl. 1.

275/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Loret shaft no. 12.
Title(s) ?
Date New Kingdom.
Bibliography Loret (1899), pl. 1.

276/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Loret shaft no. 10.

Title(s) ?
Date New Kingdom.
Bibliography Loret (1899), pl. 1.

277/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Loret shaft no. 2.
Title(s) ?
Date New Kingdom.
Bibliography Loret (1899), pl. 1.

278/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Loret shaft no. 18.
Title(s) ?
Date New Kingdom.
Bibliography Loret (1899), pl. 1.

279/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Loret shaft no. 79.
Title(s) ?
Date New Kingdom.
Bibliography Loret (1899), pl. 1.

280/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Loret shaft no. 24.
Title(s) ?
Date New Kingdom.
Bibliography Loret (1899), pl. 1.

281/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Loret shaft no. 53.
Title(s) ?
Date New Kingdom.
Bibliography Loret (1899), pl. 1.

282/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb SCA expedition, 1990s.
Title(s) ?
Date New Kingdom.
Bibliography Youssef (2017), pl. 12.

283/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb SCA expedition, 1990s.
Title(s) ?
Date New Kingdom.
Bibliography Youssef (2017), pl. 12.

284/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb SCA expedition, 1990s.
Title(s) ?
Date New Kingdom.
Bibliography Youssef (2017), pl. 12.

285/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb SCA expedition, 1990s.
Title(s) ?
Date New Kingdom.
Bibliography Youssef (2017), pl. 12.

286/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb SCA expedition, 1990s.
Title(s) ?
Date New Kingdom.
Bibliography Youssef (2017), pl. 12.

287/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb SCA expedition, 1990s.
Title(s) ?
Date New Kingdom.
Bibliography Youssef (2017), pl. 12.

504/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Tomb shaft no number.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Quibell (1909), 19–22, fig. 4.

505/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Tomb shaft 359.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Quibell (1909), 19–22, fig. 4.

506/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Tomb shaft 354.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Quibell (1909), 19–22, fig. 4.

507/TPC ***P3-sr*** **?**
Tomb Tomb shaft 381.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside (*temp*. Ramesses II?)
Comments One of the two burial chambers contained funerary equipment, including 75 shabtis inscribes with the name Paser, and a calcite vase incised with the name of Ramesses II.
Bibliography Quibell (1909), 19–22, fig. 4.

508/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Tomb shaft 385.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Bibliography Quibell (1909), 19–22, fig. 4.

509/TPC ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Tomb shaft 375.
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside.
Comments With the remains of a tomb chapel, incl. column and pillar bases and wall blocks.
Bibliography Quibell (1909), 19–22, fig. 4.

Teti Pyramid Cemetery: Decontextualised Tomb Elements

288/TPC ***/// r-nḥḥ*** **Chief of Serfs**
Title(s) [B] *ḫr.y mr.t*
Date Late 18th Dynasty.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Saqqara Magazine (TNM: B13)—stela fragment
Bibliography Ockinga (2012), 385–388, fig. 5.

289/TPC ***ʾIi̯ꜣ*** **?**
Title(s) ?
Date New Kingdom.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Present location unknown (several blocks)
Comments Found north of tomb of Merya (220/TPC).
Bibliography Quibell/Hayter (1927), 36, pl. 15.

290/TPC ***ʾIḥ-ms*** **Overseer of the Treasury**
Title(s) [B] *ỉm.y-r pr* ♦ *ỉm.y-r pr.wy-ḥḏ*
[C] *sš nsw* ♦ *wr dỉ.w* (5) *m pr Ḏḥwtỉ.ty*
Date 19th Dynasty.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Saqqara Magazine 4/Serapeum Lesser Vaults no. ?
II. Statues
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 42 = CG 38411
Comments The find spot, reused in the Serapeum, suggests that the tomb stood in the vicinity, perhaps in the way of he later Serapeum Way.
Bibliography PM III/2, 819; *PN* I, 12.19; Ibrahim Aly (2000), 229–230, pl. 31a; Daressy (1906), 108–109, pl. 21.

291/TPC ***ʾIpi̯y*** **Deputy Administrator of Memphis**
Title(s) [A] *ḥs.y n.y Ptḥ nb Mi̯ʿ.t*
[B] *ỉdn.w wʿ.w n.y Mn-nfr*
Date Ramesside.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Present location unknown (C.M. Firth, 1920s)
Bibliography PM III/2, 572; Gunn, *Notebook* 6, no. 16 (text only); Málek (1989b), 4 (block D2).

292/TPC ***ʾImn-wꜣḥ-sw*** **Scribe of the Altar of the King**
Title(s) [C] *sš wdḥ.w n.y nb tꜣ.wy*
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Seti I.
Items **II. Statues**
1. Marseille, Musée de la Vieille Charité 211—naos-shaped pedestal with Osiris
Bibliography PM III/2, 729; *PN* I, 27.2; Van Dijk (1993), 85–98; Martin (1987a), 30–31, no. 74, pl. 27; Nelson/Piérini (1978), 33, fig. 64; Naville (1887), 69–72, pl. 4.

293/TPC ***ʾImn-m-ỉp.t / Nw.w*** **? / Lady of the House**
Title(s) Amenemopet: ?
Nuu: *nb.t pr*
Date 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Thutmosis IV/Amenhotep III.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet 11443
Bibliography PM III/2, 572; *PN* I, 27.18; Gessler-Löhr (2007a), 69, pl. 3.

294/TPC ***ʾImn-m-ḫꜣt*** **Overseer of Horses**
Title(s) [F] *ỉm.y-r ssm.t*
Date Late 18th Dynasty.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Present location unknown (last seen with Tano, art dealer in Cairo)
Comments It is uncertain whether the stela marked a tomb (C.M. Firth, 1920s).
Bibliography PM III/2, 572; *PN* I, 28.8; Gunn, MSS, XIX 2[2], *Notebook*, 7, no. 41; Málek (1992), 68 (S5), pl. 6 [1, 2]; (1989b), 5 (stela C1).

295/TPC ***ʾImn-m-ḫꜣt*** **Chief Goldsmith**
Title(s) [D] *ḥr.y nby.w*
Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Grenoble, Musée des Beaux-Arts no. 20, inv. 1963
Comments The element *ʾImn* in the name of the tomb owner has been erased.
Bibliography *PN* I, 28.8; Gourlay (1979), 87–94, pl. 35; Kueny/Yoyotte (1979), 37, cat. 20, fig. on pp. 38–39; Moret (1919), 166–169.

296/TPC *ỉry-ỉry* **Sculptor**
Title(s) [D] *gnw.ty / ḳs.ty*
Date New Kingdom.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Present location unknown (C.M. Firth, 1920s)
Bibliography PM III/2, 572; *PN* I, 41.9; Gunn MSS, XV.2.6 (text only); Málek (1989b), 5 (block? D3).

297/TPC *ỉt=f-nfr* **?**
Title(s) ?
Date ?
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Present location unknown (C.M. Firth, 1920s)
Bibliography PM III/2, 572; PN I, 50.22; Gunn, *Notebook* 7, no. 46 (text only); Málek (1989b), 5 (stela C3).

298/TPC *ꜣ-n-mw* **Royal Scribe**
Title(s) [C] *sš nsw mꜣꜥ mr.y=f*
Date Late 18th to 19th Dynasty.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Saqqara Magazine 4/Serapeum Lesser Vaults no. ? (relief fragment)
Comments Found reused at the Serapeum. The find spot suggests that the tomb stood in the vicinity, perhaps in the way of he later Serapeum Way.
Bibliography Ibrahim Aly (2000), 230–231, pl. 31b.

299/TPC *ḥꜣ-ꜣ* *Wab* **Priest**
Title(s) [E] *wꜥb*
Date Ramesside.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Present location unknown (C.M. Firth, 1920s)
III. Architectural elements
1. Present location unknown—cornice (C.M. Firth, 1920s)
Bibliography PM III/2, 572; *PN* I, 44.8; Gunn, MSS. XIX.7 [1] (photo), *Notebook* 6, no. 10; 8, no. 63; Málek (1989b), 5 (cornice D1a; block D23).

300/TPC *Wn.f-ḏd.sn* **Royal Butler**
Title(s) [B] *wbꜣ nsw n.y nb tꜣ.wy* ♦ *wbꜣ nsw tp.y* (*n.y*) *ḫm=f*
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II.

Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 24.981—6 blocks
Bibliography PM III/2, 572; Dunham (1935), 149–150, pl. 18; Málek (1989b), 5 (shabtis G6: same person?); Martin (1987a), 35–36, no. 86, pl. 33.

301/TPC ***Wsr-ʾImn*** **?**
Title(s) ?
Date Late 18th to 19th Dynasty.
Items **II. Statues**
1. Stored inside the mastaba of Ankhmahor, no number—dyad
Bibliography *PN* I, 85.8; Martin (1981), 307–314, pls 48–49.

302/TPC ***Pꜣy*** **?**
Title(s) ?
Date ?
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Present location unknown (C.M. Firth, 1920s)
Bibliography PM III/2, 572; Gunn, *Notebook* 7, no. 40 (name); Málek (1989b), 5 (stela C7).

303/TPC ***Pꜣ*[*-n*]*-ʾImn*** **?**
Title(s) ?
Date Late 18th to 19th Dynasty.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. TNE 95: F109
Bibliography *PN* I, 106.8; Ockinga (2004), 110–111, pls 38a, 80a.

304/TPC ***Pꜣ-n-mḥy*(*t*)** ***Wab*** **Priest, Sculptor of Osiris Lord of Abydos**
Title(s) [D] *ṯꜣy-mḏꜣ.t n.yt Wsir nb ꜣbḏw*
[E] *wʿb*
Date New Kingdom.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Present location unknown (C.M. Firth, 1920s)
Bibliography PM III/2, 572; *PN* I, 108.15; Gunn, *Notebook* 6, no. 15 (text only); Málek (1989b), 5 (relief D7).

305/TPC ***Pꜣ-n-ns.wt-tꜣ.wy*** **Troop-commander of the Temple of Ptah**
Title(s) [F] *ḫr.y-pḏ.t n.y pr Ptḥ*
Date New Kingdom.

Items **III. Architectural elements**
1. Saqqara Magazine 4/Serapeum Lesser Vaults No. (?)—*djed* pillar

Comments The find spot, reused in the Serapeum, suggests that the tomb stood in the vicinity, perhaps in the way of he later Serapeum Way.

Bibliography *PN* I, 109.9; Ibrahim Aly (2000), 223–226, pl. 30a–d.

306/TPC ***Pꜣ-sr* (*?*) ?**

Tomb Shaft no. 381, J.E. Quibell, 1907–1908.

Title(s) ?

Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II (?)

Items **V. Burial equipment**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum (?)—tomb furniture, incl. 75 shabtis

Comments Found at the temple area of the pyramid of Teti.

Bibliography *PN* I, 117.12–13; Quibell (1909), 21, fig. 4, pl. 58.5.

307/TPC ***Pi.y*** **Troop Commander of the Merchants of the House of Merenptah Hetephermaat**

Title(s) [B] *ḥr.y-pḏ.t* [*n.y*] *nꜣ šw.ty n.y pr.w Mr.n-Ptḥ-ḥtp-ḥr-mꜣꜥ.t*

Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Merenptah or later.

Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 38539

Comments Son of Khay (050/USC) and brother of Pabes (018/USC)?

Bibliography PM III/2, 737; *PN* I, 129.25; Martin (2001a), 17, no. 13, pls 5, 59; 16, no. 9, pls 13, 57.

308/TPC ***Ptḥ-m-ḥb*** **Deputy of the Treasury of the King**

Title(s) [B] *ỉdn.w n.y pr-ḥḏ n.y pr.w-ꜥꜣ ꜥ.w.s.*
[C] *sš nsw mꜣꜥ mr.y=f*

Date Late 18th to 19th Dynasty.

Items **III. Architectural elements**
1. Saqqara Magazine 4/Serapeum Lesser Vaults No. (?)—lintel (EAO, 1986)

Comments The find spot, reused in the Serapeum, suggests that the tomb stood in the vicinity, perhaps in the way of he later Serapeum Way.

Bibliography *PN* I, 140.2; Ibrahim Aly (2000), 232, pl. 31e.

309/TPC ***Ptḥ-mꜥy*** **Head of Makers of Gold Foil of the Temple of Aten**

Title(s) [D] *ḥr.y ỉr.w nbw pȝḳ n.y pr ỉtn*

Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp.* Akhenaten.

Items **IV. Stelae**

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 14.6.24.2
2. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 5.7.24.18
3. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 11.1.25.12
4. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 1.7.24.5
5. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 8.11.26.6
6. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 3.7.24.12

Comments C. Zivie (1975) assigns the tomb to a lost New Kingdom cemetery at Giza. The blocks were found by antiquities dealers from the nearby village of Kafr el-Batran.

Bibliography PM III/2, 740; *PN* I, 140.6; Staring (2021a), 37–41; Zivie (1975); Maspero (1883), 304.

310/TPC ***Ptḥ-mꜥy*** ***Wab*** **priest of Amun of the Portico (?)**

Title(s) [A] *ḥs.y ꜥȝ n.y Ptḥ nb Mȝꜥ.t*

[E] *wꜥb n.y ỉmn n.y rw.t (?) / sbȝ (?) / sbḫ.t (?) / tȝ (?) / trỉ (?)*

Date Ramesside.

Items **IV. Stelae**

1. Grenoble, Musée des Beaux-Arts no. 24, inv. 1953 (ex-coll. comte Louis de Saint-Ferriol, 1842)

Comments The provenance of the stela is given as "Saqqara North", which most probably refers to the TPC.

Bibliography *PN* I, 140.6; Pasquali (2011), 73, B.6; Gourlay (1979), 94–98, pl. 35; Kueny/Yoyotte (1979), 42–43, cat. 24, fig. on pp. 42–43; Moret (1919), 169–170.

311/TPC ***Ptḥ-ms*****(*****.w*****)** **?**

Title(s) ?

Date Late 18th/ early 19th Dynasty.

Items **I. Reliefs**

1. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 34.50 (C.M. Firth, 1920s)

Bibliography PM III/2, 572; *PN* I, 140.9; Gunn, MSS XIX. 2[1] (photo), *Notebook* 7, no. 43; Málek (1989b), 5 (block D8).

312/TPC ***Ptḥ-ms*****(*****.w*****)** **?**

Title(s) ?

Date Late 18th Dynasty.

Items **I. Reliefs**

1. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1973.483 (C.M. Firth, 1920s)

Bibliography PM III/2, 572; *PN* I, 140.9; Gunn MSS XIX.11 [2], Gunn, *Notebook* 6, no. 9; Martin (1987a), 37, no. 92, pls 34, 54.

313/TPC ***Ptḥ-nfr*** **Scribe of the Treasury**

Title(s) [C] *sš n.y pr-ḥḏ*

Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Tutankhamun–Horemheb.

Items **I. Reliefs**

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 8380a

2. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 12.6.24.6

Comments Ptahnefer is the son of Khaemwaset, the chief of royal carpenters (334/TPC), and is depicted on the following relief-decorated blocks from the tomb of his father: Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 1.7.24.6; Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 10.6.24.12; Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 12.6.24.6.

Bibliography PM III/2, 754; *PN* I, 140.14; Kruijf (2018), 56–57, figs 8–9; Hofmann (2004), fig. 121; Werbrouck (1938), 82, pl. 22; Maspero (1915), 164, no. 561.

314/TPC ***Ptḥ-Sty*** **Scribe of Forms**

Title(s) [C] *sš ḳdw.t*

Date Late 18th /early 19th Dynasty.

Items **IV. Stelae**

1. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 25.635 (C.M. Firth, 1920s)

Comments Upper register: deified King Teti before an offering table, adoring Osiris; lower register depicts Ptah-Sety and his wife *Ḥnw.t-ỉwnw* standing, hands raised in adoration.

Bibliography PM III/2, 572; Gunn MSS. 19.1[2]; R.1.2. (photos and tracing); Málek (1989b), 5 (stela C8); Dunham (1935), 148–149 (no. 2), pl. 17.2.

315/TPC ***Mʿḥw*** **District Administrator of Memphis**

Title(s) [B] *ỉṯ.w n.y Mn-nfr*

Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Akhenaten.

Items **IV. Stelae**

1. Various fragments, joined as TNM: B19a and TNM: B19b

Bibliography Ockinga/Binder (2013).

316/TPC ***Mʿḥwy*** **?**
Name Mahuy
Title(s) ?
Date Late 18th to 19th Dynasty.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. TNE 96: 121—two fragments adjoined
Comments Round-topped family stela (56×38.5×8 cm) with decoration in two registers.
Bibliography *PN* I, 163.25; Ockinga (2004), 111–113, pls 38b, 80b.

317/TPC ***Mn.w-nḫt(.w)*** **Royal Scribe**
Title(s) [C] *sš nsw*
Date 18th Dynasty.
Items **VI. Offering tables**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 27914 = CG 23079 (found in 1887)
Bibliography PM III/2, 557; *PN* I, 152.6; Kamal (1909), 66, pl. 17.

318/TPC ***Mn-ḥtp(.w) ḏd.n=f Ḥw-tw-tw*** **Child of the Nursery**
Title(s) [A] *ỉr.y-pʿ.t ♦ ʿnḫ.wy n.y bỉ.ty ♦ mḥ-ỉb ʿ3 n.y nb t3.wy m smnḫ rdy.t m ḥr=f ♦ mḥ-ỉb n.y nṯr nfr ♦ r3 wsḫ.t ♦ r n.y nsw ♦ rḫ ḥḥ.y ḫnw nfr.w m spḫ.w n.y nsw*
[B] *ỉm.y-r ḫrp n.y Šmʿ.w Mḥ.w ♦ ḫrp Šmʿ.w T3-mḥ.w m wsḫ.t n.y 3ḫ.w n.y nsw ♦ ḫrd n.y k3p*
[C] *sš nsw ♦ sš nsw nfr.w ♦ sš pr-ḥḏ ♦ sš /// ssm.wt wrr.wt=sn n.y nb.w ḥr ḥḏ-nb.w ♦ sš ḥsb b3k.t t3.wy ḫrp.t Šmʿ.w Mḥ.w*
[E] *sšm.w-ḥb n.y Ptḥ nfr-ḥr*
Date Mid–Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Thutmosis III/IV–Amenhotep III.
Items **III. Architectural elements**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 17.5.25.7—column
IV. Stelae
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 18.12.19.1
Comments
– TN 17.5.25.7: acquired from an inhabitant of Abusir: found in his house.
– TN 18.12.19.1: acquired from an inhabitant of Abusir, who had it in his possession (in his house). Measurements of the stela: 180×120 cm (hxw).
– A certain *sš pr.wy-ḥḏ Ḥw-tw-tw* is named in P. Petersburg 1116 B *verso*, line 39 (*temp*. Amenhotep II), see *Urk*. IV, 1512.

Bibliography PM III/2, 737; *PN* I, 152.9; *Urk* IV, 1512–1514, no. 484; Daressy (1920), 127–130.

319/TPC ***Mry-Mꜣꜥ.t*** **Doorkeeper in the Temple of Ptah**
Title(s) [B] *ỉr.y-ꜥꜣ n.y pr Ptḥ*
Date 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 27947 = TN 4.3.25.1
Comments The JE-number indicates that the stela entered the museum in 1887.
Bibliography *PN* I, 160.19; Metawi (2015); Gessler-Löhr (2007a), 70, no. 2, nn. 29–36, pl. 4.

320/TPC ***Mry-Rꜥ*** **Overseer of the Seal**
Title(s) [B] *ỉm.y-r pr n.y ḫm=f* ♦ *ỉm.y-r ḫtm*
Date 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III.
Items **III. Architectural elements**
1. Present location unknown—jamb fragment (C.M. Firth, 1920s)
Bibliography PM III/2, 572; *PN* I, 160.23; Gunn, *Notebook* 7, no. 49 (text only); Málek (1989b), 6 (tomb A4; block D5).

321/TPC ***Mry*[*-Ḥr.w*]** **Overseer of the Double Granary of Memphis**
Title(s) [B] *ỉm.y-rꜣ šnw.t(y) n.y Mn-nfr*
[C] *sš nsw*
Date Late 18th / early 19th Dynasty.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Saqqara Magazine 4/Serapeum Lesser Vaults (EAO, 1986)
2. Saqqara Magazine 4/Serapeum Lesser Vaults (EAO, 1986)
Comments The find spot, reused in the Serapeum, suggests that the tomb stood in the vicinity, perhaps in the way of he later Serapeum Way.
Bibliography *PN* I, 161.6; Ibrahim Aly (2000), 232–234, pls 31d, 32a.

322/TPC ***Mss.y*** **?**
Title(s) ?
Date New Kingdom.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Present location unknown (C.M. Firth, 1920s)
Bibliography PM III/2, 572; *PN* I, 165.6; Gunn, *Notebook* 7, No. 51 (sketch with text); Málek (1989b), 6 (relief D6).

323/TPC ***Nꜣ-ḥr-ḥw*** **[*Nꜣ-ḥrḥ* (*?*)] Scribe of Commands of the Army**
Title(s) [C] *sš sḫn.w n pꜣ mšʿ*
Date 19th /20th Dynasty.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Present location unknown (C.M. Firth, 1920s)
Bibliography PM III/2, 572; *PN* I, 170.3; Gunn, MSS, 19.1 [1] (photo), *Notebook*, 7, no. 52; Málek (1989b), 6 (stela C5)

324/TPC ***Nfr-ḥr*** **Overseer of Craftsmen [of the King]**
Title(s) [A] */// [nb] tꜣ.wy*
[D] *ỉm.y-r ḥmw.w ♦ ỉm.y-r ḥmw.w n.w nb tꜣ.wy*
Date Ramesside.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Saqqara Magazine (?)—"jamb fragments" (C.M. Firth, 1920s)
2. Hannover, Museum August-Kestner 1935.200.184
Bibliography PM III/2, 559; *PN* I, 198.6; Drenkhahn (1989), 134–135, no. 46; Gunn, *Notebook* 8, nos 57, 65; Martin (1987a), 41, no. 108, pls 38, 55.

325/TPC ***Nfr-ḥtp*** **Mayor of Memphis**
Title(s) [B] *ḥꜣ.ty-ʿ ♦ ḥꜣ.ty-ʿ n.y Mn-nfr*
Date 19th Dynasty, early (*temp*. Seti I).
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 8.11.26.4
2. Geneva, Fondation Gandur pour l'art FGA-ARCH-EG-271 (fragment)
V. Stelae
1. Current location unknown (C.M. Firth, 1920s)
Bibliography PM III/2, 572, 755; *PN* I, 198.14; *KRI* VII, 18 [9–16]; Gunn, *Notebook* 6, no. 14 (text only); Pasquali (2013), 312 n. 6, fig. 8; Bianchi (2011), 66–67, no. 9; *Minerva* 17/2 (2006), 43, fig. 17 (Sotheby's, New York, 5/12/2005, lot. 15); Gessler-Löhr (1991), 172–174, no. 8, fig. 8; Arnst (1989), 205–207, pl. 2, fig. 2; Málek (1989b), 6 (stela C6).

326/TPC ***Nfr-sḫr.w*** ***Wab*** **Priest, Craftsman of Ptah**
Title(s) [D] *ḥmw n.y Ptḥ [nb Mꜣʿ.t]*
[E] *wʿb*
Date Ramesside.

Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Saqqara Magazine (?)
Comments Found near the mastaba of Mereruka (Z. Saad, 1942–1943).
Bibliography PM III/2, 557; *PN* I, 200.3; Bakry (1958), 67–71, pl. 1.

327/TPC ***Nḫt-ʾImn*** **Head of Servants of the Royal Butler Hori**
Title(s) [B] *ḫr.y sḏm.ww n.w wbꜣ nsw Ḥrỉ* ♦ *sḏm-ʿš n.y wbꜣ nsw Ḥrỉ*
Date 19th Dynasty.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Neuchâtel, Musée d'ethnographie Eg. 428 (C.M. Firth, 1920s)
Bibliography PM III/2, 571; *PN* I, 209.22; Gunn MSS 19.3 [1, 3] (photos), *Notebook* 6, no. 13; Málek (1989b), 6 (tomb A1); Gabus (1967), 55 [top].

328/TPC ***Nḫt-Ḏḥw.ty*** **Overseer of the Double Granary of Upper and Lower Egypt**
Title(s) [B] *ỉm.y-r pr* ♦ *ỉm.y-r pr wr n.y nb tꜣ.wy* (Helck: *nsw.t*) ♦ *ỉm.y-r šnw.ty Šmʿ.w Tꜣ-Mḥ.w*
[C] *sš nsw*
Date Ramesside.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. "Seen in a Magazine at Saqqara" (see PM)
III. Architectural elements
1. Saqqara Magazine—*djed* pillar
Comments More relief-decorated fragments were found during excavations of the SCA in the 1990s, see: Youssef (2017).
Bibliography PM III/2, 763; *PN* I, 211.22; Berlandini (1988), 31, fig. 1; Helck (1958), 504, no. 20.

329/TPC ***Rm.y*** **Infantryman**
Title(s) [F] *wʿw*
Date Ramesside.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Present location unknown (C.M. Firth, 1920s)
Bibliography PM III/2, 572; *PN* I, 222.12; Gunn, *Notebook* 6, no. 18 (text only); Málek (1989b), 6 (Stela C9).

330/TPC ***Rḫ-ỉnḥrt*** **Overseer of the Treasury**
Title(s) [A] *ḫs.y ʿꜣ n.y nṯr nfr*

[B] *ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ*
[C] *sš nsw*

Date Ramesside, 19th Dynasty, probably *temp*. Merenptah.

Items
I. Reliefs
1. Present location unknown
II. Statues
1. Formerly stored in the mastaba of Ankhmahor—kneeling naophorous statue fragment with Osiris

Comments
– Van Dijk (1983), 51, argues that, since the name is not common, this man might be the same as the scribe Rekhanhor who was the recipient of three model letters in the Memphite P. Bologna 1094, dated to year 8 of Merenptah. See Gardiner (1937), 3, 10–11.
– Relief, location unknown: according to Van Dijk (1983), 51 n. 8, J. Málek had seen in the archive of the Saqqara Antiquities Office a photograph of a stela inscribed for a man with the same name. The provenance of that stela is said to be the general area north-east of the Step Pyramid of Djoser.

Bibliography Van Dijk (1983), 49–60.

331/TPC ***Ḥꜣ.t-ỉꜣy*** **God's Father**
Title(s) [E] *ỉt-nṯr*
Date Late 18th Dynasty, Amarna/immediate post-Amarna period.
Items
I. Reliefs
1. Paris, Musée du Louvre AF 9923
2. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 55.144.5
Bibliography *PN* I, 233.2; Gessler-Löhr (2012), 147–191; Martin (1987a), 11, cat. 11, pl. 4.

332/TPC ***Ḥy*** **Chief of Builders**
Title(s) [D] *ḥr.y ḳd.w*
Date Ramesside.
Items
IV. Stelae
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 36853
Comments Found in the temple area of the pyramid of Teti.
Bibliography PM III/2, 559; *PN* I, 233.18; Radwan (1987), 225–226, pl. 4.

333/TPC ***Ḫʿ*** **Scribe of the King**
Title(s) [C] *sš ♦ sš n.y nb tꜣ.wy*
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Seti I.

Items **VII. Varia**
Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 68001—wooden drawing board
Comments Found in the temple area of the pyramid of Teti.
Bibliography PM III/2, 559; Quibell (1909), 21, 114–115, pls 58.1, 59; Needler (1953), 74, no. 16.

334/TPC ***Ḫʿ(i)-m-wꜣs.t*** **Chief of Woodworkers/Carpenters of the King**
Title(s) [D] *ḥr.y mḏḥ.w nsw*
Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Tutankhamun.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 1.7.24.3
2. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 12.6.24.20
3. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 10.6.24.12
4. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 1.7.24.6
5. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 3.7.24.1
6. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 27.6.24.9
III. Architectural elements
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 27.6.24.11
Comments Zivie-Coche (1976) assigns the Khaemwaset material to a lost New Kingdom cemetery at Giza.
Bibliography PM III, 304; *PN* I, 263.19; Staring (2021a), 38; Zivie-Coche (1976); Maspero (1883), 427–429 [6050, 6053–6054, 6056].

335/TPC ***Ḫnswi / Ḫʿy*** **?**
Title(s) ?
Date 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Present location unknown (C.M. Firth, 1920s)
Bibliography PM III/2, 572; *PN* I, 265.7; Gunn, *Notebook* 7, no. 39 (text only); Gessler-Löhr (2007a), 70 with n. 28, pl. 3; Málek (1989b), 7 (stela C4).

336/TPC ***Sꜣy-m-pt(i)=f*** **Scribe of Forms**
Title(s) [D] *sš ḳdw.t*
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 39140
Comments Found in the temple area of the pyramid of Teti.
Bibliography PM III/2, 559; *PN* I, 299.9; Quibell (1908), 80 [5], pl. 36.

337/TPC ***Stḫ-ḥr-wnm=f*** **Chief Steward of the King; Royal Butler**

Title(s) [B] *ỉm.y-r pr wr n.y nb tꜣ.wy ♦ wbꜣ nsw*
[C] *sš nsw*

Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II.

Items **III. Architectural elements**
1. Saqqara Magazine (?)—column fragment

Comments Found in the temple area of the pyramid of Teti.

Bibliography PM III/2, 559; *PN* I, 322.5; *KRI* III, 181; Giddy (1992), 4–5; Quibell (1908), 81, pl. 37.4–5.

338/TPC ***Stḫ.y*** **Scribe of Recruits**

Title(s) [C] *sš nfr:w ♦ sš nsw*

Date Early 19th Dynasty.

Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Saqqara Magazine 4/Serapeum Lesser Vaults no. ? (fragment)

Comments Found reused in the Serapeum (EAO excavations, 1986).

Bibliography *PN* I, 322.8; Ibrahim Aly (2000), 231, pl. 31c.

339/TPC ***Ḳn-nḫt*** **?**

Title(s) ?

Date Ramesside.

Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 36856

Comments Found in the temple area of the pyramid of Teti.

Bibliography PM III/2, 559.

340/TPC ***Ttw*** **Sailor (?)**

Title(s) [B] *nfw* (?)

Date Early to mid-18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep II–Thutmosis IV.

Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 33238 = SR 14082 = Loret NI 180

Comments
– Probably found near the pyramid of Iput.
– Alternatively, the element *nfw* could be understood as part of the deceased's name.

Bibliography *PN* I, 385.27; Abdalaal (2008), 47–50, pl. 3, fig. 2; Gessler-Löhr (2007a), 72, n. 51, with pl. 6.

341/TPC ***Tṯ*** **Physician**

Title(s) [B] *swnw*
[C] *sš*

Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Ay–Horemheb.

Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Paris, Musée du Louvre B 50 = N 152 = N5414 = E 3028 = IM 3696
IV. Stelae
1. Saqqara Magazine 4/Serapeum Lesser Vaults No. ?

Comments
– Found reused in the Serapeum (A. Mariette 1850s; EAO, dir. Ibrahim Aly, 1986).
– The relief block includes a depiction of the deified King Menkauhor.

Bibliography PM III/2, 820; *PN* I, 395.22; Ibrahim Aly (2000), 229–230, pl. 30g; Berlandini (1978), 25, fig. 2; (1976), 315–316.

342/TPC ***Ḥr-nfr/nḫt*** **Deputy of Perunefer**

Title(s) [B] *ỉdnw n.y Prw-nfr*

Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Akhenaten, after year 9.

Items **IV. Stelae**
Saqqara Magazine—rectangular stela surmounted by a pyramid

Comments Found by the SCA expedition led by Z. Hawass, 1994, near the tomb chapel of the Chief of Craftsmen of Ptah, Hatiay (228/TPC).

Bibliography Youssef (2020); (2017), 116–123, pl. 70.

343/TPC ***Ḥy*** **Head of Makers of Chariots of the King**

Title(s) [E] *ḥr.y ḥmw.w wrr.yt ♦ ḥr.y ḥmw.w wrr.yt n.y nb tꜣ.wy*

Date 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Tutankhamun.

Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Saqqara Magazine—4 relief blocks (fragments)
III. Architectural elements
1. Saqqara Magazine—lintel
IV. Stelae
1. Saqqara Magazine—round-topped stela

Bibliography *PN* I, 233.18; Youssef (2017), 227–234, pls 122–126.

344/TPC ***Pꜣ-mr-ỉḥ.w*** **Scribe of the Storeroom**
Title(s) [C] *sš*
Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III.
Items **V. Burial equipment**
1. London, British Museum EA 8703—limestone shabti
2. London, British Museum EA 35029—limestone anthropoid model coffin
VII. Varia
1. London, British Museum EA 5513—scribal palette
Bibliography Bierbrier (2000), 7–8.

345/TPC ***Bꜣk.t*** **Lady of the House**
Title(s) [B] *nb.t pr*
Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Saqqara Magazine 1, excavation no. 165/2007—round-topped stela, fragment of upper part
Comments Found during the excavation of a 1st Dynasty mastaba.
Bibliography Youssef (2021), 229–230, no. 1, fig. 1; (2017), 61–63, pl. 52a; (1996), 105–108, figs 1–5.

346/TPC ***Sꜣ-pꜣ-ỉr*** **?**
Title(s) ?
Date Mid–late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Thutmosis IV–Amenhotep III.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Saqqara Magazine 1, serial no. 18, excavation no. 10, 16/2002—crudely formed round-topped stela, fragment of upper part
Comments Found east/southeast of the pyramid of Khuit.
Bibliography *PN* I, 281.24; Youssef (2021), 230–231, no. 2, fig. 2; (2017), 64–65, pl. 52b.

347/TPC ***ỉmn-ḥtp*(*.w*)** **Chief of the *ỉwʿy.t*-troops(?)**
Title(s) [B] *ḥr.y ỉwʿy.t (?)*
Date Mid–late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Thutmosis IV–Amenhotep III.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Saqqara Magazine 1, serial no. 3, excavation no. 5/2005—round-topped stela, two fragments of upper part
Bibliography *PN* I, 281.24; Youssef (2021), 231–232, no. 3, fig. 3; (2017), 66–67, pl. 54.

348/TPC ***Ṯnr*** **Chief of Goldsmiths**
Title(s) [B] *ḥr.y nby.w*
Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Akhenaten, late–Tutankhamun.
Items **III. Architectural elements**
1. Cairo, National Museum of Egyptian Civilization, excavation no. 19396—limestone pyramidion
Comments Alternatively, this might be a pyramid-shaped stela.
Bibliography *PN* I, 281.24; Youssef (2017), 113–116, pls 68–69.

349/TPC ***Ḥꜥ(i)-Ptḥ*** **Chief of Guardians of the Chariots**
Title(s) [B] *ḥr.y sꜣw.ty wrr.yt* ♦ *ḥr.y sꜣw.ty wrr.yt n.y nb tꜣ.wy*
Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Tutankhamun.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Saqqara Magazine—naos-shaped stela
Comments This object is one of numerous items dated to the New Kingdom, found in the MSA excavations led by Z. Hawass, 2020–2021, a continuation eastwards of the 1990s SCA excavations.
Bibliography Unpublished; see press report: https://www.archaeology.wiki/blog/2021/01/18/egyptian-archaeologists-brought-to-light last accessed on 27.09.2021.

350/TPC ***S*** **Chief Sculptor of the King**
Title(s) [A] *ḥs.y n.y nb mꜣꜥ.t*
[D] *ḥr.y tꜣy-mḏꜣ.t n.y nb tꜣ.wy* ♦ *ḥr.y ḥmw.w m ḥw.t nbw n.y Ptḥ*
Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Tutankhamun.
Items **III. Architectural elements**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 18927 = TN 19.5.25.1–19.5.25.2 —three fragments of door jambs
IV. Stelae
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 21772 = TN 11.11.24.5 = IM 18926
Comments
– These tomb elements were thought to derive from Abydos. However, the *Inventaire Mariette* lists these items (nos 18326 and 18927) among those excavated at Saqqara in 1862.
– Sa is designated as the son of the chief sculptor Ya; the latter is also the father of the chief sculptor Userhay Hatiay, perhaps to be identified as *Wsr-ḫꜣ.t* of tomb [493].
– Sa 'shares' the stela with a man named *Smn-tꜣ.wy*, who bears the titles *ḥs.y n.y nb tꜣ.wy, mt.y nb=f, ///ꜥ mr=f*. It is unclear what the relationship between the two might have been.

Bibliography PM V, 76; *PN* I, 278.21; Pasquali (2017), 571–572; Gaballa (1979a), 75–80, pl. 16 [left]; Maspero (1912), 178, 740; De Rougé (1863–1864), nos 152–153.

351/TPC ***Kꜣ-msi*(*.w*) *šꜣbw*-sailor**
Title(s) [F] *šꜣb.w*
Date Ramesside.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Paris, Musée du Louvre C 208 = N 304 = IM 3750
Comments Found near the Serapeum, in the sand north of the alley of sphinxes
Bibliography PM III/2, 746; *PN* I, 338.5; Pierret (1878), 64.

Cliff of Ankhtawy (Bubasteion)

352/Bub ***ꜥpr-iꜣr/l*** **var.** ***ꜥpriꜣ*** **Vizier**

Tomb Bub. I.1, MAFB, 1993; W.M.F. Petrie, 1880s

Title(s) [A] *ỉr.y-pꜥ.t ḥꜣ.ty-ꜥ ♦ smr wꜥ.ty ♦ sḏꜣ.wty-bỉ.ty*
[B] *ỉm.y-r nỉw.t tꜣ.ty ♦ wpw.ty nsw ♦ ḫrp ỉp.t-sw n.yt nb tꜣ.wy ♦ ḫrd n.y kꜣp*
[E] *ỉt-nṯr ♦ bꜣk tp.y n.y ʾItn*
[F] *ỉm.y-r ssm.t n.yt nsw.t*

Date 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III–Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten.

Items **v. Burial equipment**
1. Saqqara, Imhotep Museum (various objects, unpublished)

Comments His son, *Ḥwy*, shared in his father's tomb. He held the following titles:
[A] *ỉr.y-pꜥ.t ḥꜣ.ty-ꜥ; mr.y nb tꜣ.wy; sḏꜣw.ty-bỉ.ty; smr wꜥ.ty; sꜣb ///*
[C] *sš nfr.w n.y nb tꜣ.wy*
[D] *ỉm.y-r kꜣ.t nb n.y psḏ.t (?)*
[E] *sꜣb n.y s.t wr*
[F] *ỉm.y-r mšꜥ wr n.y ḫm=f; ḫr.y-pḏ.t n.y nṯr nfr; ỉm.y-r ssm.wt n.y nb tꜣ.wy; ỉm.y-rꜣ ssm.wt n.y nṯr nfr*.

Bibliography PM III/2, 562; *PN* I, 60.14; Giles (2001), 22; Petrie, in Sayce MSS 14b,c [top]; Zivie (2014b), with a list of references to earlier publications.

353/Bub ***Pꜣ-n-Rnn-wtt*** **Royal Butler**

Tomb Bub. I.21, MAFB, 1996.

Title(s) [B] *wbꜣ nsw wꜥb ꜥwy ♦ wbꜣ nsw tp.y*

Date Late 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Merenptah.

Bibliography Zivie (2007), 62; (2000), 179; (1997), 379.

354/Bub ***Ptḥ-ms*****(*****.w*****)** **Scribe of the Cadaster**

Tomb Bub. II.X, MAFB, 1996.

Title(s) [C] *sš ṯmꜣ.t*

Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III

Comments Son of *Pꜣ-n-ʾImn*, who held the same title.

Bibliography *PN* I, 140.9; Zivie (2012), 436; (2010), 185–189, pls 46–48; (2007), 141; (2000), 184.

355/Bub ***Mꜥỉꜣ*** **Royal Nurse**
Tomb Bub. I.20, MAFB, 1996.
Title(s) [A] *mrr nb=f* ♦ *mrw.ty nb=f rᶜ nb* ♦ *mrw.ty n.y ỉty* ♦ *mrw.ty nb tꜣ.wy ḥr bỉ.t=s* ♦ *mrw.ty nb tꜣ.wy ḥr ḳd=s* ♦ *rdỉ.t snḳ n nṯr nfr* ♦ *ḥs.yt ꜥꜣ.t nt nb ỉmn.tyt Wnn-nfr* ♦ *ḥs.yt ꜥꜣ.t nt nb tꜣ.wy* ♦ *ḥs.yt ꜥꜣ.t n.t nb tꜣ-ḏsr ỉm.y-wt ḫn.ty sḥ-nṯr* ♦ *ḥs.yt ꜥꜣ.t n.t nṯr nfr* ♦ *ḥs.yt n.t nṯr* [*nfr*] ♦ *šd.t nb tꜣ.wy* ♦ *šd.t nṯr* ♦ *šd.t ḥꜥ nṯr* ♦ *šd.t ḥḳꜣ*
[B] *wr.t ḫnr.t* ♦ *mnꜥ.t nsw.t*
Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp.* Tutankhamun.
Bibliography *PN* I, 146.1; Zivie (2009).

356/Bub ***Mry-Rᶜ / Sn-nfr*** **Great Steward of the King**
Tomb Bub. II.4, MAFB, 1982.
Title(s) [A] *ỉr.y-pꜥ.t ḥꜣ.ty-ꜥ* ♦ *r ꜥḥ* ♦ *smr wꜥ.ty* ♦ *sḏꜣ.wty-bỉ.ty*
[B] *ỉm.y-r pr* ♦ *ỉm.y-r pr wr n.y nsw* ♦ *ỉm.y-r pr n.y ḫm=f tỉ sw m ỉnpw* ♦ *ỉm.y-r pr.wy-nwb* ♦ *ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ* ♦ *ỉm.y-r pr.wy-ḥḏ* ♦ *ỉm.y-r mnꜥ.t* ♦ *ỉm.y-r mnꜥ.t n.yt nṯr nfr* ♦ *ỉm.y-r pr n.y nsw tỉ sw m ỉnpw*
[C] *sš nsw n.y nb tꜣ.wy* ♦ *sš nsw ḥr.y-tp*
[D] *ỉm.y-r kꜣ.t mnḫ n.y pr*
[E] *sšm.w-ḥb n.y ỉmn* ♦ *ỉm.y-r ḫm.w-nṯr n.y ỉmn-Rᶜ n.y Ḫnt-nṯr* ♦ *ỉm.y-r ḫm.w-nṯr n.y Sḫm.t*
Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp.* Amenhotep III.
Items
IV. Stelae
1. Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. MAFB 1991/20 (fragment joining Vienna ÄS 5814)
2. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum ÄS 5814 (fragment)
3. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum ÄS 5815 (fragment)

VIII. Extra-sepulchral
1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 21595—granodiorite statue, temple context?
2. Riga, National Museum of Art Sk-95—stelophorous statue, Theban provenance?

Bibliography PM III/2, 706; *PN* I, 160.23; Zivie (2014a); Kozloff et al. (1992), 292–294, cat. 58–59.

357/Bub ***Mry-Sḫm.t*** **Overseer of the Double Granary of the King**
Tomb Bub. I.5, MAFB, 1993.

Title(s) [A] *wˁ ỉḳr stp bỉ.t ♦ ḥr.y-ỉb n.y nsw*
[B] *ỉm.y-r šnw.ty n.y nb tȝ.wy ♦ ḥȝ.ty-ˁ wr n.y nsw*
[C] *sš ỉḳr ♦ sš nsw mȝˁ mr.y=f*

Date Late 18th / early 19th Dynasty.

Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek ÆIN 897 (fragment)

Comments Merysakhmet probably held more titles; however, the tomb has not yet been fully published.

Bibliography *PN* I, 161.10; Zivie (2007), 54–55, fig. on p. 55; Jørgensen (1998), 173–192, fig. 5; Koefoed-Petersen (1948), no. 37.

358/Bub ***Nḥsy*** **Chancellor**

Tomb Bub. I.6, MAFB, 1993.

Title(s) [A] *ỉwn knm(w).t ♦ ỉr.y-pˁ.t ḥȝ.ty-ˁ ♦ mḥ-ỉb /// ♦ mḥ-ˁnḫ.wy Ḥrw m Mȝˁ.t ♦ mdw n.y nsw m wˁ.w ♦ mdw rḫy.t ♦ ḥḳȝ bȝ.t ♦ smỉw bȝk.(w)t tȝ.wy ḫrp.(w)t Šmˁ Mḥ.w ♦ smr wˁ.ty ♦ sḏȝ.wty-bỉ.ty*
[B] *ỉm.y-r ḫtm.w ♦ ḥȝ.ty-ˁ ḫrp ns.ty ♦ ḥḳȝ bȝt*

Date 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Hatshepsut/Thutmosis III (?), or later 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III (?)

Bibliography *PN* I, 209.4; Zivie (2000), 173–192; (1984B), 245–252.

359/Bub ***Nṯr.wy-ms / Pȝ-rḫ-nw(ȝ)*** **Chief Steward of Memphis**

Tomb Bub. I.16, MAFB, 1996.

Title(s) [A] *ỉr.y-pˁ.t ḥȝ.ty-ˁ ♦ ỉr.ty n.y nsw m pr Ptḥ ♦ wˁ mnḫ /// ♦ ḥs.y ˁȝ n.y nṯr nfr ♦ ṯȝy-ḫw ḥr wnm.y n.y nsw*
[B] *ỉm.y-r pr wr ♦ ỉm.y-r pr wr n.y Mn-nfr ♦ ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ ♦ ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ n.y nb tȝ.wy ♦ ỉm.y-r pr.wy-ḥḏ ♦ wpw.ty nsw ♦ wpw.ty nsw r ḫȝs.t nb.t*
[C] *sš nsw ♦ sš nsw mȝˁ mr.y=f*
[D] *ỉm.y-r kȝ.t nb(.t) ♦ ỉm.y-r kȝ.t m pr Ptḥ*
[E] *šsm.w-ḥb n.y Ptḥ nb mȝˁ.t*

Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II. This man was in office when the peace treaty with the Hittites was signed in year 21 of Ramesses II (Karnak piece-treaty).

Items **I. Reliefs**
1. New York, Brooklyn Museum 36.261 (?)
III. Architectural elements
1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 1446—column fragment
2. Present location unknown—pedestal (seen by Lepsius with Massara, Cairo)

v. Burial equipment

1. St. Omer, Musée de St. Omer, no. unknown—canopic jar

Comments
- The tomb was seen by W.M.F. Petrie, and earlier by P.-X. Coste (1787–1879), on 02.04.1820, if indeed it concerns the same tomb.
- The column fragment now held in Berlin was found reused in the Step Pyramid enclosure. Lepsius bought the object from the antiquities dealer Massara in Cairo; a "*Piedestal*" was left behind at the latter's shop (LD, *Text* I, 195).

Bibliography PM III/2, 592; LD, *Text* I, 195; Zivie (2015); (2007), 110–129; Hofmann (2004), 105, with fig. 128; Roeder (1924); Borchardt (1897), fig. 80; (1892), 92 n. 3.

360/Bub ***Rʿiꜣ*[*y*] *Ḥꜣ.t-iꜣy*** **Scribe of the Treasury of the Temple of the Aten in Akhetaten (and) in Memphis**

Tomb Bub. I.27, MAFB 2001–2002.

Title(s) [C] *sš pr-ḥḏ n.y pr ʾItn* ♦ *sš pr-ḥḏ n.y pr ʾItn m ꜣḫ.t-ʾItn m Mn-nfr* ♦ *sš pr-ḥḏ n.y pr ʾItn m Mn-nfr*

Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten (2nd half), and immediate post-Amarna period.

Bibliography *PN* I, 220.7; Pasquali (2011), 78 [B.18]; Zivie (2007), 141; (2005), 38–43.

361/Bub ***Rš*** **Child of the Nursery**

Tomb Bub. I.3, MAFB, 1976.

Title(s)
[A] [*ꜥꜣ n.y*] *bʿḥ n.y nsw* ♦ *ꜥꜣ n.y pr /// nb ʾIwny* ♦ *ḥs.y n.y nṯr nfr*
[B] *im.y-r ꜥḫnw.ty* ♦ *ḫrd n.y kꜣp* ♦ *ṯzy-sry.t nꜣ n.w ḫrd.w n.w kꜣp*
[F] *ꜥꜣ n.y ḫʿ.w n.y sbꜣ m Mn-nfr* ♦ *nfw n.y Mr.y-ʾImn* ♦ *ḥr.y iḥ.w* ♦ *ḥr.y-pḏ.t*

Date 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Thutmosis IV/Amenhotep III.

Bibliography *PN* I, 227.10; Zivie (2000), 173–192; (1979), 135–151.

362/Bub ***Stḫ / Stš*** **Royal Butler**

Tomb Bub. I.13; MAFB, 1996

Title(s)
[A] *ir.y-pʿ.t ḫꜣ.ty-ʿ* ♦ *smr wʿ.ty* ♦ *mr ///* ♦ */// mr.y nb=f*
[B] *wbꜣ nsw* ♦ *wbꜣ nsw wʿb ʿ.wy*

Date 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III/Amenhotep IV.

Bibliography *PN* I, 321.29; Zivie (2007), 62–63, with photo of stela on p. 63; (2000), 173–192; (1997), 373–382.

363/Bub ***Ḏḥw.ty-ms*(*.w*) Chief of Scribes of Forms in the Place of Truth**
Tomb Bub. I.19; MAFB, 1996.
Title(s) [D] *ḥr.y sš ḳdw.t ♦ ḥr.y sš ḳdw.t m S.t-Mꜣʿ.t ♦ sš ḳdw.t*
Date 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III/IV.
Bibliography *PN* I, 408.5; Zivie (2013).

364/Bub ***NN*** **?**
Tomb Bub. II.3, MAFB, 1982.
Title(s) ?
Date 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III.
Bibliography Zivie (2014a), 29.

365/Bub ***NN*** **?**
Tomb SBW 18/I (Tomb no. 1), SCA expedition, 2018.
Title(s) ?
Date 18th Dynasty.
Bibliography Waziri/Youssef (2019), 89, figs 1, 2, 7.

366/Bub ***NN*** **?**
Tomb SBW 18/II (Tomb no. 6), SCA expedition, 2018.
Title(s) ?
Date 18th Dynasty.
Bibliography Waziri/Youssef (2019), 89, figs 1, 2.

367/Bub ***NN*** **?**
Tomb SBW 18/VI (Tomb no. 2), SCA expedition, 2018.
Title(s) ?
Date 18th Dynasty.
Bibliography Waziri/Youssef (2019), 89, figs 1, 2.

Lost

[368] *///y* **Royal Scribe**
Title(s) [C] *sš nsw*
Date Late 18th /early 19th Dynasty.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Linköping, Stifts- och Landsbibliothek inv. no. unknown
Comments Royal Scribe is the only title preserved on this fragment. This probably was not the highest ranking title the official held.
Bibliography PM III/2, 759; Martin (1987a), 19, no. 38, pl. 13.

[369] *ʾIr̩ḥ-ms* **Scribe and Reckoner of Cattle**
Title(s) [A] *wr ḥs.y=f nṯr m pr=f*
[C] *sš ḥsb iḥ.w ♦ sš ḥsb iḥ.w n.w pr ỉm.y-r ḫtm*
Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 18181 = CG 34049
Bibliography PM III/2, 736; *PN* I, 12.19; Pasquali (2017), 571; Tiradritti (1994), 10–11; Lacau (1909–1916), 84–86, pl. 29; Mariette (1872), 18, pl. 56.

[370] *ʾIwy* **Overseer of Cattle of Amun**
Title(s) [B] *ỉm.y-r iḥ.w n.w ʾImn*
Date Early 19th Dynasty.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Moscow, The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts I.1.a.5637 (4124)
Bibliography Staring (2014–2015), 58, no. 7; 89, 122–123, no. 70, fig. 70.

[371] *ʾIwtỉ* **Scribe of Forms of Re**
Title(s) [D] *sš ḳdw.t ♦ sš ḳdw.t n.yt pȝ Rr*
Date Ramesside.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7269
Bibliography PM III/2, 732; Roeder (1924), 194, 196–197.

[372] *ʾIpy* **Chief Steward in Memphis**
Title(s) [A] *ṯȝy-ḫw ḥr wnm.y n.y nsw*
[B] *ỉm.y-r pr ♦ ỉm.y-r pr wr ♦ ỉm.y-r pr wr m ʾInb.w-ḥḏ ♦ ỉm.y-r pr n.y Mn-nfr*
[C] *sš nsw*
[E] *ḥm-nṯr tp.y n.y Ptḥ ♦ ḥm-nṯr tp.y ḥw.t Ptḥ m pȝ bʿḥ*

Date 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten–Horemheb
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Florence, Museo Egizio 2567
2. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum ДВ-1072
V. Burial equipment
1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AAL 4c, d—canopic jars
Comments
– Stela Florence 2567 depicts Ipy vis-à-vis his father, Amenhotep Huy (141/USC). Ipy is designated as having dedicated the stela, so it probably derives from his father's tomb (in which Ipy may have shared).
– Yoshimura et al. (2001), 11, tentatively suggest that Ipy might be the same man as Ipay, who had a tomb at Dahshur North.
Bibliography PM III/2, 704; *PN* I, 23.2; Pasquali (2012), 133–138; Pasquali/Gessler-Löhr (2011), 281–299; Yoshimura/Hasegawa (2000), 5–20; Löhr (1975), 142–144, doc. I.1.

[373] ***ʾIpw*** **Royal Butler**
Title(s) [B] *wḏ; nsw wʿb ʿ.wy*
Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Tutankhamun.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 9
Bibliography PM VIII/4, 803-045-300; *PN* I, 23.6; Giovetti/Picchi (2015), cat. V.35; Boeser (1913), 4–5, pl. 4.

[374] ***ʾImn-m-wi;*** **Chief Steward**
Title(s) [B] *ỉm.y-r pr wr*
Date New Kingdom.
Items **I. Reliefs / III. Architectural elements (?)**
1. Present location unknown
Comments Block seen in Maspero's house at Saqqara, 1881.
Bibliography PM III/2, 763; *PN* I, 28.1.

[375] ***ʾImn-m-ḥb*** **?**
Title(s) [A] *wʿ ỉḳr ♦ ḥs.y n.y ///*
Date 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III (?)
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Florence, Museo Egizio 2592
Comments The inscription naming the title of office is damaged and therefore illegible.

Bibliography PM III/2, 740; *PN* I, 28.14; Bosticco (1965), 36–38, no. 31, fig. 31.

[376] ***ʾImn-m-ḥb*** **Overseer of Craftsmen of the Temple of Ptah**
Title(s) [D] *ỉm.y-r ḥmw.w n.w pr Ptḥ*
Date 19th Dynasty.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AD 37
Bibliography *PN* I, 28.14; Staring (2016b), 348 n. 28, 365, 367–369, 374, pl. 66; Friedman (1998), 250, cat. no. 168; Boeser (1913), 11, no. 38, pl. 23.

[377] ***ʾImn-ms*** **Head of the Quartermasters of the Army**
Title(s) [F] *ḥr.y wʿrtw.w n.w mšʿ*
Date 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 34054
Comments Pasquali (2017), 578, no. 8780, reads the title as *ḥr.y ꜣṯ.w*.
Bibliography PM III/2, 737; *PN* I, 29.8; Lacau (1909–1916), 95–97, pl. 32.

[378] ***ʾImn-ms*** **General of the King**
Title(s) [C] *sš nsw*
[F] *ỉm.y-r mšʿ wr* [*n.y*] *nb tꜣ.wy*
Date 19th Dynasty.
Items **V. Burial equipment**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 25145 = CG 4330—canopic jar
Comments According to Reisner, following the *Journal d'Entrée*, four jars were found in July 1881. One jar entered the Collection Hoffmann, another was registered as JE 25145.
Bibliography PM III/2, 770, 771; *PN* I, 29.8; Reisner (1967), 225; Legrain (1894), no. 76, fig. 76.

[379] ***ʾImn-ms*** **Great Scribe of the Waters in the House of Menmaatre (Seti I) in the House of Amun**
Title(s) [C] *sš ʿꜣ n.y mw m pr ʾImn-Rʿ nsw nṯr.w* ♦ *sš ʿꜣ n.y mw t*[*ꜣ*] *ḥw.t Mn-mꜣʿ.t-Rʿ m pr ʾImn*
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Seti I.
Items **VII. Varia**
1. London, British Museum EA 12778—palette
Bibliography PM III/2, 773; *PN* I, 29.8; *KRI* I, 332 [136]; Glanville (1932), 58, pl. 8.1; Budge (1925), 174 [middle].

[380] *ʾImn-Ḥr* **?**
Title(s) ?
Date 18th Dynasty (?)
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Present location unknown
Bibliography PM III/2, 749.

[381] *ʾImn-ḥtp Pn-dwꜣ* **Scribe of the Temple of Ptah**
Title(s) [C] *sš n.y pr Ptḥ*
Date Ramesside.
Items **III. Architectural elements**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 20.1.25.5—*djed* pillar
Bibliography PM III/2, 755; *PN* I, 30.12; 112.9; Berlandini (1988), pl. 1A; Van Dijk (1993), 158–159, no. 15; (1986), 11, no. 15, pl. 1 [2].

[382] *ʾImn-ḥtp Ḥwy* **Mayor of Memphis**
Title(s) [A] *r n.y nsw ḫn.ty Ḥw.t-kꜣ-Ptḥ ♦ rḫ nsw mꜣʿ mr.y=f ♦ ḥr.y-sštꜣ n.y Ḥw.t-kꜣ-Ptḥ ♦ ḥs.y ʿꜣ n.y nb tꜣ.wy ♦ ḥs.y ʿꜣ n.y nṯr nfr*
[B] *ỉm.y-r pr ♦ ỉm.y-r pr wr ♦ ỉm.y-r pr m [tꜣ] ḫw.t ỉty ♦ ỉm.y-r pr m [tꜣ] ḫw.t ḥm=f ♦ ỉm.y-r pr m [tꜣ] ḫw.t Ḥr.w=f (nb=f) ♦ ỉm.y-r pr m t[ꜣ] ḫw.t Rʿ-ms-sw-mr.y-ʾImn ḫnm.t-mꜣʿt-n.yt-Ptḥ ♦ ỉm.y-r pr m t[ꜣ] ḫw.t sr ♦ ỉm.y-r pr n.y ʾInb.w ♦ ỉm.y-r pr n.y ///[ḫw.t?] ḫnm.t-mꜣʿ.t-n.yt-Ptḥ ♦ ḥꜣ.ty-ʿ ♦ ḥꜣ.ty-ʿ wr ♦ ḥꜣ.ty-ʿ wr m ʾInb.w ♦ ḥꜣ.ty-ʿ wr m ʾInb.w-ḥḏ ♦ ḥꜣ.ty-ʿ wr m ʿnḫ-tꜣ.wy ♦ ḥꜣ.ty-ʿ wr m Mn-nfr ♦ ḥꜣ.ty-ʿ wr m mḫꜣt-tꜣ.wy ♦ ḥꜣ.ty-ʿ wr m nỉw.t Ptḥ ♦ ḥꜣ.ty-ʿ wr m nỉw.t nḫḥ ♦ ḥꜣ.ty-ʿ wr m nỉw.t Tꜣ-tnn ♦ ḥꜣ.ty-ʿ wr m Ḥw.t-kꜣ-Ptḥ ♦ ḥꜣ.ty-ʿ wr n.y ʾInb.w ♦ ḥꜣ.ty-ʿ wr n.y ʾInb.w-Ptḥ ♦ ḥꜣ.ty-ʿ wr n.y ʾInb.w-ḥḏ ♦ ḥꜣ.ty-ʿ wr n.y Mn-nfr*
[C] *sš nsw ♦ sš nsw mꜣʿ mr.y=f*
[D] *ỉm.y-r kꜣ.t m pr Nb.t nh.t ♦ ỉm.y-r kꜣ.t m Ḥw.t-kꜣ-Ptḥ*
[E] *sšm.w-ḥb n.y Mḥ.t-wr.t ♦ sšm.w-ḥb n.y Nb.t wr(.t) ♦ sšm.w-ḥb n.y Nb.t nh.t rsy.t*
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Saqqara Magazine no. unknown
2. New York, private collection—Aphrodite Ancient Art
III. Architectural elements
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 7.11.24.1—pyramidion

v. Burial equipment

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 59128—sarcophagus
2. Mit Rahineh, Mathaf Ramsis M05, M08—sarcophagus lid and bottom (found reused at Memphis)
3. Present location unknown—anthropoid coffin from Memphis (reused)
4. Durham, Oriental Museum EG 518 = N 1859—wooden shabti

VIII. Extra-sepulchral

1. Paris, Musée du Louvre no. unknown—shabti from the Serapeum
2. Saqqara, Magazine—5 shabtis from the Serapeum
3. Paris, Musée du Louvre N 519 = AF 450 = IM 3394—block statue from the Serapeum, *petits souterains* (room 2, Osorkon II, year 23), and thus from a secondary context
4. Present location unknown—statue, excavated by A. Badawi at Memphis (or secondary context?)

Comments One of the two relief-decorated blocks of this man was excavated by M. Ibrahim Aly near the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, perhaps suggestive of a tomb located in the USC.

Bibliography PM III/2, 770, 847; *PN* I, 30.12; Gräzer Ohara (2020), 252–225; Herzberg (2019a), 151–153, no. 4; Staring (2015b); Pasquali (2012), 138–149; Schulz (1992), 487–488, cat. 292, pl. 129b; Ibrahim Aly (1998); Abou-Ghazi (1987), 37; Rammant-Peeters (1983), 28–30, Doc. 27; Badawi (1944); Hamada (1935).

[383] ***ʾImn-ḥtp Ḥwy*** **Scribe of the Altar of the King**

Title(s) [C] *sš wdḥ.w n.y nb tꜣ.wy*
[E] *sšm.w-ḥb n.y Wsir*

Date Early 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Seti I.

Items **IV. Stelae**

1. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli 1016
2. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum ÄS 123
3. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum ÄS 178

Bibliography *PN* I, 30.12; Hölzl (2007), 106–107; Hofmann (2004), fig. 37; Hölbl (1985), 18–23, pl. 8.

[384] ***ʾImn-ḥtp Ḥwy*** **Chief Stone Mason of the King**

Title(s) [D] *ḥr.y ḫr.ty-nṯr ♦ ḥr.y ḫr.ty-nṯr n.y pꜣ pr n.y pr-ꜥꜣ ♦ ḥr.y ḫr.ty-nṯr n.y pꜣ pr n.y pr-ꜥꜣ ꜥ.w.s.*

Date Early 19th Dynasty.
Items **II. Statues**
1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 13
Bibliography PM VIII/2, 609–610 (801-643-340); *PN* I, 30.12; Staring (2015a), cat. 196; Schneider (1997), 69, cat. 91; Schulz (1992), 346–347, no. 197, pl. 87 a–b; Boeser (1912), 9, no. 20, pl. 10.

[385] *ʾIry-ỉry* **Head of Chamberlains of the King**
Title(s) [B] *ỉm.y-ḫnt n.y nb tꜣ.wy*
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II.
Items **III. Architectural elements**
1. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek ÆIN 45—*djed* pillar fragment
Comments Pillar fragment acquired on the art market in Egypt, 1890s.
Bibliography PM III/2, 756; *PN* I, 41.9; Martin (1987a), 34, no. 84, pl. 31; Koefoed-Petersen (1956), 58–59, no. 77, pls 78–81 (as: "Thébes?").

[386] *Y.w-y.w* **Guardian of the Treasury**
Title(s) [A] *ḥrd n.y kꜣp*
[B] *sꜣw.ty ♦ sꜣw.ty pr-ḥḏ*
Date 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III.
Items **II. Statues**
1. Paris, Musée du Louvre A 116 = E 5343 = AF 571—quartzite dyad
V. Burial equipment
1. New York, Brooklyn Museum 37.440E—wooden head rest
Bibliography PM III/2, 730–731, 774; *PN* I, 55.20; *NYHS Cat.*, 31, no. 486; James (1974), I, 90, pl. 52.207; Pierret (1874), 32–36.

[387] *Ypw* **Head of Sandal Makers**
Title(s) [D] *ḥr.y ṯb.w*
Date 19th Dynasty.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Marseille, Musée de la Vieille Charité 235
Bibliography PM III/2, 745; *PN* I, 55.25; Nelson/Piérini (1978), 58, fig. 236.

[388] *Ypw* [Ip] **Overseer of the Treasury**
Title(s) [B] *ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ*
[C] *sš nsw*
Date Late 18th/early 19th Dynasty.

Items **I. Reliefs**
1. New York, Brooklyn Museum 37.1487E
Bibliography PM III/2, 752; *PN* I, 55.25; *NYHS Cat.*, 25, no. 384.

[389] ***Wsy*** **Chief of Bowmen of the King**
Title(s) **[A]** *ỉr.y-rd.wy n.w nb tȝ.wy ♦ ḥs.y ʿȝ [n.y] nṯr nfr*
[E] *tȝy-sry.t n.y ḥȝ.t-nfr.w-ʾImn*
[F] *ḥr.y-pḏ.t n.y nb tȝ.wy*
Date 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Munich, Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst ÄS 11
V. Burial equipment
1. Private Collection (?)—two canopic jars
Comments The element *ʾImn* has been erased in the title of both Wesy and his wife, the Lady of the House and Songstress (of Amun), Ipuy.
Bibliography PM III/2, 718; *PN* I, 84.17; Löhr/Müller (1972), 64, cat. 49b, pl. 34.

[390] ***Y-ʿḏ-r (?) / Wsr-pḥ(.tỉ)-nsw*** **?**
Title(s) ?
Date Early 18th Dynasty.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. New York, Brooklyn Museum 37.1353E
Comments The round-topped stela may originally have been carved for *Y-ʿḏ-r* (?) and his wife *Pȝ-nṯr*; later recarved, with addition of text above the couple including the name *Wsr-pḥ(.tỉ)-nsw*.
Bibliography PM III/2, 735; *NYHS Cat.*, 13, no. 178; James (1974), 71, pl. 44, no. 165.

[391] ***Bȝk-n-Mn.w*** **Stonemason**
Title(s) **[D]** *ḳd ỉnr*
Date 19th Dynasty.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. London, Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology UC 12
Comments Bought by W.M.F. Petrie in Cairo.
Bibliography PM III/2, 744; *PN* I, 91.1; Stewart (1976), I, 31–32, pl. 23.

[392] ***Bwrỉ*** **Overseer of *ḳr*-cargo of the House of the Aten**
Title(s) **[B]** *ỉm.y-r ḳr.w n.y pr ʾỈṯn*
[F] *tȝy-sry.t n.y Ḫʿ[w]-m-Mȝʿ.t*
Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Tutankhamun.

Items **II. Statues**

1. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 53—block statue
2. Liverpool, World Museum M13980—stelophorous statuette

IV. Stelae

1. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum ДВ-1092

Comments The Liverpool statuette was destroyed in 1941 during World War II.

Bibliography Pasquali (2013), 305–323.

[393] ***Bn-ꜥ*** **Scribe of the Royal Household of the *ḫnr* in Memphis**

Title(s) [C] *sš ỉp.t nsw ♦ sš ỉp.t nsw n.yt ḫnr m Mn-nfr ♦ sš ỉp.t nsw n.yt ḫnr m Ḥw.t-kꜣ-Ptḥ*

Date 19th Dynasty.

Items **IV. Stelae**

1. London, British Museum EA 149

Comments James (*HTBM* 9) notes that all six people depicted on this stela are also depicted on stela BM EA 167 (ex-coll. Salt, 1835) of the stable master of the residence, Ptahemwia [407].

Bibliography PM VIII/4, 803-049-842; *PN* I, 96.23; *HTBM* 9, 27–28, pl. 23; *KRI* III, 205–206.

[394] ***Pꜣwty*** **Steward of the King**

Title(s) [B] *ỉm.y-r pr n.y nsw*

[C] *sš nsw ♦ sš nsw mꜣꜥ mr.y=f*

Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp.* Tutankhamun.

Items **III. Architectural elements**

1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AM 7-c—pyramidion

Bibliography Rammant-Peeters (1983), 37–38, doc. 34; Berlandini (1977), 32, n. 2; Boeser (1913), 2, no. 3, pls 1, 16.

[395] ***Pꜣ-n-ỉmn*** **Chief of Guardians of Documents of the Temple**

Title(s) [C] *ḫr.y sꜣw.ty sš.w n.w tꜣ ḫw.t*

Date 19th/20th Dynasty.

Items **IV. Stelae**

1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7307

Bibliography PM III/2, 733; *PN* I, 106.8; Mathieu (2012), 819–852 (*fragment Daressy*); Youssef (2011), 84–89; Roeder (1924), 148–150.

[396] ***Pꜣ-nb-pꜣ-ḥꜣw*** **Sailor of the Bark of Amun**
Title(s) [E] *wʿb ♦ nfw n.y pꜣ dp.t n.yt ỉmn*
Date 18th–19th Dynasty.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Florence, Museo Egizio 2588
Bibliography PM III/2, 349; *PN* I, 112.20; Bosticco (1965), II, 51–52, fig. 43.

[397] ***Pꜣ-nḥsỉ*** **Overseer of the Treasury of the King**
Title(s) [B] *ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ n.y nb tꜣ.wy*
[C] *sš nsw mꜣʿ mr.y=f*
Date Ramesside.
Items **V. Burial equipment**
1. Florence, Museo Egizio 2237—canopic jar
Bibliography PM III/2, 772; *PN* I, 113.13; Pellegrini (1998), 89–91, nos 25–27.

[398] ***Pꜣ-Rʿ-m-ḥb*** **(and?)** ***Ḳmꜣ(.w)*** **Chamberlain; Royal Butler**
Title(s) [B] *ỉm.y-r ʿḫnw.ty ♦ wbꜣ nsw wʿb ʿ.wy*
Date Late 18th Dynasty.
Items **III. Architectural elements**
1. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico EG 1892—pillar
Bibliography PM III/2, 751, 824; *PN* I, 114.13, 334.3; Binder (2008), 302, cat. 064; Gessler-Löhr (1989), 29–31; Martin (1979), 131–132; Curto (1961), 85, pl. 33.56; Gauthier (1935), 87–90, pl. 2.

[399] ***Pꜣ-Rʿ-ḥr-wnm=f*** **Great scribe of the Accounting of Amun**
Title(s) [A] *ḥs.y n.y nb.w Ḥw.t-kꜣ-Ptḥ*
[C] *sš wr n.y pꜣ ỉp.w ʿš n.y ỉmn ♦ sš nfr.w n.w pꜣ ỉp.w ʿš*
Date 20th Dynasty (?)
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 3299
Comments Found by A. Mariette, 1859. The JE number implies the stela entered the Bulaq Museum in 1858.
Bibliography PM III/2, 737; *PN* I, 114.17; Pasquali (2017), 565; Berlandini (1985); Mariette (1872), 20, pl. 61.

[400] ***Pꜣ-ḥm-nṯr*** **High Priest of Ptah**
Title(s) [A] *ỉr.y-pʿ.t ḥꜣ.ty-ʿ*
[E] *ỉt-nṯr mr.y nṯr ♦ wr-ḫrp-ḥmw.w ♦ wr-ḫrp-ḥmw.w n.w Ptḥ ♦ sm wr-ḫrp-ḥmw.w n.w Ptḥ*
Date Late 19th to 20th Dynasty.

Items **II. Statues**

1. Paris, Musée du Louvre A 72 = N 73 = CC 85 = Brindeau no. 85—dyad

Comments
- For possible monuments attributed to this man, see (158/USC).
- Dyad Paris A 72 shows him with the Vizier Hori [457].
- For the problem of the multiple high priests named Pahemneter, see Raedler (2011), 139 table 1; 140.

Bibliography PM III/2, 731 (708–709); *PN* I, 15.16; *KRI* IV, 294; Durand/ Saragoza (2002), 73, cat. 52; Maystre (1992), 295–296; Boreux (1932), I, 55, pl. 4.

[401] ***Pꜣ-sr*** **Scribe of the Vizier Ptahmose**

Title(s) [C] *sš n.y tꜣ.ty Ptḥ-ms*

[D] *ḫrp kꜣ.t m ḥw.t Nw.t (?)*

Date 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III.

Items **II. Statues**

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 827

Bibliography PM III/2, 725; *PN* I, 117.12–13; Borchardt (1930), 115, pl. 153.

[402] ***Pꜣ-sr*** **Overseer of the Royal Household**

Title(s) [B] *ỉm.y-r ỉp.t nsw*

[C] *sš nsw*

Date Mid/late-18th Dynasty (*temp*. Amenhotep III?)

Items **I. Reliefs**

1. Present location unknown (seen by Wilkinson at Saqqara, 1856)

IV. Stelae

1. Paris, Musée du Louvre C 80 = N 231

Bibliography PM III/2, 763; VIII/4, 152, no. 803-050-301; *PN* I, 117.12–13

[403] ***Pꜣ-sr*** **Vizier**

Title(s) Titles recorded on his objects from Saqqara:

[A] *ỉr.y-pʿ.t ḥꜣ.ty-ʿ ♦ ḫr.y-sšṯꜣ n.y pr-nsw ♦ [ḫr.y-]tp n.y tꜣ [r-ḏr=f]*

[B] *ỉm.y-r nỉw.t tꜣ.ty ♦ sꜣb ♦ tꜣy.ty sꜣb ♦ tꜣ.ty*

[E] *ỉt-nṯr mr.y nṯr ♦ [ḫr.y-sšṯꜣ] n.y ḥw.t[-nsw.t] ♦ ḫrp šnd.wt nb.wt ♦ sm*

Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Seti I to Ramesses II, at least year 21: the *terminus ad quem* is presented by the appointment of the Vizier Khay in year 30 of Ramesses II.

Items

VIII. Extra-sepulchral

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 1.12.81.1—miniature block statue, faience
2. Hildesheim, Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum 4886—miniature block statuette (from the Temple Terrace animal galleries)
3. Moscow, The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts 1295—miniature block statue, provenance Saqqara?
4. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 17470–17471 = CG 4325–4326—two canopic jars
5. Paris, Musée du Louvre N 772 = IM 3702—shabti, from Serapeum
6. Paris, Musée du Louvre N 772 = IM 3703? = S 1424—shabti, from Serapeum
7. Paris, Musée du Louvre N 773—nine shabtis
8. Paris, Musée du Louvre E 68 = N 762 = IM 2893—pectoral, from Serapeum
9. Paris, Musée du Louvre E 69 = N 763 = IM 2894—pectoral, from the Serapeum
10. Paris, Musée du Louvre E 70 = N 725—scarab, from Serapeum
11. Paris, Musée du Louvre E 71 = AF 2434—ovoid bead amulet
12. Paris, Musée du Louvre E 75 = N 760 = IM 2888—*wadj* amulet, from Serapeum

Comments

- For a complete overview of Paser's titles, see: Raedler (2004), 309–354 (Q_4.1 to Q_4.139).
- Serapeum: Apis VII and IX [II and IV of D. 19] of Mariette, years 16 and 30 of Ramesses II, tomb C8 of Rhoné = tomb G of Mariette.
- Paser was buried in TT 106, El-Khokha.
- Paser's father is mentioned on statue Cairo CG 630 from the temple of Ptah at Memphis.
- Oeters (2017), 75–78, suggests that Paser was the brother of Tatia (056/USC).

Bibliography

PM III/2, 771, 783, 821, 838; *PN* I, 117.12–13; K*RI* II, 366–367 [130, B (II)]; Pasquali (2017), 570–571; Raedler (2012), esp. 137 ff.; 2004, 309–354.

[404] ***P3-grgr*** **Chief Sculptor**
Title(s) [D] *ḥr.y ṯ3y-mḏ3.t* ♦ *ṯ3y-mḏ3.t*
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II.
Items
II. Statues
1. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsens Museum H349—naos with statue
2. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AM 14a, 15, 16b, 17—4 naoi with statues

III. Architectural elements
1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 2286—column base
2. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden L.XI.7—column base
3. Paris, Musée du Louvre D 49 = E3070—column base
4. Paris, Musée du Louvre D 44 = N 363 = LP 14 = Comte d'Hauterive no. 506—pyramidion

VI. Offering tables
1. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 1554
2. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AM 14b

Bibliography PM III/2, 708; *PN* I, 120.16; Holthoer (1990), 436–463 (with further references); Boeser (1912), 2, no. 4, pl. 14; 5, no. 7, pl. 3; (1911), 10, pl. 37.

[405] ***Pi3y*** **Scribe of the Doors in the Temple of Neith Lady of Sais**
Title(s) [C] *sš sb3.w m ḥw.t-nṯr N.t nb.t š3.t*
Date New Kingdom.
Items Unidentified object, found by A. Mariette around 1859, present location unknown
Bibliography PM III/2, 775; *PN* I, 129.25; Mariette (1872), 20, pl. 62.

[406] ***Ptḥ-m-wi3*** **Chief of Retainers of Ptah**
Title(s) [E] *ʿ3 mr.w n.y Ptḥ*
Date Late 18th Dynasty.
Items
III. Architectural elements
1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AM 7*bis* (K 3)—pyramidion

Bibliography *PN* I, 139.18; Giovetti/Picchi (2015), cat. V.37; Rammant-Peeters (1983), 38–39, doc. 35; Boeser (1912), 1–2, pls 1, 15.

[407] ***Ptḥ-m-wi3*** **Stable Master of the Residence**
Title(s) [B] *wpw.ty nsw r ḫ3s.wt nb.wt* ♦ *ḥr.y iḥ.w n.y ḫnw*
[C] *sš ỉp.t nsw* ♦ *sš wdḥ.w*

Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II.
Items
IV. Stelae
1. London, British Museum EA 167
Comments
– The second register of the round-topped stela depicts the High Priest of Ptah, Hori (189/USC).
– See also [393], stela of *Bn-ʿꜣ*.
Bibliography PM VIII/4, 803-045-446; *PN* I, 139.18; *KRI* III, 206–207; *HTBM* 9, 29–30, pl. 25.

[408] ***Ptḥ-m-ḥꜣ.t Ty*** **High Priest of Ptah**
Title(s)
[A] *ỉm.y-ỉb n.y nṯr nfr* ♦ *ỉr.y-pʿ.t ḥꜣ.ty-ʿ* ♦ *ỉr.ty n.y nsw* ♦ *ʿnḫ.wy bỉ.ty* ♦ *smr wʿ.ty* ♦ *sḏꜣ.wty-bỉ.ty*
[E] *sm wr-ḫrp-ḥmw.w*
Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Tutankhamun.
Items
I. Reliefs
1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 12411 (“*Trauerrelief*”)
IV. Stelae
1. London, British Museum EA 972
2. Private collection (?)—ex-coll. Amherst no. 213
V. Burial equipment
1. Paris, Musée du Louvre E 8420—lid of pottery model vase
VII. Varia
1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden I. 89—wooden pommel of a stick
Comments A pyramidion fragment found west of Horemheb (046/usc) could possibly be attributed to this man; see (131/USC).
Bibliography PM III/2, 711–712; *PN* I, 140.1; *HTBM* 10, 10 ff., pl. 8; Gessler-Löhr (2012), 181–187; Raedler (2011), 137, 138 table 1; Maystre (1992), 138–141, docs 70–73; Zivie (1984a), 200–203; Málek (1976), 43–46; Roeder (1924), 179–180.

[409] ***Ptḥ-mʿy*** **Head of Chariot Makers**
Title(s) [D] *ḫr.y ḥmw.w wrr.t*
Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III.
Items
IV. Stelae
1. Florence, Museo Egizio 2584
Bibliography PM III/2, 740; *PN* I, 140.6; Bosticco (1965), 33–35, no. 28, fig. 29.

[410] ***Ptḥ-mʿy*** **Guard**
Title(s) [F] *sʿšꜣ*

Date Late 18th Dynasty.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Munich, Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst Äs 48
Bibliography PM III/2, 745; *PN* I, 140.6; Löhr/Müller (1972), 64, cat. 49a, pl. 33; Dyroff/Pörtner (1904), 36–37, no. 26, pl. 18.

[411] ***Ptḥ-mꜥy*** **Head of Trackers**
Title(s) [?] *ḫr.y ṯꜥy-ꜥ*
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Paris, Musée du Louvre C 210 = N 306 = IM 3044
Comments The stela was found near the Serapeum, in a pit due north of the alley of sphinxes.
Bibliography PM III/2, 746; *PN* I, 140.6; Amer (2000); Pierret (1878), 119–120.

[412] ***Ptḥ-ms*** **High Priest of Ptah**
Title(s) [A] *ỉr.y-pꜥ.t ḥꜣ.ty-ꜥ ♦ ỉr.ty n.y nsw ♦ ꜥꜣ m pr.w nsw ♦ ꜥnḫ.wy n.y bỉ.ty ♦ wr m ỉꜣ.(w)t=f ♦ ḫnt.y n.y nb[=f] ♦ smr wꜥ.ty ♦ sḥtp=f nfr-ḥr ♦ sḏꜣ.wty-bỉ.ty*
[E] *ỉm.y-r ḥm.w-nṯr n.w Šmꜥ.w Mḥ.w ♦ ỉt-nṯr mr.y nṯr ♦ wr-ḫrp-ḥmw.w m pr.wy ♦ ḫr.y-sšṯꜣ n.y s.t wr.t ♦ ḫn.ty s.t m r-sṯꜣ.w ♦ sm ♦ sm wr-ḫrp-ḥmw.w ♦ sm ḥtp ỉb Ptḥ*
Date 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Thutmosis IV–Amenhotep III.
Items **II. Statues**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 584
2. Present location unknown—statuette of deceased grinding corn
IV. Stelae
1. Florence Museo Egizio 2537—triangular stela
III. Architectural elements
1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 2276—pyramidion
V. Burial equipment
1. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsens Museum H264—calcite jar with lid
2. Durham, Oriental Museum N. 1379—vessel
3. Formerly Anastasi, Lee and Amherst Collection—vessel lid
4. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden H. 299, 305, 309, 360—vessels
5. London, British Museum EA 4640—calcite jug

6. Paris, Musée du Louvre AF 6735—calcite lid
7. San Jose, California Rosicrucian Museum 588—vessel
8. Zagreb, Archaeological Museum 548, 567—two vessels

VII. Varia

1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 3427—palette
2. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden I. 635—cubit measure
3. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden I. 519—calcite rubber
4. (*) London, British Museum EA 5472—model knife
5. (*) London, British Museum EA 56863—pestle and mortar
6. (*) London, British Museum EA 54989—vase-shaped model mace-head

(*) = PM III/2, 712: "probably from this man (no indication of father) and from here." These itmes might also be linked to [413], see PM III/2, 727.

Comments
- Ptahmose also features on the false door stela of his father, the Vizier Thutmosis [491].
- Ptahmose also features on the stela of his brother Meryptah [429], along with their father, the Vizier Thutmosis [491].

Bibliography PM III/2, 712–713, 721; *PN* I, 140.9; Giovetti/Picchi (2015), cat. V.27–31; Raedler (2011), 138 table 1; Maystre (1992), 130–131, docs 37–58; Rammant-Peeters (1983), 3, doc. 1; Stewart (1976), 26–27, pl. 16; Bosticco (1965), 41–42, no. 34; Borchardt (1925), 139–140; Boeser (1913), 8, no. 27, pl. 15.

[413] ***Ptḥ-ms(.w)*** **High Priest of Ptah**

Title(s)
[A] *ỉr.y-pʿ.t ḥ3.ty-ʿ ♦ smr wʿ.ty ♦ sḏ3.wty-bỉ.ty*
[E] *ỉt-nṯr mr.y nṯr ♦ wr nmt.t m mfḏ Skr ♦ ḫr.y-sšt3 m Ḥw.t-k3-Ptḥ ♦ ḫr.y-sšt3 n.y s.t wr.t ♦ ḫrp n.y nb mȝʿ.t ♦ sm wr-ḫrp-ḥmw.w ♦ drp nṯr.w wr.w*

Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp.* Amenhotep III–IV, year 5.

Items

II. Statues

1. Florence, Museo Egizio 1790

Comments See also Ptahmose [412], who held the same titles. Some of the items might possibly belong to him.

Bibliography PM III/2, 727; *PN* I, 140.9; Raedler (2011), 38, table 1; Kozloff et al. (1992), cat. 37, pp. 241–242, pl. 21; Maystre (1992), 234–237 (Ptahmes III), 273–277 (Doc. 69).

[414] ***Ptḥ-ms*(*.w*) God's Father of Ptah**
Title(s) [E] *ỉt-nṯr m pr Ptḥ* ♦ *ỉt-nṯr n.y Ptḥ*
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II.
Items **II. Statues**
1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 23—block statue
Comments – Possibly the son of Ptahmose (027/USC).
– Given the material, basalt, this staue may in fact derive from a temple context rather than a tomb context.
Bibliography PM III/2, 728; *PN* I, 140.9; *KRI* III, 416–417; Staring (2014), 469, 495 n. 241; Gessler-Löhr (2012), 186, with n. 162; Greco (2011a); (2010), 38; Schneider/Raven (1981), 99; Boeser (1913), 10–11, no. 24; Schiaparelli (1887), 326.

[415] ***Ptḥ-ms*(*.w*) Brewer of the Temple of Ptah**
Title(s) [B] *ʿtḥ.w n.y ḥw.t-Ptḥ*
Date 18th Dynasty.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7321
Bibliography PM III/2, 733; *PN* I, 140.9; Roeder (1924), 107.

[416] ***Ptḥ-ms*(*.w*) High Priest of Ptah**
Title(s) [A] *ỉr.y-pʿ.t ḥꜣ.ty-ʿ* ♦ *smr*
[E] *ḥr.y-sšṯꜣ n.y p.t n.y tꜣ ỉwn Ḥw.t-kꜣ-Ptḥ* ♦ *sm wr-ḫrp-ḥmw.w* ♦ *tkn m nṯr ꜣwỉ ʿ.wy=f r ///*
Date 19th Dynasty.
Items **III. Architectural elements**
1. London, Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology UC 14477—jamb fragment
Bibliography PM III/2, 759; *PN* I, 140.9; Stewart (1976), 53, pl. 43.2; Anthes (1936), 63 ff.

[417] ***Ptḥ-ms*(*.w*) Steward**
Title(s) [B] *ỉm.y-r pr*
[C] *sš nsw*
Date Late 18th Dynasty.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Mantua, Palazzo Te, Giuseppe Acerbi Egyptian Collection
Bibliography PM III/2, 762; *PN* I, 140.9.

[418] ***Ptḥ-ms*(*.w*) Vizier; High Priest of Ptah**

Title(s) [A] *ỉr.y-pˁ.t ḥ3.ty-ˁ ♦ r Nḫn ♦ r shrr m t3 r ḏr=f ♦ ḥr.y-sšt3 ♦ ḥr.y-sšt3 n.y p.t n.y t3 ♦ smr wˁ.ty ♦ sḏ3.wty-bỉ.ty*

[B] *ỉm.y-r nỉw.t n.yt t3 r ḏr=f ♦ ỉm.y-r nỉw.t ṯ3.ty ♦ ỉm.y-r ḥw.wt wr ♦ ṯ3.ty*

[D] *ỉm.y-r k3.t nb.t n.yt Ptḥ*

[E] *ỉṯ-nṯr mr.y nṯr ♦ ḥm-nṯr M3ˁ.t ♦ sm wr-ḫrp-ḥmw.w*

Date 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Thutmosis III.

Items

IV. Stelae

1. New York, Brooklyn Museum 37.1512E—lower part of a seated statue
2. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AM 1-a—false door stela

V. Burial equipment

1. Louvre, Musée du Louvre N. 2986–2989 = Durand no. 93–96—four canopic jars

VII. Varia

1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AD 54—cubit measure
2. Paris, Musée du Louvre N. 3026 = LP 14 = Comte d'Hauterive no. 483—palette

Comments For the high priests of Ptah named Ptahmose, see most recently: Raedler 2001, 138 n. 15.

Bibliography PM III/2, 773, 774; *PN* I, 140.9; Raedler (2011), 138 n. 15 and table 1 (Ptahmose 1); Gessler-Löhr (1995), 135–143; Murnane (1994), 187–196; Maystre (1992), 128–130, docs 36–37.

[419] ***Ptḥ-ḥtp*(*.w*) Chief Jeweler of the Mansion of gold**

Title(s) [D] *ḥr.y nšdy n.y ḥw.t nbw*

Date 19th Dynasty.

Items

I. Reliefs

1. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico EG 1945

Bibliography *PN* I, 141.5; Pernigotti (1990), 1–7.

[420] ***Mˁy3* Steward**

Title(s) [B] *ỉm.y-r pr*

Date Ramesside.

Items

I. Reliefs

1. Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet NME 23

Bibliography *PN* I, 146.7; Martin (1987a), 40–41, no. 105, pl. 38; Mogensen (1919), 38–40; Lieblein (1868), 22, no. 23.

[421] ***Mʿy*** **Overseer of Magazines of Peru-nefer**
Title(s) [B] *ỉm.y-r šnʿ.w n.w Pr-nfr*
Date Mid-late-18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep II–III.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 8779 = CG 34050
Bibliography PM III/2, 737; *PN* I, 146.10; *Urk. IV*, 1504–1506, no. 476; Pasquali (2017), 568; Lacau (1909–1916), 86–90, pl. 30.

[422] ***Mʿḥwy*** **Scribe of the Temple of Ptah**
Title(s) [C] *sš n.y pr Ptḥ*
Date 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1975.702
Bibliography PM III/2, 752; *PN* I, 163.25; Martin (1987a), 12, no. 15, pl. 5.

[423] ***Mn-ḫpr*** **Steward of the vizier**
Title(s) [B] *ỉm.y-r pr ṯz.ty*
Date Mid to late-18th Dynasty, *temp*. Thutmosis IV–Amenhotep III.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 53
Bibliography PM VIII/4, 803-045-305; *PN* I, 150.13; *Urk*. IV, 1176.9; Giovetti/Picchi (2015), cat. V.12; Pasquali (2011), [A.25]; Schneider (1997), 63–64, cat. no. 80; Gessler-Löhr (1995), 151; Boeser (1913), 2, no. 3, pl. 4

[424] ***Mn(.w)-ms*** **Overseer of Cattle of Amun**
Title(s) [E] *ỉm.y-r ỉḫ.w n.w ʾImn*
Date 18th Dynasty.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 822—wooden stela
Comments According to PM: "Unidentified in East Berlin or lost".
Bibliography PM III/2, 734; Staring (2014–2015), 57. no. 5; Roeder (1924), 99; Anonymous (1899), 159; Passalacqua (1826), 70–71, No. 1401.

[425] ***Mn.w-ms-sw*** **Deputy of Memphis**
Title(s) [B] *ỉdn.w n.y Mn-nfr*
Date Mid-18th Dynasty.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Florence, Museo Egizio 2538
Bibliography PM III/2, 740; *PN* I, 152.4; Bosticco (1965), 35–36, no. 29, fig. 28.

[426] ***Mn.w-nḫt(.w)*** **Scribe of Forms of the Temple of Re**
Title(s) [D] *sš ḳd (ỉr.y wʿb m pr Rʿ)* ♦ *sš ḳd n.y pr Rʿ*
Date 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Thutmosis III.
Items **VII. Varia**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 6.4.23.12—fan handle
Comments – Found by L. Vassalli, 1864.
– Son of the Scribe of Forms of the King, Djehuty [499].
Bibliography PM III/2, 774; *PN* I, 152.6; Raue (1999), 199–200; Maspero (1915), 530, no. 5337.

[427] ***Mr-n-Ptḥ*** ***Sem*** **Priest**
Title(s) [A] *ỉr.y-pʿ.t ḥ3.ty-ʿ* ♦ *smr wʿ.ty* ♦ *sḏ3.wty-bỉ.ty*
[E] *ḥr.y-sšt3 m ḫm nb* ♦ *sm*
Date 18th Dynasty (?)
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7276
Bibliography PM III/2, 733; *PN* I, 156.22; Roeder (1924), 106–107.

[428] ***Mry-Ptḥ*** **Chief of Goldsmiths of the King**
Title(s) [A] *ḥs.y n.y Ptḥ nb Mỉ3ʿ.t*
[D] *ḥr.y nby.w n.y nb t3.wy*
Date 18th Dynasty.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7279
Bibliography PM III/2, 733; *PN* I, 160.14; Roeder (1924), 145–147.

[429] ***Mry-Ptḥ*** **Steward in the Temple of Amenhotep III**
Title(s) [A] *ỉr.y-pʿ.t ḥ3.ty-ʿ* ♦ *ỉr.ty n.y nsw* ♦ *ʿnḫ.wy n.y bỉ.ty* ♦ *mḥ-ỉb n.y nṯr nfr* ♦ [*ḥr.y-sšt3*] *pr-ḏ3.t* ♦ *ḥs.y n.y nṯr nfr* ♦ *smr wʿ.ty n.y mr.wt*
[B] *ỉm.y-r pr* ♦ *ỉm.y-r pr n.y t3 ḫw.t Nb-mỉ3ʿ.t-Rʿ*
[E] *wr-ḫrp-ḥmw.w m ỉwnw Šmʿ.w* ♦ *ḫm-nṯr m r-pr n.y t3 ḫw.t pr-ʿ3 ʿ.w.s.* ♦ *ḫm-nṯr m ḫw.t (Nb)-mỉ3ʿ.t-(Rʿ)* ♦ *ḫm-nṯr* [*n.y t3 ḫw.t Nb-mỉ3ʿ.t-Rʿ*] ♦ *sm m pr Ptḥ* ♦ *sm m t3* [*ḫw.t Nb-mỉ3ʿ.t-Rʿ*]
Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 11 [upper half]
2. London, Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology UC 14463 [lower half]

Comments
- Son of the Vizier Thutmosis [491].
- Meryptah is depicted as a subsidiary figure in TT 55 of the Vizier Ramose, see Davies (1941), pl. 9; *Urk.* IV, 1787.5–6: *sm m tȝ ḥw.t Nb-mȝʿ.t-Rʿ ỉm.y-r pr Mr.y-Ptḥ mȝʿ-ḫrw*.

Bibliography PM III/2, 712; *PN* I, 160.14; Giovetti/Picchi (2015), cat. V.27; Binder (2008), 312–313, no. 104; Gessler-Löhr (1995), 145, pl. 5a; Murnane (1994), 189–192; Stewart (1976), 26–27, pl. 16; Bosse-Griffiths (1955), 56–63, pl. 14; Anthes (1936), 60–68; Boeser (1912), 8, no. 27, pl. 15.

[430] ***Mry-Ptḥ*** **High Priest of Ptah**

Title(s)
[A] *ỉr.y-pʿ.t ♦ ỉr.y-pʿ.t ḥȝ.ty-ʿ ♦ mr.y nb=f ♦ ḫr.y-ỉb n.y nṯr=f ♦ ḫr.y-tp ỉȝ.wt ḫnt.t ♦ ḫnt.y s.t m r-sṯȝ.w ♦ sp=f m ỉr.t ȝḫ.t ♦ smr wʿ.ty ♦ stp n.y nsw m ḥw.t Ptḥ ḫr mnḫ=f ♦ sḏȝ.wty-bỉ.ty ♦ tḫ ʿḳȝ n.y mʿbȝ mdw.t=f nb m ḫ.w n.y sbȝ ♦ /// ỉȝ.wt ḫn.ty*

[E] *ʿȝ m ḥw.t Ptḥ ♦ ʿḳ.w ḫr sštȝ.w n(.w) ḫm nb nn wn ỉmn r=f ♦ rḫ ḏsr.w n.y p.t tȝ dwȝ.t ỉwn.w Ḥw.t-kȝ-Ptḥ ♦ ḫr.y-sštȝ n.y wp-r ♦ ḫr.y-sštȝ [n.y] s.t wr.t ♦ sm Ptḥ ♦ sm wr-ḫrp-ḥmw.w*

Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp.* Tutankhamun (?)–Horemheb.

Items

I. Reliefs

1. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum H.1046

II. Statue

1. Paris, Musée du Louvre A 60 = N 61 = CC 84—quartzite naophorous statue, lower part

V. Burial equipment

1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 45—limestone shabti

2. Louvre, Musée du Louvre N 2986–2989 = Durand no. 93–96—four canopic jars

VI. Offering tables

1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 2273

Comments Meryptah was also high priest of Re in Heliopolis.

Bibliography PM III/2, 706; *PN* I, 160.14; Raedler (2011), 137 with n. 11, and table 1; Gessler-Löhr (2007b), 32–36, 54–55; Étienne (2006), 126, fig. 162; Gamer-Wallert/Grieshammer (1992), 89–90, no. 10, fig. 10; Maystre (1992), 80–81, 138, docs 79–81; Gamer-Wallert (1983), 99–129.

[431] ***Mry-mry*** **Guardian of the Treasury of Memphis**

Title(s)
[B] *sȝw.ty pr-ḥḏ n.y Mn-nfr*

Date 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III.

Items

I. Reliefs

1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 6-a
2. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 6-b

V. Burial equipment

3. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 30a—milling statuette
4. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 30b—milling statuette
5. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 52—milling statuette
6. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 44a–b—2 shabtis
7. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden L.VII.14—shabti (mummy on a bier)
8. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden S. 65—papyrus-scepter amulet

Bibliography PM III/2, 705–706; *PN* I, 160.20; Giovetti/Picchi (2015), cat. V.22–23; Gessler-Löhr (2007a), 80–81; Boeser (1911), 5–6, no. 2, pls 13–20.

[432] ***Ms*** **?**

Title(s) ?

Date Late 18th Dynasty.

Items

IV. Stelae

2. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 20.3.25.5

Bibliography *PN* I, 164.18; Radwan (1987), 227, pl. 6.

[433] ***Nꜣ-ḥw-ḥr*** **[*Nꜣ-ḥrḥ* (*?*)]** **Chief Steward of the Ramesseum**

Title(s) **[B]** *ỉm.y-r pr* ♦ *ỉm.y-r pr wr* ♦ *ỉm.y-r pr wr m* [*tꜣ*] *ḥw.t Wsr-mꜣʿ.t-Rʿ-stp.n-Rʿ m pr ỉmn*

[C] *sš nsw*

Date Late 18th / early 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Horemheb–[early] Ramesses II.

Items

IV. Stelae

1. Private Collection; ex-coll. Michaelides (probably from Thebes)

V. Burial equipment

1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden cat. 3.2.1.24—shabti (from Saqqara)

Comments Nahuher was the (half-)brother of Maya (028/USC).

Bibliography *PN* I, 170.3; *KRI* III, 187; Staring (2014–2015), 72–73, no. 2; Martin (2012), 63–65; Van Dijk (1990), 23–28; Schneider (1977), II, 63; III, pl. 21; Wente (1963), 30–36 (esp. 31–32, with fig. 1); Helck (1958), 375.

[434] ***Nḫy*** **Priest of Sakhmet in the Temple of Sakhmet**

Title(s) [C] *sš nsw*
[E] *ḥm-nṯr n.y Sḫm.t* ♦ *ḥm-nṯr Sḫm.t m ḥw.t Sḫm.t*

Date Late 18th / early 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Horemheb–Seti I.

Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7322—found reused in Abusir
2. Hannover, Museum August-Kestner 2933
3. Leipzig, Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff ÄMUL 2885

Bibliography PM III/2, 707–708; *PN* I, 181.15; LD, *Text*, I, 138; Herzberg (2016), 35–39; Blumenthal (1997), 96, no. 78; Drenkhahn (1989), 112–113, no. 37.

[435] ***Nb-ms(.w)*** **Overseer of the Treasury**

Title(s) [A] *ṯzy-ḫw ḥr wnm.y (n.y) nsw*
[B] *ỉm.y-r pr-ḥḏ*
[C] *sš nsw*
[E] *ḥm-nṯr tp.y n.y ȝs.t nb.t Ḥbyt*

Date 19th Dynasty.

Items **III. Architectural elements**
1. London, British Museum EA 1465—lintel

Bibliography PM III/2, 759; *PN* I, 185.8; *HTBM* 10, 40, pl. 93; Binder (2008), 319–320, no. 127; Budge (1909), 176, no. 635.

[436] ***Nb-nḥḥ*** **Chief of Bowmen**

Title(s) [F] *ḥr.y-pḏ.t*

Date 19th Dynasty.

Items **II. Statue**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 22109 = CG 597—dyad

Bibliography PM III/2, 726; *PN* I, 185.23; Pasquali (2017), 574; Borchardt (1925), 150–151, pl. 107.

[437] ***Nb-nṯr.w*** **Scribe of the Treasury**
Title(s) [C] *sš pr-ḥḏ*
Date 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AM 8-b—quartzite
Bibliography *PN* I, 185.27; Giovetti/Picchi (2015), cat. V.32; Étienne (2009), 236–237, cat. 189; Boeser (1913), 3, pl. 10.7.

[438] ***Nfr-rnp.t*** **Royal Scribe**
Title(s) [C] *sš nsw*
Date 19th Dynasty.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Brussels, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire E 3053–3055—3 adjoining blocks
Bibliography PM III/2, 752; *PN* I, 197.18; Werbrouck (1938), 79, pl. 32; Speleers (1923), 39–40, no. 149.

[439] ***Nfr-ḥr*** **?**
Title(s) ?
Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Tutankhamun–Ay.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 20222
Bibliography Pasquali (2017), 573; Metawi (2016); Mariette (1864), 67, no. 28.

[440] ***Nfr-ḥtp*** **Deputy in the Temple of Ptah**
Title(s) [B] *ỉdn.w m pr Ptḥ*
[C] *sš n.y Ptḥ* ♦ *sš n.y ḥḏ-nbw n.y Ptḥ* ♦ *sš ḥsb ḥḏ-nbw n.y Ptḥ* ♦ *sš ḥtp-nṯr n.y Ptḥ* ♦ *sš ḥtp-nṯr n.y nṯr.w nb.w*
[D] *ỉm.y-r ḥmw.t n.yt Ptḥ*
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II.
Items **III. Architectural elements**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 18928 = TN 26.11.24.7—Hathor *djed* pillar
Bibliography PM III/2, 755; *PN* I, 198.14; Pasquali (2017), 572; Gohary (1998), 70–72, pls 1–2; Berlandini (1988), 24, 26, pl. 1B; Kákosy (1980), 50–51, pl. 7.1–3; Maspero (1915), 183, no. 676; Perrot/Chipiez (1882), fig. 343.

[441] ***Nfr-tm-ḥtp*(*.w*)** **Overseer of Gods-servants**
Title(s) [E] *ỉm.y-r ḥm.w-nṯr*

Date 19th Dynasty.
Items **II. Statues**
1. Private collection, auctioned at Sotheby's, 1956
Bibliography PM III/2, 732; *PN* I, 201.1; *Sotheby Sale Catalogue*, May 14–15, 1956, 17.

[442] ***Nm.ty-ms(.w)*** **Charioteer of His Majesty**
Title(s) [F] *kṯn n.y ḥm=f*
Date 19th Dynasty.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 22.1.21.1
Bibliography PM III/2, 737; Pasquali (2017), 575; Mariette (1872–1889), 30, pl. 105.

[443] ***Nꜣ*** **Servant in the Double Archive of the king**
Title(s) [B] *sḏm ꜥš m pr.wy šfd.w n.y nṯr nfr*
Date Mid-18th Dynasty.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Munich, Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst ÄS 51
Bibliography PM III/2, 745; Löhr/Müller (1972), 69, cat. 58; Dyroff/Pörtner (1904), 29–32, no. 22, pl. 14.

[444] ***Nḫm-ꜥy*** **Chief of Bowmen**
Title(s) [F] *im.y-r ḫꜣs.wt rs.yt ♦ ḫr.y iḫ.w ♦ ḫr.y-pḏ.t*
Date 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III (?)
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 34098
Bibliography PM III/2, 737; *PN* I, 208.3; Lacau (1909–1916), 151–152, pl. 46.

[445] ***Nḫḥ-n-it=f*** **Servant**
Title(s) [B] *sḏm-ꜥš*
Date 19th Dynasty.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7273
Bibliography PM III/2, 733; *PN* I, 209.1; Roeder (1924), 150–152.

[446] ***Nḫt*** **Singer of Amun**
Title(s) [E] *ḫs(i).w n.y ʾImn*
Date 18th Dynasty.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Uppsala, Victoriamuseum för Egyptiska Fornsaker 35

Bibliography PM III/2, 747; *PN* I, 209.16; Lugn (1922), 10–12, pl. 9.11.

[447] ***Rˁ Wab* Priest of Ptah**

Title(s) [E] *ỉm.y s.t-ˁ rmnỉ m ḥ3.t n.yt Ptḥ ♦ wˁb ♦ wˁb ˁ3 ♦ wˁb n.y Ptḥ ♦ s3 nsw n.y Ptḥ*

Date 18th Dynasty, first half.

Items

IV. Stelae

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 20.1.21.4

Bibliography *PN* I, 217.7; Selim (2002), 399–411, fig. 1, pl. 42.

[448] ***Rˁ-ms-s(w)-m-pr-Rˁ* Royal Butler**

Title(s) [A] *ṯ3y-ḫw ḥr wnm.y n.y nsw*

[B] *wb3 nsw ♦ wb3 nsw ˁ3 n.y ˁ.t n.yt ḥnḳ.t ♦ wb3 nsw ˁ3 n.y ˁ.t n.yt ḥnḳ.t pr-ˁ3 ˁ.w.s. ♦ wb3 nsw ˁ3 n.y ḥnḳ.t ♦ wb3 nsw n.y nb t3.wy ♦ wb3 nsw tp.y n.y ḥm=f ♦ wb3 nsw tp.y n.y nb t3.wy ♦ wḥm.w tp.y n.y ḥm=f*

Date 19th Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II–Merenptah.

Items

I. Reliefs

1. Private Collection (seen with a dealer in Cairo, 1972)

2. Rome, Musei di Villa Torlonia 554 (ancient Villa Albani)—fragment

3. Rome, Musei di Villa Torlonia 557 (ancient Villa Albani)—fragment

III. Architectural elements

1. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico NI 1913—pillar, fragment

2. New York, Brooklyn Museum 35.1315—lintel, fragment

IV. Stelae

1. Vienne (Isère), Museé des Beaux Arts et d'Archéologie NE 1555—fragment

Comments Mentioned on ostraca Cairo JE 51515 and JE 50340, from the Valley of the Kings, Thebes, dating to years 7 and 8 of Merenptah.

Bibliography PM III/2, 715; *PN* I, 218.11; Berlandini-Grenier (1974), 1–19, pls 1–4.

[449] ***Rˁ-ms-s(w)-m-ḥb* Mayor of Memphis**

Title(s) [B] *ḥ3.ty-ˁ wr n.y Mn-nfr*

Date 19th Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II.

Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Private collection—fragment
Bibliography Devauchelle (1992), 203–204.

[450] ***Rˁ-ms-sw-nḫt(.w)*** **General**
Title(s) [B] *ỉm.y-r pr m t[ȝ] ḥw.t Wsr-mȝˁ.t-Rˁ-stp.n-Rˁ m pr ỉmn ḥr ỉmnt.t Wȝs.t*
[C] *sš nsw*
[F] *ỉm.y-r mšˁ ♦ ṯsw-pḏ.t*
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II, early.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Brussels, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histore E 5183
II. Statues
1. Paris, Musée du Louvre E 11523—glazed schist statue of his mother Nasha
VII. Varia
1. Turin, Museo Egizio CGT 22052 = Cat. 1755—basin
Bibliography *PN* I, 219.3; *KRI* III, 198–199, 848; VII, 115; Staring (2014–2015), 72, no. 1; Leblanc (2012), 81–98; Binder (2008), 327, no. 15; Barbotin (1999), 36–37, cat. 10*a*, pl. 4; Berlandini (1979), 249–265.

[451] ***Rˁ-ms-s(w)-nḫt(.w)*** **Scribe of the Office of Presentation of the King**
Title(s) [C] *sš n.y ˁ.t ḥnḳ.t pr.wy-ȝ ˁ.w.s*
Date Ramesside.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet NME 26
Bibliography PM III/2, 761; *PN* I, 219.3; Peterson (1974), 8–10, fig. 2; Mogensen (1919), 50–51.

[452] ***Rˁ.y/Rˁỉȝ*** **Head of the Bakery of Ptah**
Title(s) [B] *ỉm.y-r ˁmr n.y Ptḥ ♦ ḥr.y ˁmr n.y nb Mȝˁ.t*
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Seti I to Ramesses II.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum E.SS.49
II. Statues
1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 11—naophorous statue
Bibliography PM VIII, 801-634-202; *PN* I, 220.7/9; Giovetti/Picchi (2015), cat. V.60; Martin (2009), 145–149; Van Dijk (1993), 117–118, fig. 20;

(1986), 15, pl. 3; (1983), 51, no. 3; Boeser (1912), 11–12, no. 26, pl. 12; Budge (1893), 78.

[453] ***Ḥ3.t-i3y*** **Scribe of the Double Granary of the Temple of the Aten in Memphis**

Title(s) [C] *sš n.y šnw.ty pr ʾItn m Mn-nfr*

Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III, late, or Amenhotep IV, early.

Items **VII. Varia**

1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden I.86—wooden stick

Comments Peck (2011), 53: "It has been suggested that Hatiay and his family may have been reinterred at Thebes from their original tomb at Memphis." The Theban tomb was excavated by G. Daressy in 1896.

Bibliography PM III/2, 775; *PN* I, 233.2; Peck (2011), 53; Pasquali (2011), 78 [B.17].

[454] ***Ḥ3.t-i3y*** **Overseer of Cattle of Amun**

Title(s) [B] *ỉm.y-r ỉḫ.w* [*n.w ʾImn*]

Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III.

Items **IV. Stelae**

1. Florence, Museo Egizio 2593

Comments The name of Amun has been erased from the title 'overseer of cattle [of Amun]'.

Bibliography *PN* I, 233.2; Bosticco (1965), 43–44, fig. 36.

[455] ***Ḥwy*** **Chief of Bowmen**

Title(s) [A] *ṯ3y-sry.t n.y s3w ʿ3 n.y Wsr-m3ʿ.t-Rʿ-stp.n-Rʿ mr.y-ʾImn*

[F] *ḥr.y-pḏ.t* (erroneously written as: *ḥr.y-nb.t*)

Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II.

Items **IV. Stelae**

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 10080 = TN 5.11.24.9

Bibliography PM VIII/4, 61–62, no. 803-048-220; I, 233.18; *KRI* III, 256; Pasquali (2017), 568; Lowle (1981), 253–258, pl. 5.

[456] ***Ḥm.y*** **Mayor of Memphis**

Title(s) [B] *ḫ3.ty-ʿ n.y Mn-nfr*

Date 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Thutmosis III.

Items **II. Statues**

1. Paris, Museée du Louvre E 5336—block statue

Comments In view of the material, basalt, a temple context is perhaps more likely than a tomb context.

Bibliography PM VIII/2, 801-643-495; *PN* I, 240.23; Gessler-Löhr (1997), 34, pl. 2.1; Schulz (1992), I, 449, no. 267; II, pl. 118a.

[457] ***Ḥrỉ*** **Vizier**

Title(s) [A] *ỉr.y-pʿ.t ḥ3.ty-ʿ*
[B] *ỉm.y-r nỉw.t ṯ3.ty ♦ s3b*
[E] *ỉt-nṯr ♦ ḥr.y-sšt3 ♦ sšm.w-ḥb n.y ʾImn ♦ sšm.w-ḥb n.y ʾImn-Rʿ nsw-nṯr.w*

Date Late 19th–20th Dynasty.

Items
I. Reliefs
1. Memphis Magazine, excavation no. M-2218—relief fragment found at Memphis
II. Statues
1. Paris, Musée du Louvre A 72 = N 73 = CC 85 = Brindeau no. 85—dyad

Comments
– Relief block excavated by an archaeological mission of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania led by Clarence Fisher, 1958–1962.
– Dyad Paris A 72 represents Hori with the High Priest of Ptah, Pahemneter [400].

Bibliography PM III/2, 731; *PN* I, 251.8; *KRI* IV, 294; Durand/Saragoza (2002), 73, cat. 52; Maystre (1992), 143 (HP Pehemneter), doc. 101; Boreux (1932), I, 55, pl. 4.

[458] ***Ḥrỉ Wab*** **Priest and Lector Priest in the Temple of Ptah**

Title(s) [E] *wʿb n.y Ptḥ ♦ wʿb ḫr.y-ḥb n.y Ptḥ*

Date 19th Dynasty.

Items
IV. Stelae
1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 50

Bibliography *PN* I, 251.8; Weiss (2017), 216–218; Boeser (1913), 9, no. 30, pl. 20.

[459] ***Ḥrỉ ḏd.n=f Rʿ*** **First Prophet of Werethekau**

Title(s) [A] *ḥs.y n.y nb t3.wy*
[B] *ỉm.y ḫnt*
[E] *ḫm-nṯr tp.y Wr.t-Ḥk3.w*

Date Late 18th/early 19th Dynasty.

Items
II. Statues
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 21871 = CG 806—statuette, wood

Bibliography PM III/2, 726; *PN* I, 251.8; Pasqualí (2017), 573; Borchardt (1930), 102–103, pl. 149.

[460] ***Ḥʿ(i)-m-wꜣs.t Kyꜣ-wiꜣ*** **?**
Title(s) ?
Date 19th Dynasty.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 18922
Bibliography PM III/2, 737; *PN* I, 263.18, 343.11; Pasqualí (2017), 571; Hickmann (1961), 148–149, fig. 120.

[461] ***Ḥʿy*** **Chief of Guardians of the King**
Title(s) [B] *ḥr.y sꜣw.ty n.y nb tꜣ.wy*
Date Late 18th / early 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Horemheb–Seti I.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7281
Bibliography PM III/2, 733; *PN* I, 265.7; Roeder (1924), 163–164.

[462] ***Ḫns.w-pꜣ-wꜣḍ*** **Overseer of the Storehouse (?)**
Title(s) [B] *im.y-r s.t (?)*
Date Early 19th Dynasty.
Items **III. Architectural elements**
1. London, British Museum EA 36237—*djed* pillar (four fragments)
Comments Acquired from a French dealer in 1925.
Bibliography Van Dijk (1986), 9–10, fig. 2, pl. 1.1.

[463] ***Ḫnty-sꜣ(?)-n-nb-tꜣ*** **?**
Title(s) ?
Date Late 18th /early 19th Dynasty.
Items **II. Statues**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 805—statuette, wood
Bibliography PM III/2, 726; Borchardt (1930), 102, pl. 149

[464] ***S*** **Scribe of Documents of the Chief Steward**
Title(s) [C] *sš ♦ sš ḥsb bi.tyw n.y pr-ḥḍ ♦ sš šʿ.t n.yt im.y-r pr wr ♦ sš šʿ.t n.yt im.y-r pr wr n.y nsw.t ♦ ir.w wstw m Mn-nfr r bw ḫri nsw.t m s.t=f nb.t*
Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III.

Items **IV. Stelae**

1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7272

Bibliography PM III/2, 734; Roeder (1924), 109–110.

[465] ***Sȝ-ȝs.t*** **Royal Scribe**

Title(s) [C] *sš nsw*

Date 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Thutmosis IV–Amenhotep III.

Items **II. Statues**

1. New York, Brooklyn Museum 37.125E

Bibliography PM III/2, 721; *PN* I, 278.21; James (1974), 120, no. 271, pl. 70; 124, no. 280, pl. 72.

[466] ***Sȝ-mw.t*** **Scribe of the Treasury**

Title(s) [C] *sš pr ḥḏ*

Date 19th Dynasty, temp. Ramesses II–Merenptah.

Items **II. Statues**

1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 22—block statue

Bibliography PM VIII/2, 610 (801-643-347); *PN* I, 282.3; Giovetti/Picchi (2015), cat. V.59; Schulz (1992), 350, no. 200, pl. 89; Schneider/Raven (1981), 101, cat. 90; Boeser (1912), 10, no. 23, pl. 10.

[467] ***Sȝ-pȝ-ỉr*** **Overseer of the Treasury**

Title(s) [A] *ỉr.y-pʿ.t ḥȝ.ty-ʿ ♦ ḫw [ḏr?]t=f [nrw(?)] ʿšȝ.t ♦ sḏm(?) mdw=f m šny.t n.t sr.w ḫr nsw ♦ ỉr(ỉ) ʿḥ [nsw] r ỉr.t sḫr tȝ.w ỉr(r.w) ḫr mw ỉr(r.w) ḫr tȝ ♦ mtỉ mȝʿ (?) mḥȝ.t nb tȝ.wy ♦ ḫtm.t nb.t n.t nsw ḫr ḏbʿ.t=f ♦ sʿb t-nt-ḥtr m ḥḏ nbw ḫsbḏ mfkȝ.t ʿȝ.t nb.t šps.t ♦ sʿry n(?) smr.w n nsw ♦ tḥ ʿḥ nsw*

[B] *ỉm.y-r ʿḫnw.ty ♦ ỉm.y-r pr.wy-ḥḏ ♦ ỉm.y-r ry.t m pȝ hbny ♦ ỉm.y-r ry.t m pȝ hbny n.y pr nsw ♦ ỉm.y-r pr(?) ḥḏ-nbw ♦ ỉm.y-r s.t n.yt ʿt ỉrp ♦ ḫr.y šsp bȝk.t tȝ.wy ḫrp.wt Šmʿ.w Tȝ-mḥ.w ♦ ḫrd n.y kȝp ♦ ṯȝy-ȝbw n.y nb tȝ.wy*

[C] *sš nsw ♦ sš nsw n.y mr(.wt)=f*

[F] *mdw n.y mšʿ ♦ ḫr.y ỉḥ.w n.y ḫm=f*

Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III.

Items **III. Architectural elements (?)**

1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7781—pyramidion fragment or niche with statues?

2. Private Collection (?)—pyramidion/niche fragment

Comments
- Limestone pyramidion fragment/niche Berlin ÄM 7781 was acquired in 1878 and was lost during World War II. The *Erwerbungsbuch* describes the item as a *"Bruchstück eines Grabsteins"*.
- R. Hay and J. Gardner Wilkinson copied the text of the second fragment at Saqqara in the first half of the 19th century.

Bibliography PM III/2, 732; *PN* I, 281.24; Staring (2021a), 39–40; Málek (1989a), 61–76 (date: early 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Ahmose); Roeder (1924), 231–232.

[468] ***S3k3*** **/// of the Treasury in the Temple of Ramesses Meriamun in the House of Osiris**

Title(s) [B] */// pr.w-ḥḏ m t3 ḥw.t Rʿ-ms-sw mr.y-ʾImn m pr Wsr*

Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II or later.

Items **IV. Stelae**

1. Present location unknown—seen by Lepsius at Massara's in Cairo, on 07.11 1842

Bibliography PM III/2, 748–749; LD *Text*, I, 17.

[469] ***Swtw*** **?**

Title(s) ?

Date Ramesside.

Items **IV. stelae**

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 14.3.25.6

Bibliography Radwan (1987), 226, pl. 5.

[470] ***Sb3*** **Overseer of Works**

Title(s) [C] *sš nsw*

[D] *im.y-r k3.t*

Date 19th Dynasty.

Items **II. Statues**

1. Munich, Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst Gl. WAF 33

Bibliography PM III/2, 729; *PN* I, 303.9; Löhr/Müller (1972), 80–81, cat. 71, pl. 43.

[471] ***Sb3*** **Scribe of Divine Offerings of the House of Ptah**

Title(s) [A] *wʿ iḳr* [*ḥr*] *bi.t=f* ♦ *ḥs.y ʿ3 n.y Ptḥ nb Mʒʿ.t*

[C] *sš pr-ḥḏ n.y nb Mʒʿ.t* ♦ *sš n.y pr.wy-ḥḏ n.y Ptḥ* ♦ *sš ḥtp.w-nṯr n.w pr Ptḥ*

Date Late 18th/early 19th Dynasty.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7315
Bibliography PM III/2, 734; *PN* I, 303.9; Roeder (1924), 172–173.

[472] ***Sbk-msi*(*.w*) Scribe of the West of [the Aten]**
Title(s) [C] *sš n.y tꜣ ỉmn.tyt* [*n.y ỉtn*]
Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Tutankhamun.
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico EG 1893
Bibliography *PN* I, 304.13; Bresciani (1975), 42–43, pl. 18; Curto (1961), 86, no. 59, pl. 35.

[473] ***Sbk-ḥtp*(*.w*) Guardian of the Temple of Thutmosis I**
Title(s) [A] *ḥs.y n.y nṯr nfr*
[B] *sꜣw*(*.ty*) *ꜥꜣ n.y ḥꜣ.ty* ♦ *sꜣw.ty n.y pr ꜥꜣ-ḫpr-kꜣ-Rꜥ*
Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Florence, Museo Egizio 2589
Bibliography PM III/2, 740; *PN* I, 305.6; *Urk* IV, 129, no. 50; Gessler-Löhr (2007a), 87 n. 44; Bryan (1990), 74–75; Bosticco (1965), 29–31, no. 22, fig. 22.

[474] ***Skḥ* Mayor of Memphis**
Title(s) [A] *ỉr.ty n.y nsw m tꜣ pn r ḏr=f* ♦ *ỉm.y-ỉb n.y Ḥr m ỉnb.w-ḥḏ* ♦ *wḥm.w nsw* ♦ [*nb*] *mr.wt ḥr bỉ.t=f nfr.w* ♦ *nb ḥs.wt ḥr mdw.t r=f*
[B] *ḥꜣ.ty-ꜥ n.y Mn-nfr*
Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Tutankhamun–Ay[–Horemheb?]
Items **I. Reliefs**
1. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum ÄS 5816
2. Leipzig, Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff ÄMUL 1827
Bibliography PM III/2, 761; *PN* I, 321.9; Herzberg (2016), 47–52, figs. 7–8; Gessler-Löhr (1997), 57–58, pl. 10; Satzinger (1994), 86–87, fig. 58; Reinisch (1865), 256, no. 21, pl. 39D; Von Bergmann/Dedekind (1894), 36, no. 8.

[475] ***Swty* Head of Sailors of Maat**
Title(s) [E] *ḥr.y nfw.w n.w Mꜣꜥ.t*

Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II, after year 30.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 8781 = TN 14.3.25.6
Bibliography PM III/2, 737; *PN* I, 321.17; Pasquali (2017), 568; Gaballa (1979a), 42–44, fig. 1, pl. 1.

[476] ***Kȝ.y*** **Head of Door Keepers of the Residence**
Title(s) [B] *ḥr.y ʿȝ ♦ ḥr.y wn.w n.y ḫnw*
Date Ramesside.
Items **V. Burial equipment**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 20197–20199 = CG 4221–4224—three faience canopic jars with lids
Comments According to the *Journal d'Entrée*, a fourth jar was found, broken.
Bibliography PM III/2, 771; *PN* I, 341.19; Pasquali (2017), 572; Reisner (1967), 154–158, pls 33–34.

[477] ***Km*** **Sectional Chief of the New Poultry-yards of [the Temple of] Ptah**
Title(s) [B] *ʿȝ n.y ḳʿḥ n.y tȝ mnḫ.wt n.y Ptḥ*
Date Ramesside.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7289
Bibliography PM III/2, 733; *PN* I, 344.28; Roeder (1924), 164–165.

[478] ***Kȝsȝ*** **Guardian of the Stone Door**
Title(s) [B] *ỉr.y-ʿȝ n.y pr ʿȝ ʿ.w.s. ♦ ỉr.y-ʿȝ n.y pȝ sbȝ n.y ỉnr ♦ sȝw.ty n.y pȝ sbȝ n.y ỉnr*
Date 19th Dynasty.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 8778—triangular stela
V. Burial equipment
Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 6499 = CG 47618
Bibliography PM III/2, 737; *PN* I, 348.13; Pasquali (2017), 568, with n. 32; Bakry (1962), 10–14, pls 2–3.

[479] ***Kȝsȝ*** **General of the Army**
Title(s) [C] *sš nsw ♦ sš nsw wr n.y nb tȝ.wy ♦ sš nsw mȝʿ mr.y=f*
[F] *ỉm.y-r mšʿ ♦ ỉm.y-r mšʿ wr ♦ ỉm.y-r mšʿ wr n.y nb tȝ.wy ♦ ỉm.y-r mšʿ n.y nb tȝ.wy*

Date Early 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses I–Seti I.

Items

IV. Stelae

1. Marseille, Musée de la Vieille Charité 240–243—four stelae

V. Burial equipment

1. Marseille, Musée de la Vieille Charité 369/1–369/3—three shabtis
2. Paris, "Emmacha" collection—shabti
3. London, British Museum EA 33957—shabti
4. London, British Museum EA 22932–22934—three calcite canopic jars (a fouth one lost)
5. Moscow, The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts I 1a 1711 (?)

VIII. Extra-sepulchral

1. Hannover, Museum August-Kestner 1935.200.196 (sandstone; from Upper Egypt?)
2. Private collection—shabti (sandstone)
3. Private collection—votive shabti (sandstone), probably from Giza of Saqqara (Rosetau)

Bibliography PM III/2, 745; *PN* I, 348.13; Warmenbol (2019); Calmettes/Farout (2019); Taylor (2010), 120–121, cat. 52–53 (Marseille inv. nos 240, 242); Nelson/Piérini (1978), 72, figs 300–303; Berlandini (1977), 38–44, pls 7–14; Maspero (1889), 25–27 [40–43]; Naville (1880).

[480] ***Tȝ-yȝ*** **Overseer of the Builders of the King**

Title(s) [A] *ḥs.y n Wnn-nfr*

[D] *ỉm.y-r ḳd.w n.w pȝ pr-ʿȝ ʿ.w.s.*

Date Early 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Seti I–Ramsesses II.

Items

III. Architectural elements

1. Paris, Musée du Louvre D 20 = N 361—pyramidion

Bibliography PM III/2, 770; *PN* I, 140.9; Rammant-Peeters (1983), 58–59, doc. 54; Berlandini (1977), 32, n. 2.

[481] ***Tnȝ*** **Scribe of the Army of the King**

Title(s) [C] *sš msʿ n.y nb tȝ.wy*

Date Ramesside.

Items

VII. Varia

1. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 8042—palette

Bibliography PM III/2, 773; Roeder (1924), 304.

[482] ***Tnr (Tl)*** **Scribe of Forms**

Title(s) [D] *sš ḳd.wt*

Date 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Thutmosis IV/Amenhotep III.

Items

IV. Stelae

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 18924 = TN 20.1.21.3

Comments A shabti held in a private collection in Leiden is also inscribed for a *sš ḳd.wt* named *Ṯnr/Ṯl*: Handoussa (1981).

Bibliography *PN* I, 381.18; Metawi (2018).

[483] ***Tnr (Tl)*** **Mayor of Memphis**

Title(s) [A] *ỉr.y-pˁ.t ḥ3.ty-ˁ ♦ smr ˁ; n.y mr.wt*

[B] *mnˁ msw nsw.t ♦ ḥ3.ty-ˁ n.y Mn-nfr*

Date 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III.

Items

II. Statues

1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 15—*sah* statue

2. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 14—*sah* statue of Ipay, wife of Tjel

V. Burial equipment

1. Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Egizio 19163—model sarcophagus

2. Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Egizio 19163–19164—two shabtis

3. Private collection, Russia—shabti

4. Present location unknown—shabti

Bibliography *PN* I, 381.18; Giovetti/Picchi (2015), cat. V.33 (Tjel); Gessler-Löhr (1997), 38–51, pls 3–5, 7; Grenier (1996), 92–94, no. 132, pls 58; no. 131, pl. 57; Aubert/Aubert (1974), 69, no. 385; Boeser (1912), 12, no. 29, pl. 11; 13, no. 30, pl. 11.

[484] ***Ttỉ*** **Mayor of ʿAnu**

Title(s) [B] *ḥ3.ty-ˁ n.y ˁn.t*

Date Ramesside.

Items

V. Burial equipment

2. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7171—canopic jar

3. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7173—canopic jar

Comments Gauthier (1925–1931), I, 151: *ˁn*.t is a village in the southern district of the Memphite nome.

Bibliography PM III/2, 773; *PN* I, 384.4; Müller (1974), 187.

[485] *T̲ȝy* **?**

Title(s) ?

Date Late 18th/early 19th Dynasty.

Items **II. Statues**

3. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 19181 = CG 628—dyad, now on display in the Alexandria National Museum

Bibliography PM III/2, 726; *PN* I, 388.11; Pasquali (2017), 572; Borchardt (1925), 175–176, pl. 115.

[486] *T̲t̲* **Steward in the House of Ay**

Title(s) [B] *ỉm.y-r pr m pr Ḫpr-ḫpr.w-Rᶜ ỉrỉ-Mȝᶜ.t*

[C] *sš nsw mȝᶜ mr.y=f*

Date Late 18th Dynasty.

Items **IV. Stelae**

1. London, British Museum EA 211

Bibliography PM III/2, 742; *PN* I, 395.22; *Urk.* IV., 2111, no. 821; *HTBM* 7, pl. 35; Gessler-Löhr (2012), 176, no. 10, fig. 5.

[487] *D̲ḥw.ty* **General**

Title(s) [A] *ỉm.y-ỉb ᶜȝ n.y nb tȝ.wy ♦ ỉr.y-pᶜ.t ḫȝ.ty-ᶜ ♦ ỉr.ty nsw ♦ mḥ-ỉb ᶜȝ n.y nb tȝ.wy ♦ mḥ-ỉb mnḫ n.y nb tȝ.wy ♦ mḥ-ỉb n.y nsw m tȝ nt̲r ♦ mḥ-ỉb n.y nsw ḥr ḫȝs.t nb.t ♦ mḥ wḏ̲ȝw m ḥsbd ḥḏ̲-nbw ♦ rḫ nsw ♦ ḥs.y n.y nt̲r nfr ♦ /// ỉw.w ḥr.yw ỉb n.w wȝḏ̲-wr*

[B] *ỉm.y-r ḫȝs.t ♦ ỉm.y-r ḫȝs.t mḥ.tyt ♦ ỉm.y-r ᶜȝ n.y ḫȝs.t mḥt.t*

[C] *sš ♦ sš nsw ♦ sš nsw mȝᶜ mr.y=f*

[E] *ỉt-nt̲r mr.y nt̲r*

[F] *ỉm.y-r ỉwᶜ.yt ♦ ỉm.y-r mšᶜ ♦ šms.w nb=f ♦ šms.w nsw ḥr ḫȝs.t nb.t ♦ kny*

Date 18th Dynasty, *temp.* Thutmosis III.

Items **II. Statues**

1. London, British Museum EA 69863—lower half of a scribe's statuette, granite

V. Burial equipment

1. London, British Museum EA 71492—gold finger-ring

2. Florence, Museo Egizio 2207—canopic lid

3. Florence, Museo Egizio 2222–2225—canopic jars with lids

4. Turin, Museo Egizio cat. 3225—small bag-shaped ointment jar

5. Turin, Museo Egizio cat. 3226—large bag-shaped ointment jar with lid

6. Turin, Museo Egizio cat. 3227—two-handled ointment jar with lid
7. Turin, Museo Egizio cat. 3228—jug-shaped ointment jar
8. Paris, Musée du Louvre N 1127 = Drovetti no. 238—two-handled ointment jar
9. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AAL 37—jug-shaped ointment jar
10. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden L.VIII.20—bag-shaped ointment jar with lid
11. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AO 1a—heart scarab
12. Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum Ae: 1,6—metal dagger with wood inlaid handle
13. Paris, Musée du Louvre E 4886 = Anastasi no. 956—decorated bowl fragment
14. Paris, Musée du Louvre N 713 = Drovetti no. 260—decorated bowl
15. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AO 2b—inscribed *msktw* bracelet
16. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AO 1b—inlaid lotus clasp
17. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AO 3a—necklace, sixteen inlaid mandrake/persea-fruit pendants
18. London, British Museum EA 3076—nine inlaid mandrake/persea-fruit pendants
19. Florence, Museo Egizio 2929–2937, 2788—broad-collar elements, pendants and ring
20. Paris, Musée du Louvre AF 12653 = Drovetti no. 257 = N 1854—broad-collar elements, pendants
21. Paris, Musée du Louvre AF 12654 = N 1854 = Drovetti no. 257 = AF 2799—broad-collar elements, pendants
22. Paris, Musée du Louvre AF 12655 = AF 2799 = N 1854 = Salt no. 991 = N 1859 = Drovetti no. 257 = N 1858—broad-collar elements, pendants
23. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden 341?, 347–349, 353, 131–133, 135, 137–138, 140, AO 4, 143–147—broad-collar elements, rings, and pendants
24. Paris, Musée du Louvre N 1852 = Drovetti no. 256—two-strand necklace with fish and lotus pendants
25. Paris, Musée du Louvre N 1851—chain and "clasp" with three fish pendants

26. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden XLII 110—inscribed bag-shaped jar
27. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden XLII 109—inscribed shoulder jar

VII. Varia
1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AD 39—palette
2. Turin, Museo Egizio cat. 6227—palette
3. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico EG 3136—inscribed scribe's palette

Bibliography *PN* I, 407.13; Reeves (1993), 259–261; Lilyquist (1988), 5–68.

[488] ***Ḏḥw.ty*** **Overseer of Cattle of Amun**
Title(s) **[A]** *ḥs.y n.y nb=f*
[B] *ỉm.y-r ỉḫ.w n.w ʾImn*
[C] *sš*
Date Late 18th / early 19th Dynasty.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 56
Bibliography *PN* I, 407.13; Giovetti/Picchi (2015), cat. V.54; Affara (2010), 147–157; Van Dijk (1990), 24; Boeser (1913), 11, no. 40, pl. 22.

[489] ***Ḏḥw.ty-ms*(*.w*)** **Head of Guardians of the Gate in Memphis**
Title(s) **[B]** *ḫr.y sḫw.ty n.y sbȝ m Mn-nfr*
Date 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep III.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. London, British Museum EA 155
Comments The Field Museum, Chicago, holds a naos-shaped stela (acc. no. 257; cat. no. 31288) inscribed for a homonymous *sḫw.ty* and *sḫw.ty n.y pȝ bʿḥ*, *temp*. Amenhotep III.
Bibliography PM III/2, 742; *PN* I, 408.5; *HTBM* 8, 47–49, pl. 39.

[490] ***Ḏḥw.ty-ms*(*.w*)** **Head of the Storeroom**
Title(s) **[B]** *ḫr.y ʿ.t ḫnḳ.t*
Date New Kingdom.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Present location unknown
Bibliography PM III/2, 749; *PN* I, 408.5.

[491] ***Ḏḥw.ty-ms*(*.w*)** **Vizier**
Title(s) **[B]** *ỉm.y-r nỉw.t ṯȝ.ty*

Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Thutmosis IV–Amenhotep III.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Florence, Museo Egizio 2565
Comments Father of Ptahmose [412] and Meryptah [429]. All three are depicted on stela Leiden AP 11 + London UC 14463. Thutmosis and his son Ptahmose are both depicted on stela Florence 2565.
Bibliography *PN* I, 408.5; Gessler-Löhr (1995), 144–149, no. 5, pl. 6; Murnane (1994), 189; Bosticco (1965), 39–41, no. 33.

[492] ***Ḏḥw.ty-ms(.w)*** **Vizier**
Title(s) [A] *ỉr.y-pˁ.t ♦ ḥ3.ty-ˁ*
[B] *ỉm.y-r nḫw.t t3.ty ♦ s3b*
[E] *ỉt-nṯr mr.y-nṯr ♦ r nḫn ♦ ḥm-nṯr n.y Mȝˁ.t*
Date Early-mid 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Amenhotep II.
Items **IV. Stelae**
Present location unknown
Bibliography *PN* I, 408.5; Gessler-Löhr (1995), 143, pl. 5b; Blackman (1917), 40–41, pl. 10.2.

[493] ***Wsr-ḥ3.t*** **One with Access to the Lords of Thinis/Abydos**
Title(s) [E] *ˁḳ(.w) n nb.w T3-wr*
Date Late 18th Dynasty.
Items **II. Statues**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 457—socle of a wooden statue
Comments Possibly the same man as Userhat Hatiay, the late 18th / early 19th Dynasty chief sculptor. His brother is Sa (350/TPC).
Bibliography PM V, 94 (as Abydos); *PN* I, 85.24; Pasquali (2017), 567, IM 6057; Mariette (1872), 26, pl. 77j.

[494] ***Pȝ-sr*** **Chief of Provisioning Quarters**
Title(s) [B] *ḥr.y šnˁ*
Date Mid-late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Thutmosis IV–Amenhotep III.
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 15114 = CG 34038
Bibliography PM V, 59 (as Abydos); *PN* I, 117.12–13; Pasquali (2017), 570.

[495] ***Nfr-ḥr*** **Guardian of the Troops of Ptah (?)**
Title(s) *"gardien des troupeaux de Ptah"*
Date 19th Dynasty.

Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 18923
Bibliography Pasquali (2017), 571.

[496] ***Sn.t-rwỉw*** **Royal Nurse**
Title(s) **[A]** *ḥs.yt n Mw.t nb.t p.t*
[B] *mnᶜ.t nsw.t*
Date Mid/late 18th Dynasty, *temp*. Thutmosis IV(–Amenhotep III?)
Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 20221
Comments The stela depicts *Sn.t-rwỉw* breast-feeding prince *ỉmn-m-ỉp.t*, most likely a son of Amenhotep II.
Bibliography Pasquali (2017), 573; Dodson (2014), 13; Dodson/Hilton (2004), 137; Bryan (1991), 65–66, pl. 2 (figs 6a–b); Berlandini (1997), 101, 107, (n. 31), 110 (fig. 6).

[497] ***ỉwy*** **Scribe of the Altar of the King**
Title(s) **[A]** *ṯᶜy-ḫw ḥr wnm.y n.y nsw.t*
[B] *sš wḏḥ.w n.y nb tȝ.wy*
Date 19th Dynasty.
Items **V. Funerary equipment**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 4950–4953 = CG 47216, 47207, 47121, 47653
Comments The items were initially published as deriving from Abydos.
Bibliography Pasquali (2017), 574; Newberry (1937–1957), pls 19, 21, 27; Mariette (1880), 70–71, no. 434.

[498] ***Wsr-mȝᶜ.t-Rᶜ-m-ḥb/Ḫᶜ*** **?**
Title(s) **?**
Date 19th Dynasty.
Items **III. Architectural elements**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 6.11.26.1–2—two door jambs
Bibliography Pasquali (2017), 575; Mariette (1864), 248–249, nos 62, 65.

[499] ***Ḏḥw.ty*** **Scribe of Forms of the King**
Title(s) **[D]** *sš ḳd n.y nb tȝ.wy*
Date Mid-18th Dynasty, *temp*. Thutmosis III.
Items **VII. Varia**
1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 95539 = CG 69023—wooden scribe's palette

Comments – Thought to have been found at Abydos.
– Djehuty is the father of the Scribe of Forms of the temple of Re *Mn.w-nḫt* [426].

Bibliography *PN* I, 407.13; Pasquali (2017), 567, IM 6022; Raue (1999), 199–200; Mariette (1880), 584, no. 1486.

[500] ***Ḫʿ(i)-m-p.t*** ***Wab* Priest of the Front of Ptah**

Title(s) [D] *ʿḳ.w m ḥw.t-nbw m pr Ptḥ*
[E] *wʿb n.y ḥ3.t Ptḥ*

Date 19th/20th Dynasty.

Items **IV. Stelae**
1. Paris, Musée du Louvre C 91 = N 242 = N 3937 (faience)

Bibliography *PN* I, 263.22; Raven (2020b), 1311–1312; Staring (2016b), 347, 348, 365–366, table 1; Caubet/Bonnefois (2005), 88, cat. no. 246.

[501] ***ʿn-ḫr-i3w.t=f*** **Royal Scribe of the King**

Title(s) [C] *sš nsw.t n.y nb t3.wy*

Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II.

Items **II. Statues**
1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden L.X.1

Bibliography *PN* I, 61.29; Boeser (1912), 17, pl. 9, 16.

Above Abusir Village: Tombs

502/AVV ***P3-n-ʾImn*** **Overseer of Embalmers?**
Tomb SCA expedition, 2000
Title(s) [E] *im.y-r3 wt.w (?)*
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II.
Comments
– The title(s) of the tomb owner is/are not mentioned in the tomb's publication; only preliminary notes and tomb-plan have been published. A full publication by the SCA expedition is forthcoming.
– One inscription mentions a number of officials (left doorjamb to entrance of tomb): *sḏ3.wty nṯr n.y pr.wy-nfr nb mḥy.t Ḥsy; ḥm-nṯr n.y ḥw.t-Ptḥ ʾImn-m-ḥb m3ʿ-ḫrw; ḥm-nṯr B3st.t Šzy m3ʿ-ḫrw; ir(i) n.y nb.t-pr Kwy*. Say might be the same man as the son of the High Priest of Ptah, Ptahemhat-Ty [408].
Bibliography Unpublished

503/AAV ***Nḫt-Mn(.w)*** **Royal Messenger to All Foreign Lands**
Tomb SCA expedition, 1993
Title(s) [B] *wpw.ty nsw r ḫ3s.t nb.t*
[F] *im.y-r ssm.wt ♦ kṯn tp.y n.y ḥm=f (?)*
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp*. Ramesses II.
Bibliography *PN* I, 210.17; Daoud et al. (2016); Daoud (2011), 7–9; Youssef (2011), 84–89; *EA* 3 (1993), 44 with fig. in 'Notes and News from Egypt'; Willeitner (1993), 258.

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